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PRESENTED BY  
ABANI NATH MUKHARJI  
OF UTTARPARA.

# EDINBURGH REVIEW.

JUNE, 1818.

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N<sup>o</sup>. LIX.

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- ART. I. 1. *The Possibility of approaching the North Pole Asserted.* By the Hon. D. BARRINGTON. *A New Edition; with an Appendix, containing Papers on the same Subject, and on a North-West Passage.* By COLONEL BEAUFOY, F. R. S. 8vo. London, 1818.
2. *On the Greenland, or Polar Ice.* By WILLIAM SCORESBY, junior, Esq. In the Second Volume of the Memoirs of the Wernerian Natural History Society, printed at Edinburgh in 1818.
3. *A Description of Greenland.* By HANS EGEDE, who was a Missionary in that Country for twenty-five years. *A New Edition, with an Historical Introduction and a Life of the Author, illustrated with a Map of Greenland, and numerous Engravings on Wood.* 8vo. London, 1818.
4. *A Voyage to Spitzbergen, containing an Account of that Country; of the Zoology of the North; of the Shetland Isles; and of the Whale Fishery: With an Appendix, containing an Historical Account of the Dutch, English, and American Whale Fisheries; some Important Observations on the Variation of the Compass, &c.; and some Extracts from Mr Scoresby's Paper on Polar Ice.* By JOHN LAING, Surgeon. Second Edition, small duodecimo. Edinburgh, 1818.
5. *Greenland, the Adjacent Seas, and the North-West Passage to the Pacific Ocean: Illustrated in a Voyage to Davis's Straits during the Summer of 1813, with Charts and Numerous Plates, from Drawings of the Author taken on the Spot.* By BERNARD O'REILLY, Esq. 4to. London, 1818.

FOR these two or three years past, the captains of ships employed in the Northern Whale Fishery have generally concurred

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red in representing the Arctic Sea as of a sudden become almost open and accessible to the adventurous navigator. By the more speculative relations, it has been supposed that the vast icy barrier which, during many ages, had obstructed those forlorn regions, is at last, from some revolution of our globe, broken up and dispersed. The project of finding a north-west passage to Asia—a project so often attempted, and so long abandoned—has in consequence been again revived; and the more daring scheme of penetrating to the Pole itself, has likewise been seriously proposed. Of the success of either plan, our hopes, we confess, are extremely slender; yet the prospect now held forth seems to be more inviting, on the whole, than at any former period when such bold undertakings were made. The discovery of a north-west passage, were it ever attainable, could hardly indeed be of any real benefit to our commerce, since, in such high latitudes, where only it must be sought for, it would at all times be very precarious, and liable to interruption from the prevalence of ice. The scheme of actually reaching that northern point on the surface of our globe, which terminates its ideal axis of rotation, however interesting in a philosophical view, can only be regarded as an object of pure curiosity, and not likely to lead to any useful or practical results. Yet we think it befitting the character of a great maritime nation, to embrace every chance even of improving geographical knowledge, and of extending the basis of natural science. We can hardly praise the liberality of the appointment of the ships destined to explore the Arctic seas; but it will give us infinite concern, should this expedition have the same fruitless or disastrous issue as other plans of distant discovery, which have lately been pursued under the direction of the Admiralty Board.

The books and memoirs whose titles we have prefixed to this article, contain the latest accounts of the state of the Northern Seas. They have either suggested the enterprise now pursued, or have been brought forward in consequence of its adoption. Literary speculation is never indeed wanting, in this country, to gratify or amuse the curiosity of the public.—Mr Daines Barrington, a man of learning and some ingenuity, embraced with ardour the opinion of the possibility of approaching to the Pole. In successive papers communicated to the Royal Society of London, he not only condensed the information furnished by the older voyagers, but exhibited the results of the numerous queries relating to the same object, which he had circulated among persons engaged in the Greenland Fishery. He thus proved, that, in certain favourable seasons, the Arctic seas are left for several weeks so open, that intrepid navigators might safely penetrate to a very high latitude.

In compliance with his sanguine representations, the Admiralty despatched, in 1773, Captain Phipps, afterwards Lord Mulgrave, to explore those regions; but this commander was unsuccessful in the attempt, having reached only the latitude of  $80\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, when his ship got surrounded with a body of ice near Spitzbergen, and escaped with extreme difficulty, though many of the whalers that summer advanced farther. Mr Barrington did not however despair, and, following out his views, he set Mr Nairne and Dr Higgins to make experiments on the congelation of sea-water. The various facts are now collected in a small volume, to which Colonel Beaufoy has subjoined an appendix, containing the answers made to his queries by Russian hunters, who are accustomed to spend the whole year in Spitzbergen, relative to the probability of travelling from that island to the Pole during winter, in sledges drawn by rein-deer. The reports of these hardy men are sufficiently discouraging. They represent the winter at Spitzbergen as not only severe but extremely boisterous, the snow falling to the depth of three or five feet, and drifting so much along the shores by the violence of the winds, as often to block up all communication. The danger of then being surprised and overwhelmed by clouds of snow, raised by sudden gusts, is so great, that they never venture to undertake any long journeys over the ice. Nor do they think it at all practicable to have loaded sledges dragged over a surface so rough and hilly, by the force of rein-deer or dogs.

The paper of Mr Scoresby has more than ordinary claims to our attention, as exhibiting the conclusions of a most diligent, accurate, and scientific observer. Trained from infancy to the navigation of the frozen seas, under the direction of his father, a most enterprising and successful leader, he conjoins experience with ingenuity and judgment. For several years, during the intervals of his Greenland voyages, he prosecuted a regular course of study, which has enriched his mind with liberal attainments, and given a new impulse to his native ingenuity and ardour. We regret exceedingly that any jealousies or official punctilios should have prevented Government from entrusting the principal command of the Polar expedition to Mr Scoresby, who not only proposed it originally, but whose talents and science, joined to his activity, perseverance and enthusiasm, afforded assuredly the best promise of its ultimate success.

Hans Egede was a benevolent enthusiast, who formed a plan of reclaiming the natives of Greenland from the errors of Paganism. After various ineffectual attempts, he at last procured, by subscription, the sum of 2000*l.*, with which he purchased a vessel, and carried his family, and forty settlers, to Baal's River, in the

64th degree of north latitude, where he landed on the 3d of July 1721. He was afterwards appointed missionary, with a small salary by the Danish government, which occasionally granted some aid to the colony. During his stay, which lasted till 1736, he laboured with great zeal in his vocation. In 1757, the year before his death, he printed his *Description of Greenland*, in the Danish language, at Copenhagen. Of that work, the volume now before us is a translation, much improved and enlarged, with useful additions by the editor. It contains valuable information, tinged, as we might expect, with no small portion of credulity.

Mr Laing performed two voyages to Greenland in the successive years 1806 and 1807, as surgeon under the elder Captain Scoresby, whose son acted at that time as chief mate. His narrative is written with neatness, simplicity and taste; and comprises, in a very small compass, what information could be desired on the subject of which it treats.

We cannot bestow the same commendation on the pompous quarto of Squire O'Reilly, though he obligingly acquaints us, that the love of science and the thirst of philosophical research had prompted him to accept the situation of surgeon in a Hull whaler, and 'to undertake a voyage hazardous in the extreme, cooped up with uninformed, insensible beings.' It is evidently *got up* for the occasion, with an unusual garniture of engravings. Some of these look pretty enough, but they have been drawn by Koenig, probably from very slight sketches, and only represent objects and appearances which are already generally known. The volume itself is obviously the production of a raw compiler—disjointed and diffuse—filled with scraps of etymology, trite classical allusions, and commonplace declamation—and written in a shapeless, incorrect, and turgid style. With all its pretensions, it absolutely contains scarcely any thing that can be deemed new, unless we except the author's *Journal of the Weather*, in which he describes, with very copious detail, the various aspects of clouds, according to Howard's fanciful classification. This, perhaps, is the extent of his science; for he blunders sadly when he ventures on other graver topics. But Mr O'Reilly modestly aspires to the honour of geographical discovery; and fancies that claim established, by naming a group of prominences, in the field of ice which barred his progress, the *Linnaan Isles*!

It is remarkable, that two centuries of extreme activity should have added so very little to our knowledge of the Arctic regions. The relations of the earlier navigators to those parts, possess an interest which has not yet been eclipsed. We may cite the voyage of Martens from Hainburg to Spitzbergen, as still the

most instructive. But the best and completest work that we have seen on the subject of the Northern fisheries, is a treatise in three volumes octavo, translated from the Dutch language into French by Bernard de Reste, and published at Paris in 1801, under the title *Histoire des Pêches, des Découvertes, et des Etablissements des Hollandois dans les Mers du Nord*.

The Arctic Expedition, which has, for several months, attracted the attention of the public, proposes two distinct objects;—to advance towards the Pole—and to explore a north-west passage to China. These are, no doubt, splendid schemes; but, in order to form a right estimate of the plan, and some anticipation of its probable results, we must proceed with caution, and employ the lights of science to guide our steps. The facts alleged respecting the vast islands or continents of ice recently separated and dispersed from the Arctic regions, have given occasion to much loose reasoning, to wild and random conjectures, and visionary declamation. Glowing anticipations are confidently formed of the future amelioration of climate, which would scarcely be hazarded even in the dreams of romance. Every person possessing a slight tincture of physical science, conceives himself qualified to speculate concerning the phenomena of weather, in which he feels a deep interest; and hence, a very flimsy and spurious kind of philosophy, however trifling or despicable it may appear in the eyes of the few who are accustomed to think more profoundly, has gained currency among certain classes of men, and engendered no small share of conceit. Meteorology is a complex science, depending on so many subordinate principles, that require the union of accurate theory, with a range of nice and various observations, as to have advanced very slowly towards perfection. Though little understood, or generally cultivated, it has yet made a decided progress, and at last attained to such degree of improvement, as will enable the judicious inquirer to draw his conclusions with safety and confidence. Nothing is required but the torch of geometry to illumine the results furnished by the application of delicate instruments.

With regard to the nature and real extent of the change which has now taken place in the condition of the Icy seas, we are persuaded that the reports are greatly exaggerated. \* To

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\* So much has public credulity been abused by such tales, that a paragraph having appeared in a Scotch newspaper, stating that a vast mountain of ice had lately stranded on one of the Shetland Isles, the *hoax* was actually swallowed by sundry grave persons, especially in the South.

reduce them to their just amount, it would be necessary to estimate the annual effects produced in those regions, and likewise to compare the observations of a similar kind made by experienced navigators at former periods. From a critical examination of the various facts left on record, it will perhaps appear, that those Arctic seas have been, more than once, in the course of the last half century, as open as they are represented to be at present.

To discuss, with accuracy, the question of the periodical formation and destruction of the Polar Ice, it becomes necessary to explain the true principles which regulate the distribution of heat over the globe. This we shall attempt to perform, independent of every hypothesis, by the direct appeal to experiment and observation.

If, at any place we dig into the ground, we find, by the insertion of a thermometer, that, as we successively descend, we approach constantly to some limit of temperature, at a certain depth below which, it continues afterwards unchanged. This depth of equilibrium varies in different soils; but seldom exceeds thirty or fifty feet. If the excavation be made about the commencement of winter, the temperature will appear to increase in the lower strata; but, on the contrary, if the pit be formed in the beginning of summer, it will be found to grow colder as we descend. Hence, the mass of the earth merely transmits very slowly the impressions of heat or cold received at its surface. The external temperature of any given day, will perhaps take near a month to penetrate only one foot into the ground. By digging downwards in summer, we soon reach, therefore, the impressions of the preceding spring and winter; but the same progress into the ground brings us back to the temperatures of the autumn and of the summer. Still lower, all the various fluctuations of heat are intermingled and confounded in one common mean.

Such observations are more easily and correctly made, by having thermometers, with long stems, sunk to different depths in the ground. From a register of four of those instruments, planted one, two, four, and eight feet deep, in a spacious garden on the northern shore of the Firth of Forth, we are enabled to quote the series of observations made during the years 1816 and 1817. Their mean indications in the month of January 1816 were respectively  $32^{\circ}.0$ — $36^{\circ}.3$ — $40^{\circ}.7$ —and  $43^{\circ}.0$ ; and in the same month of the following year, these were  $35^{\circ}.6$ — $38^{\circ}.7$ — $45^{\circ}.3$ —and  $45^{\circ}.1$ . But, in the month of June of the same years, the thermometers at the depths of one, two, four, and eight feet, marked at a medium  $51^{\circ}.6$ — $50^{\circ}.0$ — $47^{\circ}.1$ —and  $45^{\circ}.8$ ; and again  $51^{\circ}.2$ — $49^{\circ}.4$ — $47^{\circ}.6$ —and  $47^{\circ}.8$ . It is curious to remark,

that in this climate, the thermometers, at all those depths, nearly coincide at two different times of the year, or about the beginning and the end of summer. Thus, about the middle of May 1816, they all stood within a few tenths of a degree of  $43^{\circ}.7$ ; and again, about the middle of September, they had reached nearly  $51^{\circ}.2$ . In the following year, they indicated, in the same months,  $45^{\circ}.1$ , and  $52^{\circ}.1$ . It is obvious, therefore, that in the first of those means, the impression of spring was predominant, and that of summer in the second. The mean of the whole year, at the depths of one, two, four, and eight feet, was, in 1816, respectively  $43^{\circ}.8$ — $44^{\circ}.1$ — $45^{\circ}.1$ —and  $46^{\circ}.0$ ; and in 1817,  $44^{\circ}.9$ — $45^{\circ}.9$ — $46^{\circ}.2$ —and  $46^{\circ}.8$ . Both those years, but especially 1817, had been unusually cold. The lowest thermometer, evidently affected by the impressions of preceding years, was partially returned again from the ground beneath it. On the 18th of April last, all those thermometers stood at  $41^{\circ}$ . That of one foot deep, rose at first slowly, and then with rapidity, to  $61^{\circ}$ , which it reached on the 13th of June, and had declined, on the 16th, to  $58^{\circ}$ , and at the end of the month sunk to  $55^{\circ}$ . The thermometers, buried at the depth of two, four, and eight feet, had gradually mounted, on the 16th of June, to  $55^{\circ}$ ,  $50^{\circ}$ , and  $47^{\circ}$ ; and, by the end of the month, stood at  $53^{\circ}$ ,  $51^{\circ}$ , and  $49^{\circ}$ . In preceding years, the thermometer, inserted one foot into the ground, did not reach its maximum till the middle or near the end of July; that range, in 1815, 1816 and 1817, being only respectively  $58^{\circ}$ ,  $54^{\circ}$  and  $56^{\circ}$ ; whereas it had, in this present summer, attained  $61^{\circ}$  early in the month of June. We may hence conclude, that the temperature of the ground is always the mean result of the impressions made at the surface during a series of years. The successive strata, therefore, at great depths, may be regarded as permanent records of the average state of the weather in distant ages. Perhaps the superficial influence will scarcely descend fifty feet in the lapse of a century. Copious springs which percolate the bowels of the earth, and rapidly convey the impressions of subterranean heat to the surface, will consequently furnish the most accurate reports of the natural register of climate. These, if rightly chosen, differ not sensibly in their temperature at all seasons; and, whether they have their seat at a depth of one hundred or of five hundred feet, they affect the thermometer alike. \* We

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\* The celebrated fountain of Vaucluse, situate in the latitude of  $43^{\circ} 55'$ , and 360 feet above the level of the Mediterranean sea, has been observed to acquire its highest temperature about the first day of September, and to reach the lowest at the beginning of April, the former being  $56^{\circ}.3$ , and the latter  $54^{\circ}.1$  by Fahrenheit's scale; which gives  $55^{\circ}.2$  for its mean heat. The waters are collected from the

are hence entitled to conclude, that however the weather may have varied from year to year, or changed its character at intervals of short periods of years, it has yet undergone no radical or sensible alteration during the efflux of many ages.

Some philosophers attempt to explain such facts as are now stated, from the supposed internal heat of the globe, caused by the action of central fires; and pretend, in support of their favourite hypothesis, that the temperature always increases near the bottom of very deep mines. But this observation holds only in particular situations, where the warm exhalations from the burning of lamps and the breathing of the workmen are collected and confined under the roofs of the galleries. The water which trickles from the crevices of the strata, and runs along the floor of the mine, has still the medium temperature belonging to the place. It should likewise be remarked, such is the very slow conducting quality of earthy and stony matters, that the volcanic fires have no sensible influence on the climate of those countries where they still exist in full activity.

The permanent heat of the ground is, therefore, produced by the mere accumulation of incessant external impressions. These impressions are received, either directly from the sun's rays, or circuitously, through the medium of atmospheric influence. But air is better fitted for diffusing than for storing up heat. The whole mass of the atmosphere, it may be easily shown, does not contain more heat than a stratum of water only 10 feet thick, or one of earth measuring 15 feet. According to their relative temperature, the winds, in sweeping along the ground, either abstract or communicate warmth. But the sun is the great and original fountain of heat, which the internal motion excited in the atmosphere only serves to distribute more equally over the earth's surface. The heat imparted to the air, or to the ground, is always proportional to the absorption of the solar beams; and the consequences are, therefore, still the same, whether we embrace the simple theory, that heat is only the subtle fluid of light, in a state of combination with its substratum; or prefer the opinion, that light has always conjoined with it an admixture of the invisible matter of heat.

Owing to the spherical form of the earth, and the obliquity of its axis, very different quantities of light or heat are received

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figures of an extensive limestone rock, and seem to receive the superficial impressions in the space of three months. They burst forth with such a volume as to form, only a little below their source, the translucent Sorgue, a river scarcely inferior in its discharge to the Tav above Perth.

in the several latitudes. The same portion of heat which would raise the temperature of 135 pounds of water a degree on Fahrenheit's scale, is only capable of melting one pound of ice. The measure of ice dissolved is hence the simplest and most correct standard, for estimating the quantity of heat expended in that process. If we apply calculation, therefore, to actual experiment, we shall find that the entire and unimpaired light of the sun would, at the Equator, at the mean latitude of  $45^{\circ}$ , and at the Pole, be sufficient to melt a thickness of ice expressed by 38.7, 25.9, and 13.4 feet. Of this enormous action, the greatest portion is no doubt wasted in the vast abyss of the ocean; and, of the remainder, a still larger share is perhaps detained and dissipated in the grosser atmosphere. Yet the light which, after those defalcations, finally reaches the surface of the earth, if left to accumulate there, would create such inequality of temperature, as must prove quite insupportable. It is indeed remarkable how very small a part of the extended scale of heat is wanted for the support of animal life, or compatible with its existence. The absolute zero probably descends at least 1400 degrees below the commencement of Fahrenheit's divisions, and the intense power of our furnaces perhaps rises ten times higher. Yet few plants will bear a change of 50 degrees of temperature; and man, the hardiest of all animals, would find the transition of 100 degrees quite insupportable.

The slow conducting quality of the ground, if not balanced by extraneous influence, would fix the heat where it was received, and thus perpetuate the effect of the unequal action of the sun's beams. The mobility of the atmosphere hence performs an important office in the economy of Nature, as a great regulator of the system, dispensing moderate warmth, and attenuating the extremes of climate over the face of the globe. As the heat accumulates within the tropics, it will occasion currents of cold air from the higher latitudes. But the activity of the winds thus raised being proportional to their exciting cause, must prevent it from ever surpassing certain limits. A perpetual commerce of heat between the Poles and the Equator is thus maintained, by the agency of opposite currents in the atmosphere. These currents will often have their direction modified; and they may still produce the same effects, by pursuing an oblique or devious course. The actual phenomena of climate only require the various winds throughout the year, to advance southwards or northwards at the mean rate of almost two miles an hour, or to perform in effect three journeys of transfer annually from the Equator to either Pole. Not that these carry the impressions of heat or cold directly from one extremity of



the globe to the other, but, by their incessant play, they contribute, in the succession of ages, to spread them gradually over the intervening space.

The system of opposite aërial currents leads to the same law of the gradation of temperature in different latitudes, as the celebrated Professor Mayer of Göttingen deduced from an empirical process. It would appear that the variation of the mean temperature at the level of the sea is always proportional to the sine of twice the latitude. Thus, for the parallels of every ten degrees, the arrangement is simple.

Latitude.	Mean Temperature.	Latitude.	Mean Temperature.
0°	84°	50°	53°.5
10°	82°.4	60°	45°.0
20°	77°.9	70°	38°.1
30°	70°.9	80°	33°.6
40°	62°.4	90°	32°

The arithmetical mean, or 58°, corresponds to the middle latitude of 45°. But the real mean of the temperature over the whole surface of the globe is 67°, which should occur on the parallel of 35° 51½'.

The system of currents maintained in the atmosphere, likewise contributes essentially by its unceasing agency, in transferring and dispersing heat, to prevent the excessive inequality of seasons in the higher latitudes. But the motions produced in such a vast mass of fluid, must evidently follow, at long intervals, the accumulated causes which excite them. Hence probably the origin of those violent winds which, succeeding to the sultry warmth of summer and the sharp frosts of winter, prevail in the months of September and March, and are hence called by seamen the *Equinoxial Gales*. In the Arctic seas, Nature has made a further provision for correcting the excessive irregularity of the action of the sun's rays. This luminary, for several months in winter, is totally withdrawn from that dreary waste; but, to compensate for his long absence, he continues, during an equal period in summer, to shine without interruption. Now, by a beautiful arrangement, the surface of the ocean itself, by its alternate freezing and thawing, presents a vast substratum, on which the excesses of heat and of cold in succession, are mutually spent. In ordinary cases, the superficial water as it cools, and therefore contracts, sinks down into the abyss, by its superior gravity; but when it grows warmer, it expands, and consequently floats incumbent, communicating afterwards its surplus heat with extreme slowness to the mass below. But the seas within the Arctic circle being always near the verge of congelation, at which limit water scarcely undergoes any sensible alteration of volume from a con-

considerable change of temperature, the superficial stratum remains constantly stagnant, and exposed to receive all the variable impressions of the sweeping winds. The piercing cold of winter, therefore, spends its rage in freezing the salt water to a depth proportional to its intensity and continuance. The prolonged warmth of summer again is consumed in melting those fields of ice, every inch of which in thickness, requiring as much absorption of heat as would raise the temperature of a body of water  $10\frac{1}{2}$  feet thick, a whole degree. The summer months are hence nearly gone before the sun can dissolve the icy domes, and shoot with entire effect his slanting rays. It may be shown that under the Pole the action of the solar light is, at the time of the solstice, under the Pole, one-fourth part greater than at the Equator, and sufficient in the course of a day to melt a sheet of ice an inch and a half thick.

If horizontal winds serve to balance the irregular action of the solar beams over the surface of the globe, the rising and descending currents excited in the body of the atmosphere still more effectually maintain the equilibrium of day and night. After the ground has become heated by the direct illumination of the sun, it warms the lowest portion of the incumbent air, which, being thus dilated, begins to ascend, and therefore occasions the descent of an equal portion of the fluid. But these vertical currents, being once created, will continue their motion long after the primary cause has ceased to impel them, and may protract, during the night, the accumulation of chilled air on the surface of the earth. This effect is further augmented, in general, by the frigorific impressions which are, it would seem, at all times darted downwards from a clear sky.\* From the operation of this combined system, therefore, the diurnal vicissitudes of temperature are diminished in the temperate and torrid zones. Another consequence results from the rapid and continual interchange of the higher and lower strata, that the same absolute quantity of heat must obtain at every altitude in the atmosphere.

This equal distribution of heat at all elevations, is moulded, however, by another principle, which occasions the regular gradation upwards of a decreasing temperature. In fact, air is found to have its capacity for heat enlarged by rarefaction, so that any portion of the fluid carried to the higher regions, where it by consequence expands, will have its temperature proportionally diminished. The decrease of temperature in ascending the

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\* See Supplement to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. III. Part I. p. 177; or, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, Vol. VIII. Part II. p. 465.

atmosphere, is not far from being uniform, at the rate of about one degree for every hundred yards of elevation. Hence the limit of perpetual congelation forms a curve, which is nearly the same as the *Companion of the Cycloid*, bending gradually from the Equator, reverting its inflexure at the latitude of  $45^{\circ}$ , and grazing the surface at the Pole. The mean heights of eternal frost, under the Equator, and at the latitudes of  $30^{\circ}$  and  $60^{\circ}$ , are respectively 15207, 11484, and 3818 feet.

It is important to remark, that the heat of large collections of water will seldom agree precisely with the mean temperature corresponding to the latitude. The variable impressions received at the surface from the atmosphere, will not, as on land, penetrate slowly into the mass, and become mingled and equalized at a moderate depth. Heat is conducted through liquids chiefly by the internal play resulting from their partial expansion.—In the more temperate regions of the globe, the superficial waters of lakes or seas, as they grow warmer, and, therefore, specifically lighter, still remain suspended by their acquired buoyancy. But whenever they come to be chilled, they suffer contraction, and are precipitated by their superior density. Hence the deep water, both of lakes and seas, is always considerably colder than what floats at the surface. The gradation of cold is distinctly traced to the depth of twenty fathoms, below which, the diminished temperature continues nearly uniform as far as the sounding line can reach. In shallow seas, however, the cold substratum of liquid is brought nearer to the surface. The increasing coldness of water, drawn up from the depth of only a few fathoms, may, therefore, indicate to the navigator who traverses the wide ocean his approach to banks or land.

These principles, however, will not apply to the peculiar circumstances of the Arctic seas. Water differs essentially, in its expansion by heat, from mercury, oil or alcohol: Far from dilating uniformly, a property which fits the latter substances for the construction of thermometers, it swells from the point of congelation, or rather a very few degrees above it, with a rapid progression, to that of boiling. Near the limit of its greatest contraction, the volume of water is scarcely affected at all, by any alteration of heat. When the surface of the ocean is depressed to a temperature between  $38^{\circ}$  and  $44^{\circ}$  degrees of Fahrenheit's scale, it will remain almost stagnant, and therefore exposed to the full impression of external cold. Hence the Polar seas are always ready, under the action of any frosty wind, to suffer congelation. The annual variations of the weather are in these seas expended on the superficial waters, without distorting the vast abyss below. Contrary to what takes place

under milder skies, the water drawn up from a considerable depth is warmer within the Arctic circle than what lies on the surface. The floating ice accordingly begins to melt generally on the under side, from the slow communication of the heat sent upwards.

The patience of our readers, we fear, will be exhausted by this laborious discussion, rendered necessary, however, by the loose and inconclusive manner in which the subject of climate is usually treated. We shall next endeavour to sketch the features of the revolving year as observed within the Arctic Circle.

After the continued action of the sun has at last melted away the great body of ice, a short and dubious interval of warmth occurs. In the space of a few weeks, only visited by slanting and enfeebled rays, Frost again resumes his tremendous sway. It begins to snow as early as August, and the whole ground is covered, to the depth of two or three feet, before the month of October. Along the shores and the bays, the fresh water, poured from rivulets, or drained from the thawing of former collections of snow, becomes quickly converted into solid ice. As the cold augments, the air deposits its moisture, in the form of a fog, which freezes into a fine gossamer netting, or spicular icicles, dispersed through the atmosphere, and extremely minute, that might seem to pierce and excoriate the skin. The hoar frost settles profusely, in fantastic clusters, on every prominence. The whole surface of the sea steams like a limekiln; an appearance, called the *frost-smoke*, caused, as in other instances of the production of vapour, by the water's being still relatively warmer than the incumbent air. At length the dispersion of the mist, and consequent clearness of the atmosphere, announce, that the upper stratum of the sea itself has become cooled to the same standard; a sheet of ice spreads quickly over the smooth expanse, and often gains the thickness of an inch in a single night. The darkness of a prolonged winter now broods impenetrably over the frozen continent, unless the moon chance at times to obtrude her faint rays, which only discover the horrors and wide desolation of the scene. The wretched settlers, covered with a load of bear-skins, remain crowded and immured in their hut, every chink of which they carefully stop against the piercing external cold; and, cowering about the stove or the lamp, they seek to doze away the tedious night. Their slender stock of provisions, though kept in the same apartment, is often frozen so hard, as to require to be cut with a hatchet. The whole of the inside of their hut becomes lined with a thick crust of ice; and, if they happen for an

instant to open a window, the moisture of the confined air is immediately precipitated in the form of a shower of snow. As the frost continued to penetrate deeper, the rocks are heard at a distance to split with loud explosions. The sleep of death seems to wrap up the scene in utter and oblivious ruin.

At length the sun reappears above the horizon; but his languid beams rather betray the wide waste, than brighten the prospect. By degrees, however, the further progress of the frost is checked. In the month of May, the famished inmates venture to leave their hut, in quest of fish on the margin of the sea. As the sun acquires elevation, his power is greatly increased. The snow gradually wastes away—the ice dissolves apace—and vast fragments of it, detached from the cliffs, and undermined beneath, precipitate themselves on the shores with the noise and crash of thunder. The ocean is now unbound, and its icy dome broken up with tremendous rupture. The enormous fields of ice, thus set afloat, are, by the violence of winds and currents, again dissevered and dispersed. Sometimes impelled in opposite directions, they approach, and strike with a mutual shock, like the crush of worlds,—sufficient, if opposed, to reduce to atoms, in a moment, the proudest monuments of human power. It is impossible to picture a situation more awful than that of the poor crew of a whaler, who see their frail bark thus fatally enclosed, expecting immediate and inevitable destruction.

Before the end of June, the shoals of ice in the Arctic seas are commonly divided, scattered, and dissipated. But the atmosphere is then almost continually damp, and loaded with vapour. At this season of the year, a dense fog generally covers the surface of the sea, of a milder temperature indeed than the frost smoke, yet produced by the inversion of the same cause. The lower stratum of air, as it successively touches the colder body of water, becomes chilled, and thence disposed to deposit its moisture. Such thick fogs, with mere gleams of clear weather, infesting the northern seas during the greater part of the summer, render their navigation extremely dangerous. In the course of the month of July, the superficial water is at last brought to an equilibrium of temperature with the air, and the sun now shines out with a bright and dazzling radiance. For some days before the close of the summer, such excessive heat is accumulated in the bays and sheltered spots, that the tar and pitch are sometimes melted, and run down the ship's sides.

The ice which obstructs the navigation of the Arctic seas, consists of two very different kinds; the one produced by the congelation of fresh, and the other by that of salt water. In those inhospitable tracts, the snow which annually falls on the

islands or continents, being again dissolved by the progress of the summer's heat, pours forth numerous rills and limpid streams, which collect along the indented shores, and in the deep bays enclosed by precipitous rocks. There, this clear and gelid water soon freezes, and every successive year supplies an additional investing crust, till, after the lapse perhaps of several centuries, the icy mass rises at last to the size and aspect of a mountain, commensurate with the elevation of the adjoining cliffs. The melting of the snow, which is afterwards deposited on such enormous blocks, likewise contributes to their growth; and, by filling up the accidental holes or crevices, it renders the whole structure compact and uniform. Meanwhile, the principle of destruction has already begun its operations. The ceaseless agitation of the sea gradually wears and undermines the base of the icy mountain, till, at length, by the action of its own accumulated weight, when it has perhaps attained an altitude of a thousand, or even two thousand feet, it is torn from its frozen chains, and precipitated, with tremendous plunge, into the abyss below. This mighty launch now floats like a lofty island on the ocean; till, driven southwards by winds and currents, it insensibly wastes and dissolves away in the wide Atlantic.

Such, we conceive, to be the real origin of the icy-mountains or *icebergs*, entirely similar in their formation to the *glaciers* which occur on the flanks of the Alps and the Pyrennees. They consist of a clear, compact and solid ice, which has the fine green tint verging to blue, which ice or water, when very pure and of a sufficient depth, always assumes. From the cavities of these icebergs, the crews of the northern-whalers are accustomed, by means of a *hose*, or flexible tube of canvas, to fill their casks easily with the finest and softest water. Of the same species of ice, the fragments which are picked up as they float on the surface of the ocean, yield the adventurous navigator the most refreshing beverage.

It was long disputed among the learned, whether the waters of the ocean are capable of being congealed; and many frivolous and absurd arguments, of course, were advanced to prove the impossibility of the fact. But the question is now completely resolved; and the freezing of sea water is established both by observation and experiment. The product, however, is an imperfect sort of ice, easily distinguishable from the result of a regular crystallization: It is porous, incompact, and imperfectly diaphanous. It consists of spicular shoots, or thin flakes, which detain within their interstices the stronger brine; and its granular spongy texture has, in fact, the appearance of congealed syrup, or what the confectioners call *water-ice*. This saline ice

can, therefore, never yield pure water; yet, if the strong brine, imprisoned in it, be first suffered to drain off slowly, the loose mass that remains will melt into a brackish liquid, which in some cases may be deemed potable.

To congeal sea-water of the ordinary saltiness, or containing nearly the thirtieth part of its weight of saline matter, it requires not an extreme cold, this process taking effect about the 27th degree on Fahrenheit's scale, or only 5 degrees below the freezing point of fresh water. Within the Arctic circle, therefore, the surface of the ocean being never much warmer, is, in the decline of the summer, soon cooled down to the limit at which congelation commences. About the end of July, or the beginning of August, a sheet of ice in the space of a single night is formed, perhaps an inch thick. The frost now maintains ascendancy, and shoots its increasing energy in all directions, till it has covered the whole extent of those seas with a solid vault to the depth of several feet. But, on the return of spring, the penetrating rays of the sun gradually melt or soften that icy floor, and render its substance friable and easily disrupted. The first strong wind, creating a swell in the ocean, then breaks up the vast continent into large fields, which are afterwards shivered into fragments by their mutual collision. This generally happens early in the month of June; and a few weeks are commonly sufficient to disperse and dissolve the floating ice. The sea is at last open, for a short and dubious interval, to the pursuits of the adventurous mariner.

While icebergs are thus the slow growth of ages, the fields or shoals of saline ice are annually formed and destroyed. The ice generated from melted snow, is hard, pellucid, and often swells to enormous height and dimensions. But the concretion of salt-water wants solidity, clearness and strength, and never rises to any very considerable thickness. It seldom floats during more than part of the year; though, in some cold seasons, the scattered fragments may be surprised by the early frost, and preserved till the following summer.

The whale-fishers enumerate several varieties of the salt-water ice. A very wide expanse of it, they call a *field*, and one of smaller dimensions, a *floe*. When a field is dissevered by a subaqueous or *groten* swell, it breaks into numerous pieces, seldom exceeding forty or fifty yards in diameter, which, taken collectively, are termed a *pack*. This pack again, when of a broad shape, is called a *patch*; and, when much elongated, a *stream*. The packs of ice are crowded and heaped together by violent winds; but they again separate and spread asunder in calm weather. If a ship can sail freely through the floating pieces of

ice, it is called *drift-ice*; and the ice itself is said to be *loose* or *open*. When, from the effect of abrasion, the larger blocks of ice are crumbled into minute fragments, this collection is called *brash-ice*. A portion of ice rising above the common level, is termed a *hummock*, being produced by the squeezing of one piece over another. These hummocks or protuberances break the uniform surface of the ice, and give it a most diversified and fantastic appearance. They are numerous in the heavy packs, and along the edges of ice-fields, reaching to the height of thirty feet. The term *sludge* is applied by the sailors to the soft and incoherent crystals which the frost forms when it first attacks the ruffled surface of the ocean. As these increase, they have some effect, like oil, to still the secondary waves; but they are prevented from coalescing into a continuous sheet, by the agitation which still prevails; and they form small discs, rounded by continual attrition, and scarcely three inches in diameter, called *pancakes*. Sometimes these again unite into circular pieces, perhaps a foot thick, and many yards in circumference.

The fields, and other collections of floating ice, are often discovered at a great distance, by that singular appearance on the verge of the horizon, which the Dutch seamen have termed *ice-blink*. It is a stratum of lucid whiteness, occasioned evidently by the glare of light reflected obliquely from the surface of the ice against the opposite atmosphere. This shining streak, which looks always brightest in clear weather, indicates, to the experienced navigator, 20 or 30 miles beyond the limit of direct vision, not only the extent and figure, but even the quality of the ice. The *blink* from packs of ice, appears of a pure white, while that which is occasioned by snow-fields has some tinge of yellow.

The mountains of hard and perfect ice, it has been shown, are the gradual production perhaps of many centuries. Along the western coast of Greenland, prolonged into Davis's Strait, they form an immense rampart, which presents to the mariner a sublime spectacle, resembling, at a distance, whole groups of churches, mantling castles, or fleets under full sail. Every year, but especially in hot seasons, they are partially detached from their seats, and whelmed into the deep sea. In Davis's Strait, those icebergs appear the most frequent; and, about Disco Bay, where the soundings exceed 300 fathoms, masses of such enormous dimensions are met with, that the Dutch seamen compare them to cities, and often bestow on them the familiar names of Amsterdam or Haerlem. They are carried towards the Atlantic by the current, which generally flows from the north-east; and, after they reach the warmer water of the lower lati-



tudes, they rapidly dissolve, and finally disappear, probably in the space of a few months.

The blocks of fresh-water ice appear black, as they swim in the sea; but show a fine emerald or beryl hue, when brought up on the deck. Though perfectly transparent, like crystal, they sometimes enclose threads, or streamlets, of air-bubbles, extricated in the act of congelation. This pure ice, being only a fifteenth part lighter than fresh water, must consequently project about one-tenth as it swims on the sea. An iceberg of 2000 feet in height would, therefore, after it floated, still rise 200 feet above the surface of the water. Such perhaps may be considered as nearly the extreme dimensions. Those mountains of ice may even acquire more elevation at a distance from land, both from the snow which falls on them, and from the copious vapours which precipitate and congeal on their surface. But, in general, they are carried forwards by the current which sets from the south-east into the Atlantic, where, bathed in a warmer fluid, they rapidly waste and dissolve. It may be shown, by experiment, that, if the water in which they float had only the temperature of  $42^{\circ}$ , the mass of ice would lose the thickness of an inch every hour, or two feet in a day. Supposing the surface of the sea to be at  $52^{\circ}$ , the daily diminution of thickness would be doubled, and would therefore amount to four feet. An iceberg, having 600 feet of total elevation, would hence, on this probable estimate, require 150 days for its dissolution. But the melting of the ice would be greatly accelerated, if the mass were impelled through the water by the action of winds. A velocity of only a mile in an hour would triple the ordinary effect. Hence, though large bodies of ice are often found near the banks of Newfoundland, they seldom advance farther, or pass beyond the 48th degree of latitude. Within the Arctic regions, those stupendous blocks remain, by their mere inertia, so fixed on the water, as commonly to serve for the mooring of vessels employed in the whale fishery. In such cases, however, it is a necessary precaution, to lengthen out the cables, and ride at some distance from the frozen cliff; because the fragments of ice, which the seamen term *cabes*, are frequently detached from the under part of the mass, and, darting upwards, acquire such a velocity in their ascent, that they would infallibly strike holes into the ship's bottom.

The ice produced from salt water is whitish, porous, and almost opaque. It is so dense, from the quantity of strong brine enclosed in its substance, that, when floating in the sea, it projects only one-fifth part above the surface. The porous saline ice has a variable thickness, yet seldom exceeding six feet. But

we have already shown, that this saline ice which, during the greater part of the year, covers the Arctic Seas, is annually formed and destroyed; a small portion of it only, and at certain seasons, escaping the general wreck. The thaw commonly lasts about three months; and, during that time, the heat of the solar rays, which, though oblique, yet act with unceasing energy, whether applied directly, or through the intervention of the air or the water, is adequate to the dissolution of all the ice produced in the course of the autumn, the winter, and the spring. It may be proved by experiment, that, under the Pole itself, the power of sun at the solstice could, in the space of a week, melt a stratum of five inches of ice. We may hence fairly compute the annual effect to be sufficient for thawing to the depth of forty inches. It should likewise be observed, that, owing to the prevailing haziness of the atmosphere in the northern latitudes, those singular cold emanations which are now found always to dart from an azure sky, and, in the more temperate climates, to diminish the calorific action of the sun often by one-fifth part, can scarcely exist. On this account, perhaps the estimate of the annual destruction of Polar ice may be swelled to a thickness of four feet.

As heat is absorbed in the process of thawing, so it is again evolved in the act of congelation. The annual formation and destruction of ice within the Arctic Circle, is hence a beautiful provision of Nature, for mitigating the excessive inequality of temperature. Had only dry land been there opposed to the sun, it would have been absolutely scorched by his incessant beams in summer, and pinched in the darkness of winter by the most intense and penetrating cold. None of the animal or vegetable tribes could have at all supported such extremes. But, in the actual arrangement, the surplus heat of summer is spent in melting away the ice; and its deficiency in winter is partly supplied by the influence of the progress of congelation. As long as ice remains to thaw, or water to freeze, the temperature of the atmosphere can never vary beyond certain limits. Such is the harmony of the system; and all experience and observation forbid us to believe it to be subject to any radical change. Some years may chance to form more ice than others, or to melt more away; but it were idle to expect any thing like a general or permanent disruption of the glacial crust which binds the regions of the North. But, even were this ice once removed, a similar collection would soon succeed, since it is always the effect, and not the cause, of the disposition of the atmosphere, which it really serves to temper. We should be guilty of the

most vicious reasoning in a circle, if we maintained that ice first cooled the air, and that this cold air next increased the fields of ice.

But, whatever may be the vicissitudes of the Polar ice, they cannot, in any sensible manner, affect the climates of the lower latitudes. The whole circumjacent space where frost holds its reign, bears a very small proportion to the surface of the northern hemisphere. Reckoning even from the parallel of 60 degrees, it would not exceed the eighth part; but, since the gelid region hardly extends below the latitude of 75 degrees, it may be stated at the thirty-second part of the hemisphere. On the supposition, therefore, that the Arctic cold were all transferred and infused into the atmosphere of the South, it could yet produce no visible alteration of climate.

Even if we imagined, with Mr Scoresby, that during the years 1816 and 1817, two thousand square leagues of ice have disappeared in the Greenland seas, between the parallels of 74 and 80 degrees, this extent would still scarcely exceed half the surface of Ireland. It may be calculated, that the loss of heat on our globe, occasioned by a total eclipse of the sun, reckoning this only equivalent to a complete obscuration for the space of a single hour, is as much as would be absorbed by the thawing of a circle of ice 500 miles in diameter, and 150 feet thick. This quantity surpasses at least sixty times the ice-fields dispersed from Greenland, allowing them the mean thickness of 30 feet; and yet the temperature of the air is never depressed more than a degree or two during the continuance of any solar eclipse.

But the idea is quite chimerical, that any winds could ever transport the Polar influence to our shores. It may be shown, from the results of accurate experiment, that a current of air flowing over a warmer surface, whether of land or water, becomes, in the space of an hour, penetrated with the same temperature through a stratum of 80 feet; though the limit of actual contact, or of mutual attrition, is confined to a surface not exceeding the 500th part of an inch in thickness. If we assign to it the height of a mile, which is a most ample allowance, it would lose all its sharpness, and acquire the standard heat in the course of 66 hours. Admitting this wind to travel at the rate even of 20 miles each hour, it would consequently spend all its frigorific action in a tract of 1320 miles. The gales from the remotest north must thus discharge their store of cold into the German sea or the Atlantic ocean. Nor could such impressions, though continued through a course of ages, have the smallest power to chill the superficial water; for the moment any portion of this

was cooled, it would, from its increased density, sink down into the vast abyss. The surface would not be affected till after the cooling had, in its progress, pervaded the whole mass from the bottom upwards. According to the calculations of Laplace, founded on a comparison of the theory of tides with actual observation, the mean depth of the ocean exceeds ten English miles. Supposing, therefore, a wind blowing from some northerly point, and ten degrees colder than the water, were to sweep over the Atlantic six months every year, at the rate of fifteen miles an hour, it would take 220 years to cool that vast body of water only a single degree.

Some persons have imagined, that the mountains or islands of ice which are occasionally drifted into the Atlantic ocean must be sufficient, by their frigorific influence, to modify the character of our climate. One of the first who advanced that opinion, was the ingenious Richard Bradley, Fellow of the Royal Society, and Professor of Botany in the University of Cambridge. In 'A Survey of the Ancient Husbandry and Gardening, collected from the Greek and Roman writers,' printed in octavo at London in 1725, he introduces the following remarkable passage.

"I the rather mention the Case of Winds becoming Cold, by mixing with the Effluvia of Snow or Ice; because I have made some Remarks upon the tempestuous Weather, which often happens about the End of *May*, or in *June*, which has in all my Observations been brought in by Westerly Winds; and again, I as surely find, that at such Times, large Islands of Ice and Snow are passing to the Southward in the Western Ocean, as I have been inform'd by several Captains of Ships that were then coming from our Plantations to *England*: Some of these Islands are so large, as to measure 60 Miles in Length, and yielding so great a Vapour, that for a Day's Voyage on one Side of them, the Weather has been so hazy, that the Mariners could not discover what they were, and this was accompany'd with so much Cold, that they imagin'd they had mistaken in their Accounts, and got several Degrees too far towards the North; but a Day or two explain'd the Matter, and gave them an Opportunity of surveying what they had been so much surpriz'd at. Now considering the extraordinary Heat of the Sun, at the Season these appear, the Vapour must be very considerable that rises from them, and 'tis no Wonder then, that as it expands itself, it presses the Air with Violence enough to cause Tempests, and carry Cold along with it."

But a little reflection will convince us, that such remote influence on our climate must be quite insignificant. At a very wide estimation, the surface of ice exposed to the winds could never exceed the thousandth part of the whole expanse of the

Atlantic ocean. Consequently, the general temperature of the air would not be altered the fortieth part of a degree. Nor could this minute impression be wasted to our shores, being invariably spent in the length of the voyage. The opinion which Mr Bradley entertained near an hundred years ago, might have been tolerated in the infancy of physical science; but that the same notion should be revived and proclaimed with confidence at this day, may well excite surprise.

On the hypothesis that the quantities of ice which encumber the Arctic seas have been accumulating for a long succession of years, it is assumed as a fact, that throughout Europe a milder and more genial climate had formerly prevailed. A closer inspection of the details, however, will show this supposition to be destitute of any solid support. We hear continual complaints, indeed, of the altered condition of the seasons, especially from elderly persons, whose bodily frame has become more susceptible of the impressions of cold. But similar lamentations have been repeated by the poets and the vulgar from the earliest times. If we listened implicitly to such querulous declaimers, we should believe that Nature has at length spent her fires, and is hastening fast into decay. Immense forests anciently clothed the highest parts of this island, and of other northern countries, where scarcely a tree can now be made to grow; the period of vintage was in former ages several weeks earlier, in France, than at present; vineyards were planted, during the time of the Romans, in various parts of the south of England, where at this day even hops are raised with difficulty; and the sides of many hills in Scotland bear evident traces of the plough, which have been long since irretrievably abandoned to the dusky heath.

But, in answer to such allegations, we may observe, that a patch of wood will not thrive in cold situations, merely for want of the shelter which is afforded by extensive plantations. In Sweden and Norway, which are mostly covered with natural forests, it has become an object of police to prevent their indiscriminate destruction. The timber in those sylvan countries is cut at stated periods of its growth, and in detached portions; the vacant spaces being left as nurseries, embosomed amidst an expanse of tall trees. Some places in Sweden, where the forests have been accidentally destroyed by fire, present the image of sterility, and of wide desolation.

It is probable, that the vines grown in ancient times were coarser and hardier plants than those which are now cultivated. A similar observation extends to all the products of gardening. A succession of diligent culture softens the character of

the vegetable tribes, and renders them more delicate, while it heightens the flavour of their fruit. The Roman soldiers stationed in Britain would naturally prefer wine, their accustomed beverage, however harsh and poor, to the *cervisia*, or unpalatable ale brewed by the rude arts of the natives. The marks of tillage left on our northern hills evince only the wretched state of agriculture at a remote period. For want of a proper system of rotation, and the due application of manure, the starving tenantry were then tempted to tear up with the plough every virgin spot they could find, and, after extracting from it a pitiful crop or two of oats, to abandon it to a lasting sterility. The cattle in those days, having no sort of provender through the winter but dry straw, were quite feeble and exhausted in the spring. The soil, too, was very stiff, from want of repeated and seasonable tillage. Under such circumstances, it affords no proof of any great heat, that the slothful peasants, oppressed with a load of clothes, usually then began their operations in the field before sunrise, in preparing the ground for the reception of the barley seed.

It is very difficult to ascertain the precise condition of the weather in distant ages. The thermometer was not invented till 1590, by the celebrated Sanctorio; nor was that valuable instrument reduced to a correct standard before the year 1724, by the skill of Fahrenheit. We have hence no observations of temperature which go further back than a century. Prior to this period, we must glean our information from the loose and scanty notices which are scattered through the old chronicles, relative to the state of the harvest, the quality of the vintage, or the endurance of frost and snow in the winter. Great allowance, however, should be made for the spirit of exaggeration, and the love of the marvellous which infect all those rude historical monuments. Toaldo and Pilgram have, with incredible industry, prosecuted this research; and, from a bulky work of the latter printed in the German language at Vienna in 1788, we shall select the most remarkable passages concerning the state of the weather for more than a thousand years back, and combine with them the observations made by Professor Pfaff of Kiel. The following years are noted for the severity of the winter.

In A. D. 401, the Black Sea was entirely frozen over.

In 462, the Danube was frozen, so that Theodomer marched over the ice to avenge his brother's death in Swabia.

In 545, the cold was so intense in winter that the birds allowed themselves to be caught by the hand.

In 763, not only the Black Sea, but the Strait of the Dar-

- danelles was frozen over. The snow in some places rose 50 feet high, and the ice was so heaped in the cities as to push down the walls.
- In 800, the winter was intensely cold.
- In 822, the great rivers of Europe, such as the Danube, the Elbe and the Seine were so hard frozen as to bear heavy waggons for a month.
- In 860, the Adriatic was frozen.
- In 874, the winter was very long and severe. The snow continued to fall from the beginning of November to the end of March, and incumbered the ground so much, that the forests were inaccessible for the supply of fuel.
- In 891, and again in 893, the vines were killed by the frost, and the cattle perished in their stalls.
- In 991, the winter lasted very long, with extreme severity. Every thing was frozen; the crops totally failed; and famine and pestilence closed the year.
- In 1044, great quantities of snow lay on the ground. The vines and fruit-trees were destroyed, and famine ensued.
- In 1067, the cold was so intense, that most of the travellers in Germany were frozen to death on the roads.
- In 1124, the winter was uncommonly severe, and the snow lay very long.
- In 1133, it was extremely cold in Italy; the Po was frozen from Cremona to the sea; the heaps of snow rendered the roads impassable; the wine casks were burst, and even the trees split, by the action of the frost, with immense noise.
- In 1179, the snow was eight feet deep in Austria, and lay till Easter. The crops and vintage failed; and a great murrain consumed the cattle.
- The winters of 1209 and 1210, were both of them very severe; insomuch that the cattle died for want of fodder.
- In 1216, the Po froze 15 ells deep, and wine burst the casks.
- In 1234, the Po was again frozen; and loaded waggons crossed the Adriatic to Venice. A pine forest was killed by the frost at Ravenna.
- In 1236, the Danube was frozen to the bottom, and remained long in that state.
- In 1269, the frost was most intense in Scotland, and the ground bound up. The Categat was frozen between Norway and Jutland.
- In 1281, such quantities of snow fell in Austria as to bury the very houses.
- In 1292, the Rhine was frozen over at Breysach, and bore loaded waggons. One sheet of ice extended between Nor-

way and Jutland, so that travellers passed with ease; and in Germany, 600 peasants were employed to clear away the snow, for the advance of the Austrian army.

In 1305, the rivers in Germany were frozen; and much distress was occasioned by the scarcity of provisions and forage.

In 1316, the crops wholly failed in Germany. Wheat, which some years before sold in England at six shillings a quarter, now rose to two pounds.

In 1323, the winter was so severe, that both horse and foot passengers travelled over the ice from Denmark to Lübeck and Dantzic.

In 1339, the crops failed in Scotland; and such a famine ensued, that the poorer sort of people were reduced to feed on grass, and many of them perished miserably in the fields. Yet in England, wheat was at this time sold so low as three shillings and fourpence a quarter.

In 1344, it was clear frost from November to March, and all the rivers in Italy were frozen over.

In 1392, the vineyards and orchards were destroyed by the frost, and the trees torn to pieces.

The year 1408 had one of the coldest winters ever remembered:—Not only the Danube was frozen over, but the sea between Gothland and Oeland, and between Norway and Denmark; so that wolves, driven from their forests, came over the ice into Jutland. In France, the vineyards and orchards were destroyed.

In 1423, both the North Sea and the Baltic were frozen. Travellers passed on foot from Lübeck to Dantzic. In France, the frost penetrated into the very cellars. Corn and wine failed, and men and cattle perished for want of food.

The successive winters of 1432, 1433, and 1434, were uncommonly severe. It snowed forty days without interruption. All the rivers in Germany were frozen; and the very birds took shelter in the towns. The price of wheat rose, in England, to 27 shillings a quarter, but was reduced to 5 shillings in the following year.

In 1460, the Baltic was frozen, and both foot and horse passengers crossed over the ice from Denmark to Sweden. The Danube likewise continued frozen two months; and the vineyards in Germany were destroyed.

In 1468 the winter was so severe in Flanders, that the wine distributed to the soldiers was cut in pieces with hatchets.

In 1544 the same thing happened again, the wine being frozen into solid lumps.



In 1548, the winter was very cold and protracted. Between Denmark and Rostock, sledges drawn by horses or oxen travelled over the ice.

In 1564, and again in 1565, the winter was extremely severe over all Europe. The Scheldt froze so hard as to support loaded waggons for three months.

In 1571, the winter was severe and protracted. All the rivers in France were covered with hard and solid ice; and fruit trees even in Languedoc were killed by the frost.

In 1594, the weather was so severe, that the Rhine and the Scheldt were frozen, and even the sea at Venice.

The year 1608 was uncommonly cold, and snow lay of immense depth even at Padua. Wheat rose, in the Windsor market, from 36 to 56 shillings a quarter.

In 1621 and 1622, all the rivers of Europe were frozen, and even the Zuyder Zee. A sheet of ice covered the Hellespont; and the Venetian fleet was choked up in the lagoons of the Adriatic.

In 1655 the winter was very severe, especially in Sweden. The excessive quantities of snow and rain which fell did great injury in Scotland.

The winters of 1658, 1659, and 1660, were intensely cold. The rivers in Italy bore heavy carriages; and so much snow had not fallen at Rome for several centuries. It was in 1658 that Charles X. of Sweden crossed the Little Belt, over the ice, from Holstein to Denmark, with his whole army, foot and horse, followed by the train of baggage and artillery. During these years, the price of grain was nearly doubled in England; a circumstance which contributed, among other causes, to the Restoration.

In 1670, the frost was most intense in England and in Denmark, both the Little and Great Belt being frozen.

In 1684, the winter was excessively cold. Many forest trees, and even the oaks in England, were split by the frost. Most of the hollies were killed. Coaches drove along the Thames, which was covered with ice eleven inches thick. Almost all the birds perished.

In 1691, the cold was so excessive, that the famished wolves entered Vienna, and attacked the cattle, and even men.

The winter of 1695 was extremely severe and protracted. The frost in Germany began in October, and continued till April; and many people were frozen to death.

The years 1697 and 1699 were nearly as bad. In England, the price of wheat, which, in preceding years, had seldom reached to 30 shillings a quarter, now mounted to 71s.

In 1709, occurred that famous winter, called, by distinction,

the cold winter. All the rivers and lakes were frozen, and even the seas, to the distance of several miles from the shore. The frost is said to have penetrated three yards into the ground. Birds and wild beasts were strewed dead in the fields, and men perished by thousands in their houses. The more tender shrubs and vegetables in England were killed; and wheat rose in its price from two to four pounds a quarter. In the south of France, the olive plantations were almost entirely destroyed; nor have they yet recovered that fatal disaster. The Adriatic Sea was quite frozen over, and even the coast of the Mediterranean about Genoa; and the citron and orange groves suffered extremely in the finest parts of Italy.

In 1716, the winter was very cold. On the Thames, booths were erected and fairs held.

In 1726, the winter was so intense, that people travelled in sledges across the Strait, from Copenhagen to the province of Scania in Sweden.

In 1729, much injury was done by the frost, which lasted from October till May. In Scotland, multitudes of cattle and sheep were buried in the snow; and many of the forest trees in other parts of Europe were killed.

The successive winters of 1731 and 1732 were likewise extremely cold.

The cold of 1740 was scarcely inferior to that of 1709. The snow lay 8 or 10 feet deep in Spain and Portugal. The Zuyder Zee was frozen over, and many thousand persons walked or skated on it. At Leyden, the thermometer fell 10 degrees below the zero of Fahrenheit's scale. All the lakes in England froze; and a whole ox was roasted on the Thames. Many trees were killed by the frost; and postillions were benumbed on their saddles.—In both the years 1709 and 1740, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland ordained a national fast to be held on account of the dearth which then prevailed.

In 1744, the winter was again very cold. The Mayne was covered seven weeks with ice; and at Evora in Portugal, people could hardly creep out of their houses for heaps of snow.

The winters during the five successive years 1745, 1746, 1747, 1748 and 1749, were all of them very cold.

In 1754 and again in 1755, the winter was particularly cold. At Paris, Fahrenheit's thermometer sank to the beginning of the scale; and, in England, the strongest ale exposed to the air in a glass was covered, in less than a quarter of an hour, with ice an eighth of an inch thick.

The winters of 1766, 1767, and 1768, were very cold all over Europe. In France, the thermometer fell six degrees below the zero of Fahrenheit's scale. The large rivers and the most copious springs in many parts were frozen. The thermometer laid on the surface of the snow at Glasgow, fell two degrees below zero.

In 1771, the snow lay very deep, and the Elbe was frozen to the bottom.

In 1776 much snow fell, and the cold was intense. The Danube bore ice five feet thick below Vienna. Wine froze in the cellars, both in France and in Holland. Many people were frostbitten; and vast multitudes, both of the feathered and of the finny tribes, perished. Yet the quantity of snow which lay on the ground had checked the penetration of the frost. Van Swinden found, in Holland, that the earth was congealed to the depth of 21 inches, on a spot of a garden which had been kept cleared, but only 9 inches at another place near it, which was covered with 4 inches of snow.

The successive winters of 1784 and 1785 were uncommonly severe, insomuch, that the Little Belt was frozen over.

In 1789, the cold was excessive; and again in 1795, when the Republican armies of France overran Holland.

The successive winters of 1799 and 1800 were both very cold.

In 1809, and again in 1812, the winters were remarkably cold.

The years which were extremely hot and dry, will be more easily enumerated.

In 763, the summer was so hot that the springs dried up.

In 870, the heat was so intense that, near Worms, the reapers dropt dead in the field.

In 993, and again in 994, it was so hot that the corn and fruit were burnt up.

The year 1000 was so hot and dry, that in Germany the pools of water disappeared, and the fish, being left to stink in the mud, bred a pestilence.

In 1022, the heat was so excessive that both men and cattle were struck dead.

In 1130, the earth yawned with drought. Springs and rivers disappeared, and even the Rhine was dried up in Alsace.

In 1159, not a drop of rain fell in Italy after the month of May.

The year 1171 was extremely hot in Germany.

In 1232, the heat was so great, especially in Germany, that it is said that eggs were roasted in the sands.

In 1260, many of the Hungarian soldiers died of excessive heat at the famous battle fought near Bela.

The consecutive years 1276 and 1277, were so hot and dry as to occasion a great scarcity of fodder.

The years 1293 and 1294 were extremely hot; and so were likewise 1303 and 1304, both the Rhine and the Danube having dried up.

In 1333, the corn fields and vineyards were burnt up.

The years 1393 and 1394 were excessively hot and dry.

In 1447, the summer was extremely hot.

In the successive years 1473 and 1474, the whole earth seemed on fire. In Hungary, one could wade across the Danube.

The four consecutive years 1538, 1539, 1540 and 1541 were excessively hot, and the rivers dried up.

In 1556, the drought was so great that the springs failed. In England, wheat rose from 8 shillings to 53 shillings a quarter.

The years 1615 and 1616 were very dry over Europe.

In 1646, it was excessively hot.

In 1652, the warmth was very great, the summer being the driest ever known in Scotland; yet a total eclipse of the sun had happened that year, on Monday the 24th of March, which hence received the appellation of *Mirk Monday*.

The summer of 1679 was remarkably hot. It is related, that one of the minions of tyranny, who in that calamitous period harassed the poor presbyterians in Scotland with captious questions, having asked a shepherd in Fife, whether the killing of the notorious Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, (which had happened in May,) was murder; he replied, that he could not tell, but there had been fine weather ever since.

The first year of the eighteenth century was excessively warm, and the two following years were of the same description.

It is a singular coincidence, that in 1718, at the distance precisely of one hundred years from the present, the weather was extremely hot and dry all over Europe. The air felt so oppressive, that all the theatres were shut in Paris. Scarcely any rain fell for the space of nine months, and the springs and rivers were dried up.—The following year was equally hot. The thermometer at Paris rose to 98 degrees by Fahrenheit's scale. The grass and corn were quite parched. In some places, the fruit trees blossomed two or three times.

Both the years 1723 and 1724 were dry and hot.

The year 1745 was remarkably warm and dry, but the following year was still hotter; insomuch, that the grass wither-

ed, and the leaves dropt from the trees. Neither rain nor dew fell for several months; and, on the Continent, prayers were offered up in all the churches to implore the bounty of refreshing showers.

In 1748, the summer was again very warm.

In 1754, it was likewise extremely warm.

The years 1760 and 1761 were both of them remarkably hot; and so was the year 1763.

In 1774, it was excessively hot and dry.

Both the years 1778 and 1779 were warm and very dry.

The year 1788 was also very hot and dry; and of the same character was 1811, famous for its excellent vintage, and distinguished by the appearance of a brilliant comet.

On glancing over these slight notices, it is obvious that no material change has taken place for the last thousand years in the climate of Europe. But we may conjecture, from the facts produced, that it has gradually acquired rather a milder character, at least its excessive severity appears, on the whole, to be of rarer occurrence. The weather seems not to affect any precise course of succession, although two or more years of remarkable heat or cold often follow in a cluster. Yet there can be no doubt, that series of atmospheric changes, however complicated and perplexing, are as determinate in their nature, as the revolutions of the celestial bodies. When the science of meteorology is more advanced, we shall, perhaps, by discovering a glimpse of those vast cycles, which result from the varied aspects of the sun, combined with the feebler influence of the moon, be at length enabled to predict, with some degree of probability, the condition of future seasons. The intermediate period of nine years, or the semi-revolution nearly of the lunar nodes and apogee, proposed by Toaldo, seems not to be altogether destitute of foundation. Thus, of the years remarkably cold, 1622 was succeeded, after the interval of four periods, or 36 years, by 1658, whose severity lasted through the following year. The same interval brings us to 1695, and five periods more extends to 1740, a very famous cold year; three periods now come down to 1767, nine years more to 1776, and eighteen years more to 1794, the cold continuing through 1795. Of the hot years, it may be observed that four periods of nine years extend from 1616 to 1652, and three such again to 1679. From 1701 to 1718, there was an interval of 17 years, or very nearly two periods, while three periods reach to 1745, another period to 1754, and one more falls on 1763; and from 1779 to 1788, there are just nine years. The present year would, therefore, correspond to 1701, 1719, and

1746, and consequently very nearly to 1718. Again, the years 1784, 1793, 1802 and 1811, at the intervals of successive periods, were all of them remarkably warm.

If the climate had undergone any real change in the more temperate parts of Europe, a corresponding alteration, with very distinct features, must inevitably have taken place in the Arctic regions. But a dispassionate inquiry discovers no circumstances which at all clearly point at such a conclusion. On this head, we may readily satisfy ourselves, by a short retrospect of the principal facts which have been recorded by voyagers.

Greenland, in its position and general outline, appears to resemble the vast promontory of South America. From Cape Farewell, a small island, divided from the shore by a narrow inlet called Staaten Hoek, in the latitude of  $60^{\circ}$ , it stretches, in a north-westerly direction, about 200 miles to Cape Desolation, and then nearly northwards to Good Haven, in latitude  $65^{\circ}$ , where it inclines nearly a point towards the east, as far as the island of Disco, which occupies a spacious bay, between the latitudes of  $67^{\circ}$  and  $71^{\circ}$ , in Davis's Strait. Thence the continent extends almost due north, beyond the latitude of  $76^{\circ}$ , till it is lost in the unexplored recesses of Baffin's Bay. On the other side, Greenland stretches about north-north-east 300 miles, but with a great sinuosity, till nearly opposite to Iceland, in the latitude of  $64^{\circ}$ , and now advances almost north-east, to the latitude of  $75^{\circ}$ , when, suddenly bending to the north, it holds this direction beyond Spitzbergen and the latitude of  $80^{\circ}$ . The coast is everywhere bold and rocky, like that of Norway; and the interior of the country consists of clustering lofty mountains, covered with eternal snows. But the western side, which forms Davis's Strait, is indented with numerous bights, creeks, and *fjords* or *firths*, which, for the space of two or three months each year, look verdant, and yield tolerable pasturage. The eastern shore, again, which properly bounds the Greenland seas, can rarely be approached by the whalers, as the accumulated stream of ice, which, in summer, is constantly drifting from the north-east, creates a formidable barrier. The position of this icy barrier, though nearly parallel to the land, is not absolutely fixed, but varies within certain limits in different years.

In Davis's Strait, the whalers generally resort to Disco Bay, or push farther north; sometimes as far as the latitude of  $76^{\circ}$ , to the variable margin of the great icy continent. On the other side of Greenland, about the meridian of eight degrees east from Greenwich, the ice, in warm seasons, retires to the latitude of  $80^{\circ}$ , beyond Hackluyt's Headland, at the extremity of Spitzbergen; while, at other times, it advances as far south, on the

same line, as the latitude of 70, enveloping the whole of that island, but forming below it a wide bay, called the *Whale-fisher's Bight*, on the parallel of Bear Island. The former are called *open*, and the latter *close*, seasons. In open seasons, the ships employed in these fisheries find a channel from 20 to 50 leagues wide, through which they shoot forward along the shores of Spitzbergen, till they reach the latitude of  $78^{\circ}$  or  $79^{\circ}$ , where the whales are most abundant. The chase of whales seldom lasts above two months, commencing generally at the end of April, and terminating with June, when those huge animals disappear, and the prevalence of dense fogs renders the navigation very dangerous. Mr Scoresby thinks it were better if our Greenland ships, like the Dutch and other foreigners, began their voyage somewhat later than has become the practice. In close seasons, the hardy navigator is obliged, with imminent peril and hazard, to impel his ship, by *boring* under a press of sail, and assisted by ropes and saws, through the drift ice which borders the great barrier, endeavouring to follow *every vein of water* that runs nearly in the required direction. If he fail in this attempt, he must forego the chance of a profitable voyage, and content himself with the humbler pursuit of catching seals.

The space over which the line of ice may be supposed to oscillate in the Greenland seas, extends 1400 miles from Cape Farewell, to 200 miles beyond Jan Mayen's island, which it includes, and has a mean breadth of about 80 miles. Such is the extent of the mere surplus ice formed and dissolved from year to year,—exceeding the whole surface of Great Britain. The quantity melted or liberated during these last two years, hence, bears no very considerable proportion to the ordinary fluctuating mass. It is evident, therefore, that, whatever may be the casual variations of the frozen expanse, no mighty alteration has yet taken place in the climate and condition of the Arctic seas.

If we compare the journals of former navigators, we shall be convinced, that all the changes of the polar ice are periodical, and are again repeated at no very distant intervals of time. We may pass over the pretensions of some Dutch navigators, who alleged that they had been carried, by winds or currents, as far north as the latitude of  $88^{\circ}$ , or even that of  $89^{\circ} 40'$ , and consequently only 20 miles from the Pole; since their estimate, at all times rude, from observations with the fore-staff, was then founded on mere dead reckoning, after a continuation of foggy weather. Davis, in 1587, ascended, in the Strait which deservedly bears his name, to the latitude of  $72^{\circ} 12'$ , where he found the variation of the compass to be  $82^{\circ}$  west,

or nearly the same as at present. In 1616, Baffin advanced, in the same quarter, as high as the latitude of 78 degrees. The same skilful navigator had, two years before, penetrated in the Greenland seas, to the latitude of 81°, and seen land as high as that of 82°, lying to the north-east of Spitzbergen. But it is mortifying to remark how little progress has been made in geographical discovery since those early and intrepid adventurers explored the Arctic regions with their humble barks, which seldom exceeded the size of fifty tons. We must pass over a very long interval, to obtain authentic information. In 1751, Captain M'Callam, whom Mr Barrington calls a scientific seaman, sailed, without obstruction, from Hackluyt's Headland, as high as the latitude of  $83\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , where he found an open sea; and, the weather being fine, nothing hindered him from proceeding farther, but his responsibility to its owners for the safety of the ship. Captain Wilson, about the end of June 1754, having traversed floating ice, from the latitude of  $74^{\circ}$  to  $81^{\circ}$ , at last found the sea quite clear as far as he could descry; and he advanced to the latitude of  $83^{\circ}$ , till, not meeting with any whales, and beginning to apprehend some danger, he shaped back his course. At this very time, Captain Guy, after four days of foggy weather, was likewise carried to the same point. The Polar seas, at this period, must indeed have been remarkably open; for one of the most extraordinary and best authenticated voyages was performed in 1754 by Mr Stephens, a very skilful and accurate observer, whose testimony is put beyond all manner of doubt, by the cool judgment of the late astronomer-royal, Dr Maskelyne. This navigator informed him, that, about the end of May, he was driven off Spitzbergen by a southerly wind, which blew for several days, till he had reached the latitude of  $84\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ ; and that, in the whole of this run, he met with little ice and no drift wood, and did not find the cold to be anywise excessive. In different subsequent years, the Greenland whalers have advanced to the latitude of 81 or 82 degrees. This was accomplished even in 1766; although, according to Kerguelin, the whole space between Iceland and the opposite coast was then frozen over. The year 1773, or that in which Captain Phipps performed his voyage, was still more favourable for approaching towards the North Pole. In 1806, the elder Mr Scoresby ascended to the latitude of  $81^{\circ} 50'$ ; but, in the following year, he could not proceed farther than the parallel of  $78\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ . In 1811, the higher latitudes were again accessible; and, after a short interval, the summers of 1815, 1816, and 1817, are represented as open



seasons; though none of the whalers have now penetrated so far into the north as had been done in many former years, and particularly in 1754.

In this plain statement, we certainly can perceive no decided symptoms of any general or progressive tendency towards a dissolution of the Polar ice. The frozen border alters its position from one year to another, and probably returns again to the same limits after certain short periods of time. Such fluctuations are analogous to the incessant changes which affect the state of the weather in the more temperate regions. The complex system of winds moulds the climate, and varies the features of the seasons over the globe. It is a common remark of those who frequent the Polar seas, that they find always the least obstruction from ice when the preceding winter has been very severe in the more southern latitudes. In the year 1766, though the frost had proved most intense through the rest of Europe, the whalers, as we have seen, reached a high latitude: And, not to multiply instances, the three last seasons, which have been reckoned very open, have succeeded to winters notoriously cold and protracted. Nor is it difficult to discern the reason of this seeming paradox; for our severe winters are occasioned by the prevalence of northerly winds, which must arrive at the Polar seas from the south, and consequently transport so much warmth to them as may check the usual rigour of the frost.

The main argument, however, brought to prove the deterioration of the Arctic climate, is drawn from the supposed existence of a colony, which had once flourished on the eastern coast of Greenland, but has, for several centuries, become extinct, all access to its remains being at length completely barred by the accumulation of ice. This tale, which seems to have owed its birth to Torfæus the historian of Norway, has, perhaps from its paradoxical air, obtained very general credence. Yet, a sober examination of the early *Sagas*, or northern chronicles, so full of wonder and fable, will show that there is no solid reason for entertaining such a notion, or believing that the first settlement of Greenland was made on the east side of the continent. The whole contexture of the original narrative indicates the very opposite conclusion.

After the North had ceased to send forth her numerous swarms upon the fertile provinces of the Roman empire, the Scandinavian nations, prompted by their peculiar situation, betook themselves to a life of maritime adventure. Those bold and hardy pirates visited every sea, and pillaged, for a course of near three hundred years, all the coasts of Eu-

rope, from the extremity of Scotland to the shores of Sicily. During the first half of the ninth century, they conquered the Orkneys, the Shetland and Western Isles—obtained possession of Ireland—plundered England and France—and extended their ravages to Italy. In 876, the Northmen, or Normands, extorted from the weakness of the French king the cession of the fine province of Neustria, where they quietly settled: while another party of these fierce invaders had occupied the fertile coast of Esthonia, on the south side of the Baltic.

But the visits of those intrepid navigators were not confined to the richer countries of the South. They carried ravens with them, for the purpose of discovering distant land, by the direction of the flight of those powerful and sagacious birds. In 861, Nadodd, a roving pirate, in one of his voyages in the northern seas, happened to be cast away on an island which he called *Snowland*. Three years afterwards, Gardar and Flocke, two Swedes, visited it; and having found a great quantity of drift ice collected on the north side of it, they gave it the name of *Iceland*, which it still bears. But in 874, Ingolf and Leif, two famous Norwegian adventurers, carried a colony to this inhospitable region, the latter having enriched it with the booty which he had ravaged from England. Other emigrants, whom the disorders of the times drove successively from home, resorted in crowds to the new settlement, which became very considerable in the space of a few years.

Iceland itself was able, after the progress of about a century, to send out likewise her colonies. Thorwald, a proud and opulent Norwegian chief, who had been lately banished thither from the court for some murder committed by him at home, soon died in exile, leaving his wealth and his restless spirit to his son Eric *Raude*, or the *Red*. This youth, actuated by the same vengeful passions, killed one of his neighbours in a combat, and was obliged to withdraw himself from Iceland for the space of three years. In 982, Eric sailed in quest of adventure and discovery. Instructed by the reports of former navigators, he directed his course towards the south-west; and, after a quick run, he descried two lofty mountains, the one covered with snow and the other cased with ice, which he called *Hvitserken*, and *Blaaserken*, or the *white shirt*, and the *blue shirt*; and soon reached a headland which he doubled; and having entered a spacious creek, he spent the winter on a pleasant adjacent island. In the following season, pursuing his discoveries, he explored the Continent, and was delighted by the freshness and verdure of its coast. Contrasting this new country with the dark rocks of Iceland, he bestowed on it the flattering

appellation of *Greenland*; and on his return, invited settlers to join him, by circulating the most glowing and exaggerated descriptions. With 25 vessels, he sailed back again; but of these only 14 reached their destination. This colony was soon augmented, by the arrival of other adventurers, not only from Iceland, but from the Orkneys and other islands planted by the Norwegians. In the year 999, Leif, a son of Eric Raude, having visited the court of Norway, was induced, by the zealous and earnest solicitation of King Olaf Tryggvesson, to embrace the Christian faith; and, carrying with him some monks, he found, through their ministry, no great difficulty in persuading his father and the rest of the settlers to forsake the rites of paganism.

The first colony having extended itself along the coast to a wide firth, another settlement beyond that boundary was established further towards the west. The former, called *Oestre Bygd*, or the *Eastern Settlement*, is said to have included in its most flourishing state, twelve parishes and two convents; and the latter termed *Vestre Bygd*, or the *Western Settlement*, contained four parishes. It should be observed, however, that all such estimates are merely relative. A church in Norway is, even at present, only a small wooden booth; and the villages of that remote and sterile country would hardly pass for hamlets in England. The colonists of Greenland were compelled to lead a life of hardship and severe privations. They dwelt in hovels surrounded by mountains of perpetual ice; they never tasted bread, but subsisted on the fish which they caught, joined to a little milk obtained from their starving cows; and, with seal-skins and the tusks of the walrus, they purchased from the traders who occasionally visited them, the wood required for fuel and the construction of their huts.

Such is the abridged narrative of the discovery and occupation of Greenland, as given by Snorre Sturleson, who composed his chronicle between the years 1212 and 1215. But a learned Danish writer, on the authority of a Papal Bull, granting, in 834, to Archbishop Ansgarius, permission to convert the northern heathens, carries the antiquity of Greenland much higher, and refers the date of its first settlement to the year 770. This document, however, is no doubt a forgery or interpolation of the monks, who, during the dark ages, commonly practised such pious frauds, to aggrandize the power and wealth of the Church.

Combining together the different circumstances, it seems clear, therefore, that the original colony of Greenland began about the southern promontory, near Cape Farewell, and stretched along the coast in a north-westerly direction. Farther north, and

probably as high as the latitude of  $63^{\circ}$ , the second settlement was formed. For some centuries, both of them maintained a sort of commercial intercourse with Norway; but this trade became afterwards very much reduced, in consequence of its being seized as an exclusive privilege of the Danish court. About the year 1376, the natives of the country, or Esquimaux invaders, whom the Norwegian settlers had in contempt called *Skrælings* or *Dwæfs*, attacked the western colony, which now claimed the assistance of its elder brother. The scanty population, however, was enfeebled by such repeated alarms; and that dreadful pestilence, termed the *Black Death*, which raged over Europe from the year 1402 to 1404, at last extended its ravages to Greenland, and nearly completed its destruction. In fertile regions, the waste of the human species is always quickly repaired; but poor and barren countries can seldom recover from the depression of such severe calamities. The colonies which occupied Greenland appear to have languished near one hundred years afterwards, till they became finally extinct about the commencement of the sixteenth century.

But a notion has very generally prevailed, that only the western settlement of Greenland had perished, while the eastern was merely secluded from communication with the rest of the world by a vast barrier of ice at length accumulated on its shores. The only question lately entertained was, whether these ill-fated colonists have survived the catastrophe, or have been suddenly entombed in ice and snow, as the unhappy citizens of Herculaneum were anciently involved in a dense shower of volcanic ashes. Tremendous stories are told of the east side of Greenland being now tenanted by giants and stalking ghosts. For more than a century past, the court of Denmark has, at different times, despatched ships to search after its lost colony, which, evidently under the impression of superstitious awe, found it impossible to penetrate on that enchanted coast farther than Cape Discord, in the latitude of  $61^{\circ}$ . But, in favourable seasons, small boats can, without much difficulty, creep along the shore to a much higher parallel. If any settlers had ever occupied the narrow bays, they might surely have escaped, either in their canoes or in sledges.

The supposed existence of a colony on the east side of Greenland is clearly a fable, originating in a misapprehension of the import of the designations applied severally to the two settlements. The one, first made, lay no doubt to the east, as well as to the south of the other; but the ships which resorted from Norway held a westerly course for them both. Between them, a mutual intercourse appears likewise to have been maintained,

which surely could not have taken place, had they been divided by a chain of lofty and impassable mountains covered with eternal snow. Traces of those ancient settlements are besides observed even at present, scattered along the western shores of Greenland, as low down as the latitude of  $61^{\circ}$ , though not corresponding altogether with the poetical descriptions of the Icelandic Sagas. Except the very slight remains of a church, the only vestiges now remaining consist of low naked walls, which had served as pens for sheltering the cattle.

It may be safely affirmed, that the settlements which, during the last hundred years, the Danes have been forming at various points on the west side of Greenland, are more numerous and thriving than those which existed at any former period. They consist of twenty-one colonies, stretching over an extent of 800 miles. The first establishment is only a single family, occupying Bear Island, a little to the east of Cape Farewell. Ten other hamlets, composed chiefly of Moravians, are planted at different points, from the latitude of  $60^{\circ}$  to that of  $68^{\circ}$ . Three settlements are distributed round Disco Bay, about the latitude of  $69^{\circ}$ ; and seven more have been extended thence as far as the latitude of  $73^{\circ}$ . But the remoter settlers are a depraved and degenerate race, consisting of Danish convicts and their progeny by the Equimaux women, or aboriginal Greenlanders. The whole population of those settlements, including the natives themselves, does not exceed seven thousand; and the annual amount of their trade with Copenhagen, both in exports and imports, is only about 30,000*l.* Sterling.

So far, therefore, from the population having been extirpated by the increased severity of the climate, the truth appears to be, that the present establishments on the coast of Greenland extend ten degrees farther north than the ancient settlements at their most flourishing period. This advance of the colonies has been owing, no doubt, to the increased activity of the whale fisheries, and to the circumstance of these having been lately carried with success into Davis's Strait. But there is nothing certainly in their history which betrays any radical or permanent change in the climate of the Arctic regions. The same continent of ice still remains during the far greater part of the year, to bar the access of the navigator to the Pole.

It was before observed, that icebergs are always formed in the bays of a rocky and indented coast. But these huge masses are seen floating only in Davis's Strait, and are very seldom met with in the eastern Greenland sea, which is yet so much incumbered with the saline drift ice. It seems probable, therefore, that this sea extends, without any interruption of islands or continent, from Spitzbergen northwards, perhaps even be-

yond the Pole. As the cold increases but very little in advancing to the higher latitudes, the vast expanse of ice which generally covers that basin, may be nearly dissolved at the close of every summer. If the intrepid navigator, therefore, could seize the short and quivering interval, he might perhaps push onwards to the Pole itself. But there, we conceive, he would be obliged to winter; nor could he expect, with the slightest degree of probability, to escape, till the following season should release him from his frozen chains. What may be the fate which awaits our Polar Expedition, it is rather painful to surmise, and is, at all events, hazardous to conjecture. The chances of success, we must say, appear to us to be exposed to a fearful odds. Yet, if it should reach only the latitude of  $85^{\circ}$ , it will have surpassed all that is well authenticated in the history of former attempts.

The bold plan suggested by Mr Scoresby, for approaching to the Pole over the icy continent, though liable to very serious and formidable objections, affords perhaps, after all, the only tolerable prospect of accomplishing the design. Adopting the mode which the Russian hunters have employed with such advantage in exploring the frozen sea from Nova Zembla to the shores of Kamtschatka, he proposes to pass the winter in the island of Spitzbergen, and, starting in the spring with sledges drawn by dogs, to pursue a direct journey of 6 or 700 miles to the Pole. He might then expect to find a continuous sheet of ice stretching through his whole track. This ice, being little exposed to irregular currents, would likewise, it seems probable, be on the whole smooth and level: Or, if any hillocks should occur on its surface, they could probably be surmounted, or at least avoided by the sledges. The successful traveller would, before the ice broke up, have sufficient time to return to his former quarters.

But to undertake such a perilous journey, would require exalted enthusiasm, and the most unshaken and determined resolution. If an observatory could be planted at the Pole, we might expect to have some interesting experiments on the vibration of the pendulum, and on the direction and intensity of the magnetic forces. This, however, is obviously impracticable; and the most prosperous explorer, therefore, would probably reap no scientific harvest, and earn little but the glory of having performed that which no mortal before him had ever achieved. If he indulged more flattering expectations, he would, in all likelihood, be grievously disappointed. The appearance of the heavens would still be nearly the same as at Spitzbergen; and, even if the traveller passed over the magnetic pole itself, the needle, so far from suddenly reverting, would most probably

black stone which the sailor had brought home, having been shown by his wife to an assayer, he persuaded her that it was a rich marcasite of gold. The hope of discovering a gold mine operated now like a miracle; and a large subscription, chiefly among the gentlemen about the Court, was quickly raised for prosecuting that most alluring object. Frobisher obtained command of the *Aid*, a Queen's ship of 200 tons burthen, and carrying 100 volunteers and sailors, to which he joined his two former barks. On 26th May 1577, he weighed anchor at Blackwall, and took his departure from Harwich on the 28th. On the 7th of June, he touched at Orkney, and victualled his little squadron. There his gold-finers, who appear always to have been as sanguine as their employers, pretended they had found a mine of silver. Next day, he set sail again with a 'merry' wind, and soon met with drift-wood and with English whalers, now on their return home. On the 4th of July, he reached, at the latitude of  $60\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , the coast of Frizeland or South Greenland, defended by a frozen bulwark, and met with islands of ice, half a mile or more in compass, rising 30 or 40 fathoms above the surface, and yielding fresh water when melted; a proof, it was conceived, that they had not been formed on the sea. There his crew, instead of 'odoriferous and fragrant smells of sweet gums, and pleasant notes of musical birds, tasted the most 'boreal blasts, mixed with snow and hail, in the months of 'June and July, nothing inferior to an intemperate winter.' After keeping along the shore four days, he found it impossible to effect a landing; and he therefore bore away for Labrador. It blew a fierce tempest; but, after passing through several floating islands of ice, Frobisher himself, from the maintop, descried land on the 7th of July. He entered his Strait again, but could find no gold ore. Still intent, however, upon taking possession of the country, he ascended with his men to the top of a high hill, where 'they made a column or cross of stones, 'heaped up of a good height, and solemnly sounded a trumpet, and said certain prayers, kneeling about the ensign, and 'honoured the place by the name of Mount Warwick.' The natives afterwards invited a parley; and a traffic by barter was soon established. But Frobisher, with all his religious pretensions, acted very treacherously towards the poor savages. In attempting to surprise them, he roused their vengeance; and a hot affray ensued, which obliged his sailors to fly for shelter to the boats. Yet he succeeded in catching one man, and afterwards a woman with her child; and these captives conducted themselves on board the ship, during the rest of the voyage, with a propriety and modesty which might well have put their

oppressors to the blush. The woman appeared so ugly to the sailors, that those ignorant and superstitious beings seriously suspected her to be a devil, till they found, by inspection, that her feet were not cloven !

Frobisher, taking with him a select party in the two barks, penetrated farther into the country, and clambered over the frozen tracts and snowy mountains, in search of the supposed ore. In this excursion, he met with the winter dwellings of the natives, resembling ovens, and commonly planted on the south side of some eminence, but sunk two fathoms under ground, and strewn with moss, being enclosed with whales' jaws instead of posts, and covered over with seal-skins, leaving only a small occasional aperture. On the 9th of August, he erected a small fort, which, being entrenched, was encircled with casks of earth. His company now laboured hard in digging the ore. ' With only five poor miners, and the help of a few gentlemen and soldiers,' 200 tons of that precious earth were brought on board, in the space of twenty days. But, at last, they were all heartily sick of this toil; and the water had already begun to freeze at night by the ships' sides. On the 22d of August, they struck their tents; and, firing a parting volley, they gladly embarked. Two days after, the snow fell half a foot deep. About the beginning of September, it was very stormy; but Frobisher, shaping his course by the west of Ireland, reached Milford Haven on the 20th of that month.

We need scarcely observe, that this ore with which Frobisher, at so much risk and fatigue, had loaded his ship, was, like the black micaceous sand which the first planters of Virginia sent home, totally worthless, and contained no metal whatever. But the absolute failure of the gold mine was not immediately acknowledged; and the same active captain was again despatched in the following year, but chiefly for the discovery of Cathay or China, by the *Meta Incognita*. A wooden fort, capable of holding 100 men, was framed, to be carried out in separate pieces, and then put together. Twelve private vessels joined him, to be loaded with the fancied ore; and the whole fleet rendezvoused on the 27th May 1578, at Harwich. On this occasion, the Admiral (for so he was now styled) issued general orders, some of which are curious, and savour strongly of those times, when religion was so often debased by an association with piracy and plunder. The watchword given was—*Before the world was God*; and the countersign—*After God came Christ his Son*. The fleet sailed round by the west of England, and made Cape Clear, the southern point of Ireland, on the 6th of June; and, after navigating the Atlantic fourteen days, dur-



ing which it encountered a strong current setting from south-west, it reached the coast of Labrador. Here Robisher, and some other gentlemen, landed and took formal possession of the country, in the name of his sovereign. He then proceeded on his voyage northwards, and soon met with floating ice, and numerous troops of whales. On the last day of June, 'the Salamander, being under both her courses and bonets, happened to strike a great whale with her full stem, with such a blow, that the ship stood still, and stirred neither forward nor backward. The whale thereat made a great and ugly noise, and cast up his body and tail, and so went under water.' Two days after, a dead whale, supposed to be the same monster, was seen floating on the surface of the sea.

The weather now became so extremely foggy, that the fleet was with the utmost difficulty kept together, by continually beating drums and sounding trumpets. On the 7th of July, it encountered a furious storm from the south-east, which collected and pressed around it innumerable shoals and mountains of ice. The poor sailors were quite worn out with anxiety and fatigue during this dreadful besetment. One of the barks went down; but the rest of the fleet at length got clear of the ice, and stood out to sea. It again bore up for the land, and approached, as was supposed, Mount Warwick. But the foggy weather prevented any observation of latitude; and the coast appeared so much covered with snow, that it could not with certainty be recognised by the most experienced pilots. From this state of perplexity and continual danger, a part of the fleet turned back, and directed their course homewards. The commander, however, still persevered in the search after his Strait, and was followed at some distance by most of the remaining ships. Near three weeks were thus spent in fruitless attempts under a dense fog, and exposed, among numerous islands, to the action of currents and the hazards of drifting ice. On the 23th of July, his squadron was assailed by a tremendous storm, and next day the snow fell half a foot thick on the hatches; while the air was so bitterly cold, that the men could hardly open their eyes, or handle the ropes or the sails. At length the different struggling vessels were joyfully reassembled, having escaped incredible dangers; but the sailors were so much discouraged, that they began to murmur; and it required all the eloquence of Master Wollfall, the chaplain, (who, in the expectation of converting the heathen, had left at home a young wife and a good living), to compose their minds, and dissuade them from breaking out in open mutiny. About the beginning of August, the miners and most of the crews

landed, and set vigorously to work in digging 'black ore and gathering pretty stones.' But a part of the frame of the wooden fort having been wrecked, and the stores not being found sufficient for a twelvemonth's provision, it was resolved to abandon the design of leaving a garrison. After various adventures in the country, and some unprincipled attempts to entrap the poor natives, who had now grown more wary, the Holy Sacrament was, on the 30th of August, celebrated on shore with great devotion. Next day a general consultation being held, respecting the expediency of any longer stay, the whole remaining fleet, with the precious cargo of black earth, took its departure for England. They were dispersed, however, by a violent storm; but most of them reached different ports about the beginning of October, with the loss of only forty men.

Frobisher appears, upon this occasion, to have rambled about the cluster of islands in the mouth of the entrance to Hudson's Bay. But his voyage proved very unfortunate, and grievously disappointed the golden dreams of the adventurers. We hear no more of that rich black earth so eagerly coveted, which had been procured with such difficulty, and collected with so much toil and danger.

Though the hopes of finding a gold mine on the coast of Labrador had completely failed, the prospect of discovering a north-west passage to China was yet sufficiently alluring. Some gentlemen of the West of England, joined to a few London merchants, formed themselves into a society to resume the attempt of exploring that channel. They chose for the commander John Davis, one of the best skilled and most humane of the early English navigators; who sailed from Dartmouth on the 7th of June 1585, with the *Sunshine* of London, a bark of 50 tons and 23 men, and the *Moonshine* of Dartmouth, of only 35 tons and 19 men, some of them being musicians. From the 6th to the 18th of July, he saw multitudes of whales; and, on the 19th of that month, he met with numerous islands of floating ice, which, by their continual attrition, created a disagreeable rustling noise. He filled his boat with the smaller pieces, which yielded excellent fresh water. Next day the fog dispersing, he descried the coast of Greenland, rising like a white sugar-loaf; but he could not land on account of the ice, which formed a broad rampart. On the 29th of July, he reached the latitude of  $64^{\circ} 15'$ ; and the sea being there 'utterly void of the pest of ice, and very temperate,' he anchored among a group of islands, one of which he ascended, and observed the natives screeching and howling like wolves. But having desired his musicians to play some simple airs, he soon drew the savages near him; and

while they capered and danced, he won their confidence by gentleness and attention. A brisk trade of barter was now carried on. The canoes crowded about the ships, and the utmost cordiality and ease prevailed. Great quantities of floating wood were seen among those islands, and the rocks appeared full of that shining mica which had tempted the avarice of Frobisher's employers.

Davis advanced, on the 1st of August, to the latitude of  $66^{\circ} 40'$ , and found the coast clear of ice. There his men had various hard conflicts with white bears. When the fog was dispelled, he landed, and saw sledges and large trained dogs with pricked ears and long bushy tails. Despairing of the existence of any passage, he now resolved to turn back; and arrived, without any remarkable occurrence, at Dartmouth on the 30th of September.

In the following year, Davis was again despatched by the same company a month earlier, with his two barks, and the addition of the *Mermaid*, a vessel of 120 tons. On the 15th of June, he descried Greenland at the latitude of  $60^{\circ}$ ; but the coast was still inaccessible, being blocked with ice to the distance of ten, and in some places, to that of twenty or thirty leagues. After encountering much tempestuous weather, he saw land again in the latitude of  $64^{\circ}$ , and, approaching the shore, the natives pushed out to him in their canoes, shouting vehemently. These grateful creatures surrounded the *Mermaid*, embraced the Captain, and leaped for joy. More than a hundred canoes appeared at one time, loaded with skins of seals and stags, ptarmigans and partridges, salmon, cod, and other dried fish.

On the 3d of July, Davis manned one of his boats, and explored several inlets or sounds, attended by fifty canoes of the natives, who eagerly assisted his people in climbing over the rocks. These savages appeared to be of the Tartar race. They were of good stature, well in body proportioned, with small slender hands and feet, with broad visages and small eyes, wide mouths, the most part unbearded, great lips, and close toothed. They were idolaters, had store of images, and practised sorcery. After making a long oration, one of them proceeded to kindle a sacred fire. This priest took a piece of board wherein was a hole half through; into that hole he put the end of a round stick like a bedstaff; and whetting the end thereof in train and in fashion of a turner with a piece of leather, with this motion did very speedily produce fire. This he then collected on dry turf, and added various other things to make a sacrifice, accompanied by many words and strange gestures. But Davis, to show his contempt of such ceremonies, caused a sailor to kick the burning matter into the

sea. He observed that those hardy savages lived almost constantly in their canoes, and that they fed on raw fish, drank salt water, and ate grass and ice with delight. Their arms were darts, bows and arrows, and slings. They showed a disposition to petty theft; and his crew, beginning to complain that lenity had only encouraged their insolence, he was obliged to make a show of employing severer measures.

• This intelligent captain sailed along the coast, exploring it carefully as he advanced. On the 17th of July, he encountered an immense body of ice in the latitude of  $63^{\circ} 8'$ ; and he spent nearly a fortnight in passing it, the weather being excessively foggy, and his ropes and sails all frozen. On the 1st of August, he descried the American coast, at the parallel of  $66^{\circ} 33'$ , and found an excellent roadstead. Here he was now much annoyed with heat and with muskitos. The native Esquimaux were very obliging, and bartered their commodities. They resembled the Greenlanders in their general appearance, but spoke with a clearer intonation.

Davis now sailed southwards, following the direction of the coast till he came to the latitude of  $56^{\circ}$  where he anchored, and found the country for many miles covered with forests of pine, alder, willow, and birch. He saw likewise large flights of various birds and wildfowl. The numerous islands which he had met with during this run, encouraged the hope of discovering the desired passage; which expectation was farther corroborated by what he perceived at another place where he touched, in the latitude of  $54^{\circ}$ . After having lost two of his men, who were unfortunately shot by the savages from an ambush, and having suffered severely from a dreadful storm, which lasted several days, he at last set sail with a fair wind on the 11th of September, and arrived on the west of England in the beginning of the following month.

While Davis thus explored the west side of the Strait which bears his name, he directed the other ships to sail up the Greenland sea, and seek for a passage on the north side of Iceland. Having reached that station, they held a northwesterly course from the 16th of June to the 3d of July, when they found themselves enclosed between two fields of ice. They now turned back, and saw Greenland rising high, and looking very blue; but they could gain no harbour, since a rampart of firm ice, at least three leagues in breadth, extended along the whole coast. Still keeping sight of land, they doubled Cape Farewell, and ascended as far as their former haven, in the latitude of  $64^{\circ}$ . There they traded with the natives, till an accidental quarrel arose, which occasioned some bloodshed. On the last day of

August, they departed for England, and arrived safely in the Thames on the 6th of October.

On the 9th of May 1587, Davis sailed again with the same vessels, for the double purpose of trading in skins, and of discovering the north-west passage. On the 20th of June, he reached, as formerly, the islands opposite to Baal's river, in the latitude of  $64^{\circ}$ . But the natives had now become so bold and outrageous, as to tear his pinnace in pieces, merely for the sake of the iron. Thence pursuing his voyage, he saw great plenty of whales in the latitude of  $67^{\circ} 40'$ , and had some traffic with the numerous canoes which he met. On the 30th, he ascertained, by observation, that he was in the latitude of  $72^{\circ} 12'$ , and found the sea quite open, as far as his vision could reach, to the north and the west. But a strong northerly wind having sprung up, obliged him reluctantly to put back. He now bore away to the American coast, his progress being much impeded by excessive fogs and numerous shoals of ice. On the 13th of July, the natives crowded with their canoes from the shore, and he landed at the latitude of  $68^{\circ}$ , the weather having now become oppressively hot. During the rest of the month, he sailed along the coast, touching occasionally, till he descended to the latitude of  $62^{\circ}$ , where he found a large gulf, and a strong current running from the west. He pursued the same track about a fortnight longer, though he met with frequent islands of ice; and, on the 15th of August, at the latitude of  $52^{\circ}$ , his vessel being leaky, and his provisions falling short, he departed for England; and, after much variable weather, he arrived at Dartmouth on the 15th of September.

The discoveries made by Davis in the Arctic Seas, though they failed in attaining the main object, were, on the whole, extremely important. But nothing more was attempted from England for many years. At last the Russia and Turkey Companies resolved to send, at their joint expense, an expedition to explore the north-west passage. Accordingly, on the 2d of May 1602, George Weymouth sailed from Radcliff, with two fly-boats, the *Discovery* of 70 tons, and the *Godspeed* of 60 tons, victualled for eighteen months, and carrying 35 men besides boys. On the 22d of June, he got sight of Cape Desolation, in Greenland, at the latitude of  $60^{\circ} 37'$ ; and, steering nearly on the same course, he descried, in six days more, the bold shore of America at the latitude of  $62^{\circ} 30'$ . He now pushed northwards along the coast, in spite of the thick fog and the numerous banks of ice which he encountered. The cold was often so piercing, that the mist which it touched the rigging, and the sails and cordage became encrusted with thick ice. On the 20th of July, Wil-

loughby having reached the latitude of  $68^{\circ} 53'$ , his crew, filled with alarms, secretly mutinied, and put back the helm during the night. Willoughby succeeded in restoring discipline, yet saw himself obliged, by circumstances, to continue a southerly course. Two days after, the sea being quite calm and smooth, he sent a boat to procure a supply of ice from a floating island: it seemed as hard as a rock, but, after a few strokes, the whole mass, shaken by the internal tremor, was rent with a noise like thunder, and precipitated into the deep. About the latitude of  $55^{\circ}$ , he perceived, on the 16th of August, low land, girt with pleasant islands; and here he thought a passage might be found. But a violent storm arose, which drove him homewards, and, on the 4th of September, he was forced to put into Dartmouth.

The King of Denmark being now desirous of making similar discoveries, and valuing highly the skill of the British navigators, caused two ships and a pinnace to be got ready, and appointed John Cunningham a Scotchman, the chief captain, and James Hall an Englishman, the principal pilot; the rest of the commanders and the crew being, except John Knight the steersman, either Danes or Norwegians. This little squadron sailed from Copenhagen on the 2d May 1605, and on the 30th of that month descried the high and rugged cliffs of Greenland, in the latitude of  $59^{\circ} 50'$ ; but found the shore inaccessible and full of ice. During three or four days following, the weather being very foggy, the ships were encompassed repeatedly with large islands of ice, drifting to the north-north-west, and making a hideous and grinding noise. Ranging along the coast, they met also with several immense banks of floating ice. But the seamen grew mutinous, and would not consent to proceed further. On the 12th of June, the ships entered a bight, in latitude  $66^{\circ} 30'$ ; and the captain and the pilot landed, and saw empty tents; the Greenlanders having run away through fear. Some intercourse afterwards took place with the natives, who must have thought themselves ill treated, however; for, in the sequel, they made a furious attack on the boats, with their bows and slings. The squadron was forced to put to sea; and, desisting from any farther prosecution of the voyage, returned to Copenhagen.

Not discouraged by this unpromising attempt, His Danish Majesty, the following year, despatched the same leaders, with four ships and a pinnace. They steered a north-westerly course, and were borne along by a strong current. On the 10th of July, they gained the American shore, at the latitude of  $60^{\circ} 10'$ . They now ranged northwards along the coast, which appeared high and rugged, covered with snow, and beset with ice. They

ing worked through numerous huge mountains of ice, and reached the latitude of  $63^{\circ} 33'$  on the 21st of July, they bore away for Greenland, and got sight of it in six days. The bay which received them was studded with pleasant islands; they began a traffic of barter with the natives, and fancied they had discovered a silver mine. The squadron spent nearly a month in exploring the coast; and saw numberless green islets, and frequent banks of ice. It then steered for the Faro Islands, and finally arrived at Copenhagen on the 4th of October 1605.

In the meanwhile, Knight, who had held a small command in the first Danish expedition, was sent again, at the joint expense of the Turkey and East India Companies of England, in a voyage to the North, with a pinnace of forty tons, which departed from Gravesend on the 18th of April 1606. After escaping many dangers amidst foggy weather, from immense wharfs of ice, he descried, on the 19th of June, the coast of America, in the parallel of  $56^{\circ} 48'$ . Five days thereafter, it blew furiously from the north; and the vessel, being beset with islands of ice, drifted along, and unfortunately took the ground. In this perilous situation, Knight, with five of his men, launched the boat, and proceeded to a neighboring island in search of some cave that might afford shelter for careening his bark; but the party, though well armed, were surprised, and miserably cut off by the natives. Not content with their advantage, those cruel savages attacked and attempted likewise to carry away the shallop. They were, however, by the firmness of the crew, fortunately repulsed; and, after six days' hard labour in cutting the ice with hatchets and pickaxes, the vessel was at last got clear. Having refitted her in the best way they could, they shaped their course, on the 5th of July, for Newfoundland; and, after they had effected the necessary repairs, they set sail again, and arrived at Dartmouth on the 24th of September.

In 1607, the same company of London merchants gave the command of a ship, destined for the discovery of the North-west passage, to Henry Hudson, an active and enterprising navigator, who set sail from Gravesend on the 1st of May. Passing the Orkney Islands, on the 11th of June, six or seven whales in the latitude of  $57^{\circ} 40'$ . Now shaping his course nearly north-east, he intended to ascend the Greenland sea. In this attempt he was obliged, for a whole month, to contend with very foggy weather, and frequent shoals of ice. On the 2d of July, he saw, in the latitude of  $70^{\circ} 10'$ , land on the west side, but defended by an immense ice barrier. With much difficulty he escaped being destroyed, and worked his way farther northwards, till, on the 13th of July, having reached the very high latitude of  $81^{\circ}$ , he

had the mortification to see his progress completely barred by the trending land, and a frozen sea. Hudson therefore turned back, and, after escaping many dangers from the shoals of ice, amidst foggy and tempestuous weather, he at last reached the Thames on the 15th of September. In the following year, having made an unsuccessful trial at Nova Zembla, the London Company were unwilling to defray the charge of renewing it. During both these voyages, he found always most drift ice when the water assumed a deep blue, inclining to black, and was hence of extreme depth; and the least of it where the sea looked green, and had therefore become shallow.

Hudson entered now into the service of the Dutch East India Company, and took his departure in a yacht from Amsterdam on the 25th March 1609. On the 21st of May, he doubled the North Cape, and, in spite of blowing and foggy weather, he advanced through shoals of ice to Nova Zembla; but finding the sea frozen, he returned by the Faro Islands, touched at the Banks of Newfoundland, and approached the low sandy shore of America at the latitude of  $43^{\circ} 25'$ . Some of the savages came out with the boat, and landed with him; and at the latitude of  $44^{\circ} 1'$ , he went into a larger river which still bears his name, and which gave occasion to the Dutch settlement of New York. Thence he sailed southwards along the coast, sometimes trading and often skirmishing with the natives, till, on the 26th of August, he reached the Capes of Virginia. The weather continuing hot and misty, he spent some weeks in exploring the rivers and bays on that coast, and had several sharp conflicts with the Indians. On the 7th of November 1609, he safely arrived at Dartmouth.

Next year, the London Association despatched Hudson again to the North seas. On the 17th of April, he departed from Blackwall; on the 5th of May, he made the Orkneys, and reached Iceland on the 1st of June. He saw troops of whales, and for several days attempted in vain to approach the coast of Greenland, which appeared strongly girt with ice. He therefore bore away for Davis's Strait. By the end of June, he saw land in the parallel of  $62^{\circ}$ , but was impeded by mountains and islands of ice, one of which caused great alarm, by oversetting or revolving very near him. Continuing to ply forward, he had penetrated far into the Strait which bears his name, when he saw his vessel completely encompassed with ice. The crew was much disheartened; yet succeeded, with great labour, in approaching somewhat nearer to the shore. Hudson called the land, which rose high, and covered with snow, *Devils Prow*. In the bay, some mountains of ice had taken ground at the depth of



100 fathoms, and there was plenty of drift-wood. For many weeks he strove to extricate himself by following the tides and the occasional openings of the shoals of ice. But all his efforts proved ineffectual; and, on the 1st of November, his vessel was embayed and completely frozen in. The provisions being nearly gone, the crew had nothing but the prospect of starving, through cold and hunger, during a long and dreary winter. Insubordination had crept among them before; and, with the utmost difficulty, they were now restrained from breaking into actual mutiny. For several months, they had to endure all sorts of privations. They caught a few fish, or killed some birds; yet they were often compelled to eat the most disgusting food, such as torpid frogs, dug up from the frozen ground. Several of the crew sickened and died. At last, after every thing was nearly consumed, the ice having now broken up, the ships began to weigh anchor and to work into open sea. But while the hardships seemed closing, a severer fate awaited Hudson, whose vehement or capricious temper had disgusted the bulk of his crew. Headed by the mate and a young volunteer whom he had especially patronized, they rose against their commander, tied his hands, and thrusting him and eight sick men into the shallop, inhumanly turned it a-drift. Hudson and his unfortunate companions, thus abandoned with scarcely any supplies, must have soon perished from hunger and cold. The ringleaders of the mutiny, however, did not long enjoy the fruits of their crimes. After breaking up the masts and plundering the stores, they proceeded with the ship; but provoking the savages whom they met by their wanton license, they were killed in some sharp conflicts. The rest of the crew, with great difficulty, at length reached Galway Bay in Ireland.

The disasters of Hudson excited commiseration; and, in the following season, Captain Thomas Button, then in the service of Prince Henry, an experienced officer, afterwards knighted for his eminent services, was despatched with the *Resolution* and *Discovery*, to explore the scene of those calamities. Having selected skilful assistants, he sailed in the beginning of May 1612. He penetrated south-west into Hudson's Bay; but, having suffered severely from a violent storm on the 13th of August, he was obliged to seek a harbour for sheltering and refitting his ships. He found and entered a small creek, in the latitude of  $57^{\circ} 10'$ , which was called Port Nelson, when he was surprised by the sudden appearance of winter. It being impossible now to escape, he secured himself and his crew by driving piles; he avoided the waste of provisions, by directing his crew to lay up a store of ptarmigan and wild geese; and he prevented mutiny, by keeping them always employed, and assigning to each man his particu-

her task. On the 16th of February, the ice broke up in Nelson River; but the Bay was not quite clear till two months after. Button examined the west side, as high as the latitude of  $69^{\circ}$ , and he remarked a strong tide, which gave him hopes of a Northern passage. Having performed this survey, he arrived at London, after a short run, in Autumn 1613.

Sir Thomas Smith, and the rest of the Muscovy Company, in 1610, sent Jonas Poole, with a bark of 70 tons, to explore the Polar seas. He departed from Blackwall on the 1st of March, and, after surmounting the usual difficulties arising from foggy weather and shoals of ice, he ascended Davis's Strait as high, on the 16th of June, as the latitude of  $79^{\circ} 50'$ , but observed a frozen sea extending northwards. In spite of all his endeavours, he found it impossible to make any farther progress; and, after various adventures with white bears, he returned to London in the end of August.

Poole was again despatched toward Greenland by the same Company, in the successive years 1611 and 1612. In the first of these voyages, he saw ice lying close to the land, beyond Spitzbergen, in the latitude of  $80^{\circ}$ , with a strong current, which rendered the approach very dangerous. In his last attempt, one of the ships which accompanied him pushed northwards two degrees beyond Hackluyt's Headland, to the parallel of  $82^{\circ}$ . A number of whales were killed during both voyages. But Poole, who seems to have been a faithful servant and enterprising mariner, was cut short in his career, being, soon after his return, basely murdered on the road between Ratcliff and London.

In 1612, the same companies engaged Hall, who had visited Greenland before in the service of the King of Denmark; and William Baffin, a very skilful mariner, acted as mate. On the 22d of July, Hall entered Ramelsfiord, in the latitude of  $67^{\circ}$ , and began to look after the silver mine; but, on his return to the ship, the natives crowding round, and carrying on an active barter, one of them, whose brother it was suspected had formerly been stolen by the Captain, came unperceived behind him, and took fell revenge by striking him a mortal blow with a spear. All traffic being stopped by this fatal accident, and the supposed ore being found to be of no value, it was now resolved to return home. After experiencing much foggy and blowing weather, the ships made the Orkneys on the 8th of September, and arrived at Hull in seven days more.

On the 16th of April 1614, Robert Fotherby sailed from Gravesend, in a fleet of eleven ships, destined for Greenland. On the 25th of May, having reached the latitude of  $75^{\circ}$ ,

they were all enclosed by drift ice. But they worked out of it, and advanced to Maudlen Sound, in the latitude of  $79^{\circ} 34'$ . Fotherby, and Baffin who accompanied him, endeavoured to explore the icy girdle in a boat; but they could find no outlet, or get any higher than the latitude of  $79^{\circ} 54'$ . All beyond them appeared ice, stretching eight leagues from the shore. On the 15th of August, there was a very heavy fall of snow, and the sea began to freeze. The weather moderated afterwards, but it was now full time to think of returning home.

The following year, Fotherby was again despatched to Greenland by the Muscovy Company. Having advanced to the latitude of  $79^{\circ} 10'$ , he was embayed with ice; but scarcely had he escaped this danger, than he was a second time encompassed in the latitude of  $78^{\circ} 30'$  and overtaken besides by a terrible storm. He was at last disentangled, however; but, the thick fogs and frequent shoals of ice prevented him from making any farther progress, and gave him very faint hopes of the possibility of discovering a passage.

In 1614, Gibbons had likewise been sent out in the *Discovery*; but near the mouth of Hudson's Strait, he was suddenly encompassed with ice, and driven by winds and currents into a bay in the latitude of  $58\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , on the coast of Labrador, where he was obliged to lie ten weeks exposed to the most imminent danger. Having at length escaped, he was glad to shape his course directly for England, without attending to any farther enterprise.

In 1615, Sir Dudley Digges, Alderman Jones, and other adventurers, not disheartened by the various former failures, resolved to renew the attempt of exploring the Arctic seas. They gave the command of the *Discovery*, a ship of 55 tons, to Robert Bileth, who had performed three voyages before to the north, and appointed William Baffin to serve as mate or pilot, with a crew of fourteen men and two boys. On the 16th of April, they sailed from Blackwall, and reached Cape Farewell on the 6th of May. As usual, they were much annoyed in their farther progress with dense fogs and numerous shoals of ice. On the 27th of May, the sleet froze on the shrouds and tackling; but the weather at last clearing up, they saw the Resolution Islands, which appeared to be uninhabited. Sailing northwards through the drift ice, they came to a cluster of islands in the latitude of  $62^{\circ} 30'$ , where they heard the howling and barking of dogs, and perceived, on landing, the tents, boats and canoes of the natives, who seemed to avoid all sort of intercourse. The weather being thick and hazy, rendered the farther navigation dangerous. There was besides a heavy swell from the west; but on the 12th of July, they reached, in the latitude of  $65^{\circ}$ , a head land which

they called Cape Comfort. On doubling this point, they had the mortification to see land again trending to the west, and immense bodies of ice. It was resolved, therefore, to desist from any farther search for a passage, and from the latitude of  $65^{\circ} 26'$  and  $86^{\circ} 10'$  of west longitude, they bent their course homewards. During the next fortnight, they sailed through innumerable hills of ice crowded with walrus. On the 5th of August, they returned to Resolution Island, and reached Cape Clear on the 6th of September.

In the following season, the same company sent the *Discovery* under Billeth again into the Arctic seas, the intelligent Baffin still acting as pilot. His instructions were, to proceed along the coast of Greenland and up Davis's Strait as high if possible as the parallel of  $80^{\circ}$ ; and then, that he should avoid the danger of being embayed, by shaping a westerly and southerly course, till he came to the latitude of  $60^{\circ}$ , thence work his way for the land of Yedzo or Japan. The ship started from Gravesend on the 26th of March, sailed down the Channel and round to Dartmouth, where she was detained eleven days by foul weather and westerly winds. On the 20th of April, she again put to sea, and after a good sailing, came on the 14th of May, to the coast of Greenland, at the parallel of  $65^{\circ} 20'$ . Some of the natives who were fishing, accompanied the ship for a considerable space, and appeared much disappointed that she did not come to anchor. But Baffin still plied northwards, till, on the 20th of May, he reached a fair sound in the latitude of  $70^{\circ} 20'$ . Here he stopped two days; but going ashore, he perceived that the natives had fled with their boats, leaving only a few dogs running about the island. Resuming his northerly course, he met large shoals of ice, which he cleared with difficulty on the 1st of June, and saw some inhabited islands in the latitude of  $72^{\circ} 45'$ . The wind proving contrary, the Captain and part of his crew took the opportunity of landing, but they found only four or five women concealed among the rocks. By friendly signs, however, and presents of old iron, the English quieted their fears, and procured some useful articles in barter. The younger women ventured to come on board the ship, and expressed great astonishment at what they saw; yet, after tasting, they refused to eat the victuals offered to them. On the 4th of June, Baffin sailed again, but met with such quantities of thick ice, that, having on the 9th reached the parallel of  $74^{\circ} 4'$ , he was forced to bear away towards the west, and anchored among some islands at the latitude of  $73^{\circ} 45'$ . Here he staid six days; and the weather being almost calm, he traded with the natives. On the 18th of June, he again put to sea, and traversing with light

airs, he had the satisfaction to perceive, that now the floating ice was nearly consumed. Yet few days passed without snow and keen frost; so that the shrouds, ropes and sails, were often covered with ice. On the 1st of July, he came to an open sea in the latitude of  $75^{\circ} 40'$ ; but the wind turning a-head, he stood out 20 leagues from the shore, and again fell in with ice. He now put back, and was driven northwards in a thick fog till he reached a cape in the latitude of  $76^{\circ} 35'$ ; and, passing through a fine sound, he dropped both anchors under a island. The storm having abated, he tried to discover a better anchorage, but could not approach the shore on account of the ice, which blocked it up. He saw here multitudes of whales; and hence called this sound, which lies in the latitude of  $77^{\circ} 30'$ , *Whales' Sound*. Before him, he descried, on the north a great bank of ice, terminated with land, extending beyond the parallel of 78 degrees. He therefore fell back about eight leagues to an island which he called *Hackluyt's Isle*. Two days he searched for anchoring ground without success; yet he had an opportunity of observing the variation of the magnetic needle, and was astonished to find it amounted to five points. He remarked a cluster of small islands; but could not examine them, having been driven westwards by a strong gale into an open sea. At the latitude of  $74^{\circ} 20'$ , he entered, on the 14th of July, another sound, which, being close guarded with ice, precluded the hope of a passage. He now sailed southwards, keeping as near as possible to the edge of the ice, but could not get sight of the land before his time, on the 20th of July, to the parallel of  $68^{\circ}$ ; and even then, he could not approach within eight or nine leagues of the shore. Still attempting to master the shoals of ice, he descended to the latitude of  $65^{\circ} 40'$ , till, seeing no prospect of success, and the crew beginning to grow sickly, he left in despair the west-side of Davis's Strait, and bore away for Greenland, which he reached on the 28th of July, at the latitude of  $65^{\circ} 45'$ . Landing there on a small island, his sailors gathered sorrel and scurvy grass, which they boiled in their beer; and with this drink they were restored to perfect health in the space of eight or nine days. The natives brought dried salmon for sale at different times, till the 6th of August, when Baffin took his departure. The wind was so favourable, that in nineteen days he saw the coast of Ireland, and came to anchor in Dover Roads on the 30th of August.

Next year, with some English whalers, he performed a successful voyage to Greenland, and ascended, on the 12th of August, as high as the latitude of  $79^{\circ} 14'$ . This last voyage of Baffin was certainly the most remarkable that has ever been

performed in the Polar seas. It showed that Davis's Strait is absolutely shut along the north side; and proved that either no passage exists on its western coast, or none which is, for the shortest time of the year, practicable. Baffin constructed a chart, which, on account of the expense, was never published. That very able and even scientific navigator, was afterwards unfortunately killed, while making astronomical observations, by a random shot, at the siege of Ormus in the East India

It is impossible not to admire the daring enterprise which distinguished our early navigators. Indeed nothing has been attempted since, in the Arctic seas, that deserves, under all the circumstances of the case, to be compared with their bold discoveries. A very short enumeration of the subsequent voyages undertaken to those extreme regions, may therefore suffice.

In 1631, Fox sailed from Deptford, and explored Hudson's Bay, where he made a number of valuable hydrographical observations. In that very year, James was sent from Bristol to the same quarter. He was obliged to winter on Charles Island at the bottom of the bay. But, though not farther north than the parallel of 52°, his crew suffered cruelly from the intense cold, and were, besides, attacked by an alarming scurvy. In 1668, Prince Rupert, who was fond of commercial speculation, sent out Gillam, to examine Hudson's Bay, and procured, next year, the singular patent, erecting that Company, which has always been reproached for acting with very selfish and narrow views. In consequence of such complaints, the Hudson's Bay Company found themselves in some measure obliged to attempt the discovery of a north-west passage. They sent, in 1720, Knight and Barlow, who were never afterwards heard of; and again, in 1722, Scroggs, who effected nothing of the smallest note. In 1737, Mr Arthur Dobbs, a gentleman of considerable weight and information, prevailed on that Company, by mere dint of importunity, to despatch a sloop for discovery; but it returned without achieving any thing. Application being next made to Government, a sloop, in 1741, was entrusted to Middleton, who examined the shores of Hudson's Bay from Repulse Bay to Cape Comfort, and met with abundance of ice, but no opening. Mr Dobbs, dissatisfied with this result, now persuaded the public to form a joint stock to the amount of 10,000*l.*, for the purpose of resuming the search under better auspices. Two ships were accordingly despatched under the command of Moor and Smith in the spring of 1746. These navigators wintered in Hudson's Bay, and explored it next summer in their long-boat. They found various creeks,

but no distinct passage; and the great object of their pursuit seemed quite hopeless. The Admiralty again sent the *Lion* brig to Davis's Strait, in the years 1776 and 1777, under the successive command of Lieutenants Pickersgill and Lane; but these naval officers made very little progress, and effected no discovery whatever.

This retrospect of the voyages undertaken to the North sufficiently proves that the Polar seas have remained in the same condition during a series of ages. The great icy barrier may partially shift its position in different seasons; but it soon returns to its ancient limits, and for ever repels all approach of the *vigador*. Whether some new application of human vigour, joined to perseverance, shall at last surmount that formidable barrier, is still in the womb of time. We may indulge the vain wish, but scarcely entertain any just expectation, of achieving such a triumph.

The possibility of ever sailing through the Polar seas into the Pacific Ocean, appears to be still less probable. If any passage really exists, it must, at such a very high latitude, be almost constantly choked with ice. Besides, the currents that might serve to keep it open are feeble in those Arctic regions, since the tides and other causes which produce them, regularly diminish in approximating to the Pole. The notion of a stream rushing beneath a frozen arch cannot be easily admitted; for the power of the water to melt and undermine the incumbent ice, augments rapidly with the increase of its velocity, insomuch, that the rate of only three miles an hour will multiply the ordinary effect of dissolution tenfold.

Any passage from the North must evidently have its first outlet in the Tartarian Sea. That quarter especially, therefore, invites research. But the belief of the disjunction of the American Continent from the Old World has perhaps been too hastily embraced. A little reflection will show on what slender grounds this opinion rests. The Russian navigators, who by an easterly progress explored the White Sea, and reached the River Anadir, in the country of the Tschuktzkis, did not proceed by a single course: they employed *kotschis*, a sort of craft particularly adapted for working amidst ice, which are easily taken to pieces as occasion requires, the planks being only fastened to the beams by straps of leather. Such vessels, when broken up, were carried over fields of ice, or necks of land, and again refitted and launched into the sea; nor, to the amphibious travellers, would the distinction appear very marked, between a mere frozen isthmus, and an icy tract covered

with snow. Till more conclusive evidence shall be produced, we may consider Bering's Strait, not as the separation of two great continents, but merely as the entrance to a vast bay or inland sea. Such is the idea of Captain Burney, whose authority has deservedly much weight; both because he enjoyed the peculiar advantage of sailing round the world under the celebrated Cook, and because he has since devoted his life to the compilation and critical examination of the numerous reports of nautical discoveries. In a paper lately communicated to the Royal Society of London, he states the reasons which led him and Mr Bailey, the astronomer, at the very attempt of an illustrious commander was exploring, between the parallels 70 and 71 degrees, the expanse beyond Bering's Strait, conjectured that it was only a mediterranean sea. Near the Strait under they found hardly any current; and, above it, the water was generally smooth, entirely exempt from the influence of tides, and very shallow, its soundings rarely exceeding thirty fathoms. An immense barrier of ice prevented, as usual, the farther advance to the North. This ice appeared to drift to the north-east; but another body formed a solid and impenetrable frontier on the west side, or projecting from the Asiatic Continent, in approaching to which, likewise, the soundings always decreased. These are obviously distinct indications of an enclosed sea.

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ART. II. *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation.* By DAVID RICARDO, Esq. 1 vol. 8vo. pp. 589. Murray, London, 1817.

SUCH of our readers as take any interest in the progress of the science of Political Economy, or have attended to the discussions on the Corn-Bill and the State of the Currency, cannot be unacquainted with the merits and writings of Mr Ricardo. His essay 'On the High Price of Bullion,' which was published previously to the Report of the Bullion Committee, contains a concise, satisfactory, and luminous exposition of the principles regulating the distribution of the precious metals; and his reply to the observations of Mr Bosanquet on the Report itself, is not only the ablest vindication of the principles and opinions maintained in that celebrated document, but gives by far the best exposition of the theory of exchange with which we are acquainted.

Mr Ricardo's subsequent pamphlets 'On the Profits of Stock,' and 'On the best Means of securing a Safe and Eco-



nominal Currency,' were in every respect worthy of his previous reputation. His plan for making bank notes payable in bullion, a plan which would afford all the security of a gold currency, without any of the expenses of coinage, and without the loss arising from the tear and wear of the coins themselves, is a happy, original, and ingenious. At present, however, we cannot enter upon any inquiry into its merits, but must confine ourselves to the work before us,—in which Ricardo has examined the fundamental principles on which the science of Political Economy rests, and in which, as it appears to us, he has done more for its improvement than any other writer, with perhaps the single exception of Dr Smith.

A very great, if not the principal source, of the errors into which political economists have been betrayed, appear to have originated in their confounding together the Natural and the Market price of commodities. But the laws by which these are regulated, are essentially different. Should the supply of any necessary or desirable commodity be increased beyond the effectual demand, or the demand of those who are able and willing to pay the expense of its production, including in that expense the ordinary rate of profit on the capital employed, its price will decline. Those that are inclined to part with this commodity being more numerous than those that are inclined to purchase it at its full value; the former, to be able to dispose of the whole quantity, and in order to save the expense and loss attending the storing it up, will, by reducing its price, endeavour to engage a greater portion of the community to become purchasers. This is the only way in which, in ordinary cases, an excess of produce can be disposed of: and, besides, there are very many commodities of such a nature as will not admit of their being warehoused for any considerable period, and which must be sold for whatever they will bring. In almost every case, too, it will be found more advantageous for the holders of goods to reduce their price, and thereby obtain a ready market for the whole quantity, than, in the expectation of ultimately selling them at a higher price, to incur the expense of keeping them on hand, and to be prevented from making use of their capital.

In the same way, when the supply of any commodity falls short of the quantity usually demanded, the competition on the part of the buyers becomes greater than that on the part of the sellers, and an increase of its ordinary price is the consequence. When the deficient commodity happens to be a necessary of life, or in very great request, its price, should the deficiency be considerable, will be very much increased. Men cannot give

up necessities; and are very reluctant to give up those luxuries to which they have been accustomed. But whatever may be their efforts to procure equal quantities in a season of scarcity as in a season of plenty, it is plain that they cannot all be successful; and that the producers of such commodities will always raise their price to a par with the exertions of the consumers to procure them. Should the corn crop be considerably deficient, we might offer 120s. or 160s. for a quarter of wheat, which might previously have been purchased for 80s.; but unless we could thereby increase the supply, those consumers who could with difficulty afford to pay this high price, or who could not afford it at all, would be compelled to diminish their consumption.

These principles, we believe, are now very generally admitted; and some apology might be necessary for having stated them so much at large, if the error which we wish to expose did not consist in their general misapplication: For though it is perfectly correct to say, in reference to *periods of short duration*, that the exchangeable value of a commodity increases directly as the demand, and inversely as the supply, *vice versa*; nothing can be more incorrect than this reasoning, as many political economists have done, in *periods of unlimited duration*. It is the *cost of production*, which is the permanent and ultimate regulator of the exchangeable value of every commodity. The occasional variations, arising from an excess or deficiency of supply, or from a variation in the demand, are mere temporary oscillations on one side or the other of this given quantity. It is but seldom, indeed, that the market price and the real price of a commodity entirely correspond; but, except in cases of monopoly, the one can never permanently continue either much above or much below the other. Should the market price of hats, for example, either from the circumstance of an excessive supply, or of a diminished consumption, be reduced considerably below their real price, or that price which is required to pay the expense of their production, capital would be transferred from the manufacture of hats to some other employment; as there can be no reason why the hatter should rest satisfied with less than the ordinary rate of profit. And, on the other hand, if the market price of hats had been elevated above their real price, capital would have flowed into that department of industry; and competition would very soon have reduced their price to its natural level, or to that sum which would cover the expense of production, including in that expense the ordinary rate of profit on the capital employed in the manufacture.

This is a principle of the greatest importance, and which ought never to be lost sight of. When a fall takes place in the market

price of any commodity, we can never know whether that fall is really advantageous, or whether a part of the wealth of the producers has not been gratuitously transferred to the consumers, unless we are at the same time informed, whether the cost of production has been diminished. If this has been the case, the fall of price will be permanent; but if this has not been the case, if the expense of production continues the same, prices must soon rise to their former level. It is the same with a rise of prices. No rise can continue, except where the cost of production has been proportionably increased. If that cost has remained stationary, or has not increased in a corresponding ratio, prices will decline as soon as the causes of temporary enhancement are removed.

The comparative values of gold and silver in the markets of Europe are at present in the proportion of about 15 to 1. This is not, however, a consequence, as is very generally supposed, of the supply of gold being less, and the demand for it greater than for silver. It arises solely from the comparative difficulty of its production. If the expenses of producing equal quantities of gold and silver were equal, their average market prices would also be equal. Although the demand for one of these metals should permanently be greater than for the other, that circumstance would make no difference whatever on their relative values. It would only, by attracting a greater portion of capital to the producing of the metal which was most in demand, proportion the supply to the consumption; but, as it would neither increase nor diminish the cost of its production, it could not exercise any lasting influence on its price. The influx of the precious metals into Europe, subsequent to the discovery of America, is estimated to have lowered their value to about one-fourth part of what they had formerly possessed. But the continued depression of the value of gold and silver since that epoch, has not been a consequence of the increase of their quantity, but of the comparative facility with which the mines of Mexico and Peru are worked. Had the expense of extracting gold and silver from them been as great as the expense of their extraction from the mines of Europe and Asia, the fall in the value of the precious metals, posterior to the discovery of America, would have been but temporary; and, long ere now, unless the expense of mining had been reduced, they would have recovered their former value.

It would be easy to extend these remarks; but we have already said enough to explain our meaning: And shall now direct our attention to the inquiry with which Mr Ricardo commences his work; and endeavour to determine the circumstances which regulate the cost of the production of a commodity,

and the elements which enter into its real price. This is of all others, the most important, as it is the most radical inquiry in the whole science of political economy; and, without possessing accurate notions on this subject, it is impossible to advance a single step without falling into errors.

Dr Smith was of opinion, that, in that early and rude state of society, which precedes both the accumulation of stock, and the appropriation of land, the proportion between the quantities of labour necessary for acquiring different objects, was the only circumstance which could afford any rule for exchanging them for one another. 'If, among a nation of hunters,' he observed, 'it usually costs twice the labour to kill a beaver which it does to kill a deer, one beaver would naturally exchange for, or be worth two deer. It is natural, that what is usually the produce of two days' or two hours' labour, should be worth double of what is usually the produce of one day's or one hour's labour. In this state of things, the whole price of labour belongs to the labourer; and the quantity of labour commonly employed in acquiring or producing any commodity, is the only circumstance which can regulate the quantity of labour which it ought commonly to purchase, command, or exchange for.\*

As soon, however, as capital had been accumulated, and as soon as a rent was paid for land, Dr Smith, † and with him,

\* *Wealth of Nations*, vol. I. p. 70.

† 'In this state of things, the whole produce of labour does not always belong to the labourer. He must, in most cases, share it with the owner of the stock which employs him. Neither is the quantity of labour commonly employed in acquiring or producing any commodity, the only circumstance which can regulate the quantity which it ought commonly to purchase, command, or exchange for. An additional quantity, it is evident, must be due for the profits of the stock which advanced the wages, and furnished the materials, for that labour.

'As soon as the land of any country has all become private property, the landlords, like all other men, love to reap where they never sowed, and demand a rent even for its natural produce. The wood of the forest, the grass of the field, and all the natural fruits of the earth, which, when land was in common, cost the labourer only the trouble of gathering them, come, even to him, to have an additional price fixed upon them. He must then pay for the license to gather them; and must give up to the landlord a portion of what his labour either collects or produces. This portion, or, what comes to the same thing, the price of this portion, constitutes the rent of land; and, in the price of the greater part of commodities, makes a third component part.' *Wealth of Nations*, vol. I. p. 74.

every other political economist down to Mr Ricardo, were of opinion, that the circumstances which, in a rude state of society, had determined the exchangeable value of commodities, would be altered. They considered the profits of stock, and the rent of land, as then entering as component parts into price; and they therefore held, that the real price of commodities, or the cost of their production, would be increased by every increase in the ordinary rate of profits, in the rate of wages, and in the rent of land.

Mr Ricardo, however, is of a very different opinion. He considers that the accumulation of capital, and the payment of rent, have no effect whatever in increasing the real price of commodities; and that, in every case, the exchangeable value of such as can be increased in quantity by the exertion of human industry, and, on the production of which, competition operates without restraint, can only be augmented by an augmentation of the quantity of labour necessarily required to bring them to market.

Mr Ricardo has illustrated and supported this new and important doctrine with extraordinary talent and ingenuity, and in a manner which is completely conclusive as to its accuracy. Perhaps, however, he has given too mathematical a cast to his reasoning, to make it perfectly intelligible to the generality of readers; and, therefore, in the following observations, we shall endeavour, though we are fully aware of the difficulty of the task, to demonstrate the truth of this theory in a somewhat more familiar and simple manner, referring such of our readers as wish for a full and satisfactory exposition of the principles on which it rests, and of the various important consequences to which it leads, to Mr Ricardo's own work.

If, then, to revert to the example given by Dr Smith, we suppose the huntsmen of the deer and the beaver to have been employed by two capitalists—and that they were paid a certain rate of wages for their labour—still the one beaver would have exchanged for the two deer, exactly in the same manner as when the hunters, instead of being employed for another, carried on their operations on their own account. It is of no consequence, in reference to this conclusion, that the one species of labour may be supposed to require greater skill and dexterity, or to be more severe, and therefore better paid than the other. These circumstances would be taken into account when the huntsmen were independent, as well as after they had been hired. The labour of one hour at some difficult and nice species of work, may be often of the value of a day, or two days' labour, at another and ruder species;

but this is owing to the nature of the work itself, and has nothing to do with the fact of wages being paid to the workmen, or of their working for themselves. If one hour's labour devoted to the killing of a beaver, had, in a rude state of society, from the superior skill and activity, or the greater expenditure of animal exertion which it required, been reckoned equivalent to the labour of a whole day devoted to the killing of a deer, one beaver would have been exchanged for one deer. After the hunters had been engaged as servants to some master huntsman or capitalist, the wages of those engaged an hour in beaver hunting would be *equal* to the wages of those engaged a day in deer hunting; and the produce of their labour would still retain the same relative value in the market.

But, in such an inquiry as this, it is not at all necessary to advert to the particular rates at which different kinds of labour are paid. In the payment of wages, allowance is always made for the different degrees of skill required in the workmen, and for the different intensity of the labour to be performed. It is this which renders 4s. or 5s. a day paid to a jeweller or coalheaver, not really a greater reward than 1s. 6d. or 2s. paid to a common farm-servant. If it were any thing but a reasonable compensation for the superior skill, precision, accuracy, and strength required in these businesses, there would be an influx of labourers to the jeweller and coalheaver trades; and competition would soon reduce the rate of wages in them to its proper level, or to that sum which is barely adequate to remunerate such workmen. In the following remarks we shall, therefore, exclude all consideration of the difference in the species of labour, and shall suppose the rate of wages, and the rise and fall of that rate, to be quite uniform and general.

From what has been already stated, it cannot we think be disputed, that if a certain quantity of goods, twenty pairs of stockings for example, manufactured by independent workmen, freely exchanged for forty pairs of gloves, manufactured under similar circumstances, they would continue to do so after both sets of workmen had come to be employed by some master manufacturer. In the first case, it is true, as Dr Smith has observed, that the whole produce of the labour of the workmen would belong to themselves; but that is no reason why, when they became servants to another person, the exchangeable value of the commodities they manufacture should be at all affected. Commodities are in every case bought by commodities. If the glove manufacturer were to urge the plea of his paying a large proportion, or the value of a large proportion of his gloves as wages, as an inducement to the stocking manufacturer to give him

more stockings in exchange for his gloves, the latter would have it in his power to reply, that the same cause affected him to precisely the same extent. After workmen had been hired, the value of both gloves and stockings would be specifically divided into two different portions—the wages of labour and the profits of stock; but it would not be at all increased. The cause which Dr Smith supposes would increase the price of the stockings, would, if it had any effect, equally increase the price of gloves, and of every other commodity; that is, it would leave the relative values of them all just as it found them. Twenty pairs of stockings would still exchange for forty pairs of gloves, and would continue to do so, until some change had taken place in the *quantity of labour necessary* to the production of the one or the other. It is this quantity of labour, and not the manner in which the value produced by it is afterwards divided, that determines the real price or the worth in exchange of every commodity.

\* The circumstance of one set of labourers continuing independent, cannot enable them, as has been contended, to dispose of their goods at a cheaper rate than those which had been manufactured by other labourers working on account of a master. The profits of stock would be included in the price of the commodities manufactured by the one as well as by the other. An independent workman, is only another name for a capitalist who personally superintends the employment of his own stock. Industry by itself is unable to produce almost any commodity possessed of exchangeable value. In the rudest state of society, some capital would be required to support the persons engaged in hunting and fishing, and to construct the weapons necessary to enable them to kill wild animals: And hence the exchangeable value of such animals would depend, not merely on the quantity of labour required to effect their destruction, *after* hunting and fishing tackle had been provided, but on the *whole quantity of labour* required to effect that object; including therein a certain proportion of the labour necessary to furnish the implements, or capital, without which the animals could not have been killed.

The same is the case in every stage of society. A profit on stock, or, what is the same thing, a remuneration for the use of the capital which has been either accumulated by the labourer himself, or which has been afforded to him by another, must always be paid out of the value of the commodity he produces. A shoemaker who manufactures shoes on his own account, must secure the same rate of profit on their sale, that would accrue to a master shoemaker were he employed by him as a work-

man. He must not only possess a capital adequate to maintain himself and his family until his shoes can be brought to market, but he must also be able to provide himself with a workshop and tools, to advance money to the tanner to pay his leather, &c. &c. If he did not, exclusive of the ordinary wages of labour, realize a rate of profit on this capital equal to what was obtained by the master shoemaker, he would lend it to him, and work on his account; and it is obvious he could not realize a greater rate of profit, because his shoes could not be sold at a *higher price* than those manufactured by the capitalist. In this way, the profits of stock constitute a component part of the value of every commodity; but that value is not, as we shall afterwards show, at all influenced by the circumstance of the rate of profit being high or low; it depends entirely on the total quantity of labour required to bring the commodity to market.

The distribution of the labour necessary to the production of a commodity among several hands, can, in like manner, make no alteration on this result.

'In estimating,' says Mr Ricardo, 'the exchangeable value of stockings, we shall find that ~~their~~ value, comparatively with other things, depends on the total quantity of labour necessary to manufacture them, and to bring them to market. First, there is the labour necessary to cultivate the land on which the raw cotton is grown; secondly, the labour of conveying the cotton to the country where the stockings are to be manufactured, which includes a portion of the labour bestowed in building the ship in which it is conveyed, and which is charged in the freight of the goods; thirdly, the labour of the spinner and weaver; fourthly, a portion of the labour of the engineer, smith, and carpenter, who erected the buildings and machinery by the help of which they are made; fifthly, the labour of the retail dealer and many others, whom it is unnecessary further to particularize. The *aggregate sum* of these various kinds of labour, determines the quantity of other things for which these stockings will exchange, while the same consideration of the various quantities of labour which have been bestowed on those other things, will equally govern the portion of them which will be given for the other.

'To convince ourselves,' continues Mr Ricardo, 'that this is the real foundation of exchangeable value, let us suppose any improvement to be made in the means of abridging labour in any one of the various processes through which the raw cotton must pass, before the manufactured stockings come to the market, to be exchanged for other things; and observe the effects which will follow. If fewer men were required to cultivate the raw cotton, or if fewer sailors were employed in navigating, or shipwrights in constructing the ship in



which it was conveyed to us; if fewer hands were employed in raising the buildings and machinery, or if these, when raised, were rendered more efficient, the stockings would inevitably fall in value, and, consequently, command less of other things. They would fall, because a less quantity of labour was necessary to their production; and would therefore exchange for a smaller quantity of those things in which no such abridgment of labour had been made.'

Important, however, as this principle unquestionably is, the consequences to which it leads are still more so. Nothing in the whole science of political economy was reckoned better established, than that a rise or a fall of the rate of wages was attended by a proportionable increase or diminution of the price of commodities. But if the exchangeable value of a commodity is not increased, except by an increase of the quantity of labour necessary for its production, this cannot possibly be the case. In such circumstances, its value will not be augmented by an enhancement of the rate of wages.

Thus, supposing the value of money to be invariable, and the quantity of labour necessary to produce 1000*l.* worth of gloves to remain the same, the gloves would continue to sell for that sum, whether the wages actually paid to the manufacturer amounted to 500*l.*, to 800*l.*, or to 900*l.* Commodities, in short, would continue to sell after the rise of wages, for the very same price as before, but the proceeds would be differently divided:—A greater share would belong to the labourer, and a less to the capitalist; or, what is the same thing, *the profits of stock would be diminished.*

In order to illustrate this proposition, we may be allowed to make a supposition, which, although it can never actually take place, will serve to set our doctrine in a clearer point of view. Should the quantities of labour necessary to bring every different species of commodities to market be increased in exactly the same relative proportions, their comparative exchangeable value would remain unaltered; while their real price would, however, be augmented. A bushel of corn would not then exchange for a greater quantity of muslins, or of broad cloth, than it did before the increased expense of its production; but it would represent a greater quantity of labour. In such circumstances, although the prices of commodities would remain stationary, the wealth and comforts of the whole society would be diminished. Every person would have to make greater exertions to obtain a certain proportion of any one commodity; but, as the expense of producing *all* commodities had been equally increased, it would not be necessary to make greater exertions to obtain one particular species than another.

But, if a general and proportionable increase in the cost of producing commodities would not alter their relative values to one another, how is that to be effected by a general and proportionable rise of wages? The thing is obviously impossible. If a beaver exchanged for a deer, when wages were at 1s. per diem, it must do the same thing when they are *universally* increased to 10s. or 20s. The market price of the beaver and of the deer would remain unchanged; but, after wages had been increased, a *greater* share of that price would belong to the labourer, and a *less* to the capitalist than previously. The real price of commodities would, it is obvious, not be in the least affected by this increase of wages. The quantity of labour necessary to their production would not be increased; and it would, therefore, be equally easy to obtain them.

We believe we may now leave this part of our subject. But, as the doctrine, that a rise of wages is constantly followed by an increase of prices, has been so very generally entertained, we shall subjoin the following observations of Mr Ricardo, which set the truth of his theory in a new and striking point of view.

‘To say that commodities are raised in price, is the same thing as to say, that money is lowered in relative value; for it is by commodities that the relative value of gold is estimated. If, then, all commodities rise in price, gold could not come from abroad to purchase those dear commodities, but it would go from home to be employed with advantage in purchasing the comparatively cheaper foreign commodities. It appears, then, that the rise of wages will not raise the prices of commodities, whether the metal from which money is made be produced at home or in a foreign country. All commodities cannot rise at the same time, without an addition to the quantity of money. To purchase any additional quantity of gold from abroad, commodities must be *cheap*, and not *dear*. The importation of gold, and a rise in the price of all home-made commodities, by which gold is purchased or paid for, are effects absolutely incompatible. The extensive use of paper money does not alter this question; for paper money conforms, or ought to conform, to the value of gold; and, therefore, its value is influenced by such causes only as influence the value of that metal.’

The universally received opinions respecting the effect of a rise of wages on the price of commodities, have obviously originated in confounding a rise in the *money* price of wages with a rise in their *real* price. Every inference, however, as to the rate of wages at particular periods, not deduced from an investigation clearly distinguishing whether the exchangeable value of money had remained unaltered, must be essentially erroneous. The money wages of labour may be raised from 1s. to 2s. or 3s. per diem; and yet the real wages of the labourer,

that is, *his share of the produce of his labour*, may be diminished. This has been actually the case in Britain during the last twenty-five years. Money wages were, in 1810, double of what they had been in 1790; but, as the exchangeable value of our currency had been more than proportionably reduced, the nominal price of commodities rose still faster than wages, and the condition of the labouring classes was altered very much to the worse. In such cases, to ascribe the rise of prices to the rise of wages, would be evidently absurd: In no case, however, will it be found, that a real rise of wages, unaccompanied with a fall in the value of money, was ever followed by a rise in the price of commodities.

But this is not all.—Although the exchangeable value of a commodity, or its real price, is in no case whatever increased by an increase in the rate of wages, it may, and in very many cases actually is, thereby *reduced* in its real price, or has its exchangeable value diminished.

It will not be difficult to establish this seemingly paradoxical conclusion. Suppose the twenty pairs of stockings, which exchanged for the forty pairs of gloves, to have been wholly or partially the produce of *machinery*, and the gloves of manual labour, it is clear, that when wages rose, the *stocking* manufacturer must either reduce the price of his stockings, or get more than the common and ordinary profits of stock. Not having any increase of wages to pay for that part of the work performed by machinery, and, of course, being so far in a better situation than the employers of labourers, whose wages we suppose to have been universally raised, if he did not voluntarily reduce his prices, there would be an influx of capital to his particular department of industry; and as others could furnish themselves with machines at the same price they had cost him, they would soon be so multiplied, that he would unavoidably be obliged to sink the price of his goods, till they afforded only the usual and general rate of profits.

But as capital employed in the great work of production, whether it consist of circulating capital, that is, of capital devoted to the payment of workmen's wages, provisions, raw materials, &c., or of fixed capital, that is, of capital vested in machinery, workhouses, warehouses, &c., must be reproduced from the commodities manufactured, their real price will be more or less affected by a rise of wages, according to the greater or less *durability* of the capital.

If, says Mr Ricardo, 'when profits are at 10 per cent., a certain amount of capital, suppose 20,000*l.*, be employed in supporting productive labour, and be annually consumed and reproduced, as

it is when employed in paying wages; then, to afford this rate of profit on 20,000*l.*, the commodities produced must sell for 22,000*l.* Now, suppose labour so to rise, that instead of 20,000*l.* being sufficient to pay the wages of labour, 20,952*l.* is required; then profits will fall to five per cent.; for as these commodities would sell for no more than before, viz. 22,000*l.*, and to produce them, 20,952*l.* would be requisite, there would remain no more than 1,048*l.* of profit on a capital of 20,952*l.* If labour so rose, that 21,153*l.* were required, profits would fall to 4 per cent.; and if it rose so that 21,359*l.* was employed, profits would fall to 3 per cent.'

Now, suppose that a machine is made which can manufacture commodities without any manual labour whatever; and suppose, too, that its value is 20,000*l.*, and that it is fitted to last 100 years—When profits were at 10 per cent., the whole value of the goods produced annually by this machine would be 2000*l.* 2*s.* 11*d.*; for the profit of 20,000*l.*, at 10 per cent., is 2000*l.*; and an annuity of 2*s.* 11*d.*, accumulating at 10 per cent. will, in 100 years, replace a capital of 20,000*l.* But as no wages would be paid by the owner of the machine, he would, after a rise of wages had reduced the profits of stock in those departments of industry where the assistance of workmen was required, be obliged, because of the competition of capitalists, to reduce the price of his commodities to such a sum as would yield only the common and ordinary rate of profit, and be sufficient to replace the machine itself at the end of 100 years. Thus, to use the words of Mr Ricardo—

—'when profits fell to 5 per cent., the price of his goods must fall to 1007*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.*, viz. 1000*l.* to pay his profits, and 7*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.* to accumulate for 100 years at 5 per cent., to replace his capital of 20,000*l.* When profits fell to 4 per cent., his goods must sell for 816*l.* 3*s.* 2*d.*; and, when at 3 per cent., for 632*l.* 16*s.* 7*d.* By a rise in the price of labour, then, under 7 per cent., or, what is the same thing, by a fall of profits to that extent, which has no effect on the price of commodities wholly produced by labour, a fall of no less than 68 per cent. is effected on those commodities wholly produced by machinery calculated to last 100 years.'

If this machine were only calculated to last 10 years, the price of the commodities it produced would be less affected by a rise of wages and a fall of profits. On this hypothesis, when profits were at 10 per cent., they would sell for 3254*l.*; when at 5 per cent., for 2590*l.*; when at 4 per cent., for 2465*l.*; and when at 3 per cent., for 2344*l.*; for such are the sums requisite to place the profits of the proprietor of the machine on a par with others, and to replace the machine itself at the expiration of 10 years. If the machine would last only 5, 4, 3, &c. years, prices would be proportionably less affected by a rise of wages.

According, therefore, as machinery is more or less durable, or according as the fixed capital employed in producing commodities approaches more or less to the nature of circulating capital, prices will be less or more affected by a rise of wages and a fall of profit. Mr Ricardo calculates, that when profits fall from 10 to 3 per cent., the goods produced with equal capitals will fall

68 per cent. if the machine would last	-	100 years.
28 per cent. if it would last	-	10 ditto.
13 per cent. if it would last	-	3 ditto.
And little more than 6 per cent. if it would last	}	1 ditto.
only		

It appears, then, that in proportion to the quantity and the durability of the fixed capital employed in any kind of production, the relative prices of those commodities on which such capital is employed, will vary inversely as wages—that is, *they will fall as wages rise*. It appears, too, that no commodities whatever are raised in absolute price, merely because wages rise; that they never rise unless *additional labour* be bestowed on them; but that all commodities, in the production of which fixed capital enters, not only do not rise with a rise of wages, but absolutely fall. And it further appears, that as the employers of labourers are altogether unable to indemnify themselves by raising the price of their goods, for any increase of wages they may have to pay to their workmen, a *rise of wages* is only another name for a *fall of profits*, and *vice versa*. These things appear to us to be clearly made out in the work before us,—and it is needless to enlarge on their importance. They enter deeply into all the investigations of political economy, and give a new aspect, indeed, to the whole of that science.

The theory, however, which teaches that the exchangeable value of a commodity can only be increased by an increase in the quantity of labour necessarily expended on its production, would not be complete, if it could be shown that Rent entered as a component part into price; for if this were really the case, it would follow, that prices must vary as rents vary, or that the one must rise and fall with every rise and fall of the other. It is therefore necessary briefly to inquire into the NATURE AND CAUSES OF RENT.

It is not easy to imagine that any inquiry into a complex and difficult subject, could be more satisfactorily conducted than that of Mr Ricardo, regarding the nature of Rent: although, on this subject, he is not equally original as in other parts of his work. He has given a much better exposition of the principles which regulate the rise and fall of rent, than any other writer; but

the leading facts, which show that rent does not enter into price, were previously ascertained in two pamphlets of very great merit, published almost at the same instant by Mr Malthus, and a 'Fellow of the University of Oxford.' Mr Ricardo's principal merit consists in his having traced the ultimate consequences of this doctrine,—in having stripped it of the errors by which it had been encumbered,—and in having shown its importance to a right understanding of the fundamental principles of political economy.

Rent is properly—'that portion of the produce of the earth which is paid by the farmer to the landlord for the use of the *natural and inherent* powers of the soil.' If buildings have been erected on a farm, or if it has been enclosed, drained, or in any way improved, by an expenditure of capital and labour, the sum which a farmer would then pay to the landlord for its use, would be composed not only of what we call rent, but of a remuneration for the use of the capital which had been laid out in improving the soil. In common language, these two sums are always confounded together, under the name of rent; but, in an inquiry of this nature, it is necessary to consider them as perfectly distinct. The laws by which profits and rent are regulated, being totally different, those which regulate the one only, cannot be accurately ascertained, if they are not separately considered.

If any commodity could be had at all times, and without any exertion, it would have no exchangeable value, however necessary it might be to our comfort, or even existence. In many situations, water, from its great plenty, and from the ease with which any person can make himself master of any quantity of it, has no value in exchange; and in no case would we give the smallest sum for innumerable barrels of atmospheric air. Now, on the same principle, it is evident, that if the supply of land was inexhaustible, and if it was all of the same quality, and equally well situated, no such thing as rent would ever be heard of; for, assuredly, no person would choose to pay for a commodity, which he might get at pleasure for nothing.

On the first settling of any country abounding with rich and fertile land, there is never any rent; and it is only because land is of different qualities with respect to its productive powers; and because, in the progress of population, the supply of rich and fertile land becomes exhausted, and land of an inferior quality, or less advantageously situated, must be brought into cultivation, that rent is ever paid for the use of it.—'When,' says Mr Ricardo, 'in the progress of society, land of the second degree of fertility is taken into cultivation, rent immediately com-

mences on that of the first quality, and the amount of that rent will depend on the difference in the quality of these two portions of land. Where land of the third quality is taken into cultivation, rent immediately commences on the second, and it is regulated as before, by the difference in their productive powers. At the same time, the rent of the first quality will rise, for that must always be above the rent of the second, by the difference of the produce which they yield with a given quantity of capital and labour. With every step in the progress of population, which shall oblige a country to have recourse to lands of a worse quality, to enable it to raise its supply of food,—rent on all the more fertile land will rise.'

Now, the sole reason why rent begins to be paid on land of the first quality, whenever land of a secondary quality is taken into cultivation, is, because on the inferior land a greater expenditure of capital and labour is necessary to afford the same produce. When the wants of society force us to have recourse to poorer soils, rent immediately begins to be paid on land of the first quality, just because there cannot, in the same country, be *two rates of profit*:—and if we suppose, that with an equal expenditure of capital and labour, land, of different degrees of fertility, yields 100, 90, 80, 70, &c. quarters of wheat, the 10 quarters of excess on the first over the second, would, when they were both cultivated, really constitute rent, whether they were farmed by landlords or tenants;—for the cultivator of the inferior land would obtain the same profits on his capital if he were to cultivate the richer land, and be able, over and above, to pay 10 quarters as rent. In like manner, the 20 quarters of excess of the first over the third, would, after lands of the third degree of fertility had been cultivated, constitute rent, and so on as lands of inferior quality were successively brought under cultivation.

'If then,' to use the words of Mr Ricardo, 'good land existed in a quantity much more abundant than the production of food for the increasing population required, or if capital could be indefinitely employed without a diminished return on the old land, there could be no rise of rent; for rent invariably proceeds from the employment of an additional quantity of labour, with a proportionably less return.'

The raising of raw produce is extremely different from every other species of industry. In manufactures the worst machinery is first set in motion, and every day its powers are improved; and it is rendered capable of yielding a greater amount of produce with the same expense. The discovery of a new machine, or of a more expeditious and less expensive method of manufacturing, very soon supercedes the older and clumsier machinery previously in use; while the consequent competition

never fails to reduce the price of commodities to the sum which the least expensive method of production necessarily requires for their manufacture.

In agriculture, on the contrary, the best machinery, that is, the *best soils*, are first brought under cultivation, and recourse is afterwards had to inferior soils, requiring a greater expenditure of capital and labour to produce the same supplies. The improvements made in the construction of farming implements, and the ameliorations of agricultural management, which occasionally occur in the progress of society, really reduce the price of raw produce, and, operating like the improvements made in manufacturing machinery, so far assimilate the two species of industry. But, in agriculture, the fall of price, which is permanent in manufactures, is only temporary. Any fall which may take place in the real price of raw produce, as it will enable every class of society to procure a greater quantity of it than before, in exchange for their manufactured commodities, or for their labour, must raise the profits of stock, and, of course, must lead to an increased accumulation of capital. But as the industry of a nation must always be in proportion to the amount of its capital, this accumulation necessarily leads to a greater demand for labour, to higher wages, to an increased population, and, consequently, to a further demand for raw produce, and to an increased cultivation. Agricultural improvements check, for a while, the necessity of having recourse to inferior soils; but the check can only be temporary. The stimulus which they at the same time apply to population soon equalizes the demand with the supply; and, by a reaction of a different kind, raises prices, and forces the cultivation of poor lands.

Although, therefore, agricultural improvements really reduce the price of food, or raw produce raised on land of the best quality; yet the absolute necessity with a growing population, of having recourse to land of an inferior quality, must elevate its market price. Wheat may be raised in the Carse of Gowrie, or in the vale of Gloucester, at perhaps a fifth or a sixth part of the expense necessary to raise equal quantities of that grain in other districts of the country; but it cannot be sold one farthing cheaper than the produce of the poorer soils; for, if it were, the cultivators of the inferior land would be obliged to abandon their employment altogether, and the necessary supplies of food would no longer be obtained. It is all one to the consumers, whether, in an advanced stage of society, the excess of price over the cost of production on lands of the first quality, is paid to a landlord or farmer. It *must* be paid to the one or the other; for, with-



out this rent, or, what is the very same thing, without this excess of price, none but the very best lands could be cultivated. Before the price of raw produce could be reduced so low as to yield nothing but the ordinary profits of stock, even from land of the best quality, all the inferior soils would be thrown out of cultivation; and, in this country, under these circumstances, perhaps not *one-tenth part* of the present amount of produce could be raised. \*

The price, therefore, at which raw produce sells in the market, is its *natural* price; it is the price which is necessary to procure the requisite supply, and is not in the slightest degree influenced by either high or low rents. Rents are only paid by those lands which yield an excess of produce after paying the expenses of labour and the ordinary profits of stock; but in every progressive country, lands are always taking into cultivation, which yield at the time nothing but the profits of stock, and for which there can be no rent paid. Hence, it is evident, rent does not enter into the price of raw produce; for *the price of that produce is regulated by the price of the portion raised on the very worst lands in cultivation, and which pay no rent.*

Mr Ricardo is, therefore, right in affirming 'that raw produce

\* The notion of the *Economists*, that agriculture, because it yielded a surplus as rent over and above the expenses of cultivation, and the ordinary profits of stock, was the only productive species of industry, has never been so well exposed as in the following short passage. 'Nothing,' says Mr Ricardo, 'is more common than to hear of the advantages which the land possesses over every other source of useful produce, on account of the surplus which it yields in the form of rent. Yet, when land is most abundant, when most productive, and most fertile, it yields no rent; and it is only when its powers decay, and less is yielded in return for labour, that a share of the original produce of the more fertile portions is set apart for rent. It is singular, that this quality in the land, which should have been noticed as an imperfection, compared with the natural agents by which manufacturers are assisted, should have been pointed out as constituting its peculiar preeminence. If air, water, the elasticity of steam, and the pressure of the atmosphere, were of various qualities; if they could be appropriated, and each quality existed only in moderate abundance,—they, as well as the land, would afford a rent, as the successive qualities were brought into use. With every worse quality employed, the value of the commodities, in the manufacture of which they were used, would rise, because equal quantities of labour would be less productive. Man would do more by the sweat of his brow, and nature perform less; and the land would be no longer preeminent for its *limited* powers.'

risks in comparative value, because *more labour* is employed in the production of the last portion obtained, and not because a rent is paid to the landlord. The value of corn is regulated by the quantity of labour bestowed on its production on that quality of land, or with that portion of capital which pays no rent. Corn is not high because a rent is paid, but a rent is paid because corn is high; and it has been justly observed by Mr Malthus, that no reduction would take place in the price of corn, although landlords should forego the whole of their rent. Such a measure would only enable some farmers to live like gentlemen; but would not diminish the quantity of labour necessary to raise raw produce on the least productive land in cultivation.'

It has been objected to this theory, that, according to Dr Smith, 'the most desert moors in Norway and Scotland produce some sort of pasture for cattle, of which the milk and the increase are always more than sufficient, not only to maintain all the labour necessary for tending them, and to pay the ordinary profit to the farmer, or owner of the herd or flock, but to afford some small rent to the landlord.'

This, however, is a very doubtful proposition; and we are rather inclined to Mr Ricardo's opinion, that in every country, from the rudest to the most improved, there is some land of such a quality that it cannot yield more than enough to replace the stock employed upon it, with the ordinary rate of profit. In America, we all know that this is the case; and yet, no one maintains that the principles which regulate rent are different in that country and in Europe. Perhaps the opinion, that all the lands in Britain yield rent, may have originated from the letting of large tracts of the inferior lands together, where, although a considerable portion might, if attempted to be let by itself, yield no rent, a rent may, notwithstanding, be afforded for some portions intermixed with the others, of a superior degree of fertility. But, if it were really true that every inch of ground in the British islands afforded a rent to the landlord after defraying the expenses of cultivation, the fact would be of no consequence whatever to the present question. It would, as we have already shown, be exactly the same thing to the cultivator, whether he paid a rent of *ten* quarters to a landlord for land yielding, with a certain expenditure, 100 quarters of corn, or employed the same sum in cultivating inferior land yielding only 90 quarters, for which he paid no rent. If it were possible always to obtain 100 quarters for every additional sum applied to the superior soils, no person, it is obvious, would ever have recourse to those of inferior fertility, or which would not yield equal quantities of produce with an equal expenditure of capital and labour. But the fact, that, in the progress of society, new land is

brought into cultivation, demonstrates that additional capital and labour cannot be applied with the same advantage as before on the old land. This, however, is all that is required to show the futility of this specious objection. The state of society in Great Britain may be such,—the demand for agricultural produce may be so great,—that every quality of land in the kingdom actually yields rent; but it is the same thing if there be any capital employed on land which yields only the return of stock with its ordinary profits, whether that capital be employed on new or on old land. That there is a very considerable quantity of capital employed in such a manner in this, and in every other country, is abundantly certain. A farmer who rents a farm, besides employing on it such a capital as will, at the existing prices of raw produce, enable him to pay his rent, to obtain the average rate of profit, and to replace his stock previous to the expiration of his lease, will also employ an additional capital, if it will only replace itself, and afford the usual profits. Whether he shall employ this additional capital or not, depends entirely on the fact, whether the price of raw produce be such as will repay his expenses and profits; for he knows he will have no additional rent to pay. Even at the expiration of his lease, his rent will not be raised; for if his landlord should require rent, because an additional capital had been employed, he would withdraw it, since, by employing it, he gets, by the supposition, only the ordinary and usual profits which he may obtain by any other employment of stock; and, therefore, he cannot afford to pay rent for it, unless the price of raw produce should further rise, or, which is the same thing, unless the capital last applied to the land yields more than the common and ordinary rate of profit. If it yields more than this, fresh capital will be laid out on the soil; and, if it yields less, it will be withdrawn; so that, in every case, the capital last applied yields only the common and average rate of profit; that is to say, agricultural produce will, in every case, be sold at the sum which is barely necessary to cover the cost of its production on the lands last taken into cultivation, or to yield the ordinary rate of profit on the capital last applied to the old land. If it were not to sell for this sum, the newly broken up land would be thrown out of cultivation, or capital would be withdrawn from the old soils, so that the requisite supplies would no longer be obtained. In every case, therefore, whether the lands last cultivated pay rent or not, the exchangeable value of raw produce is regulated entirely by the cost of its production; and although it were true, that every rood of land in this country paid rent to the landlord, it would be equally true that the produce of that land

could not be sold one fraction cheaper, after rents had been given up to the tenants, than at present; or, in other words, rent does not, under any circumstances whatever, enter into, or constitute a part of the price of raw produce, or of any species of commodities.

We begin now to get on with our deduction:—but a good deal yet remains to be done; for it will immediately be seen, that a proper understanding of the nature and causes of rent, is but a step, though a very material one, towards ascertaining the laws by which the PROFITS OF STOCK are regulated.

Our readers know, that Dr Smith considered the fall of profit, which always takes place in the progress of society, and as countries advance in wealth and opulence, as a consequence of the accumulation of capital, and of its competition in all the different trades and businesses carried on in the same society. This opinion, which has since been espoused by Mr Malthus, M. Say, and many other writers, has, however, been shown, first by the ‘Fellow of the University of Oxford,’ and subsequently by Mr Ricardo, to be altogether destitute of foundation. When it is once admitted, indeed, that commodities are in every case bought by commodities, it is not easy to perceive how their multiplication can occasion any fall of their relative exchangeable values one with another. If, under any given circumstances, ten pairs of gloves exchanged for ten pairs of stockings, and ten quarters of wheat for ten pairs of boots, they will in the same circumstances continue, provided they are all increased in the same relative proportions, to preserve precisely the same exchangeable value one with another, to whatever extent their quantities may be augmented. Thus, supposing the capital engaged in the different branches of trade and industry to be adjusted in such a manner, that every branch yielded nearly the same rate of profit; it is evident, that any amount of additional capital which was invested in them all, according to the same ratio of distribution, would not sink the price of any one article;—each would sell for precisely the same sum it sold for before; and, if wages remained stationary, the profits of stock would neither be increased nor diminished. If too much of one commodity, as of cotton, is manufactured, its relative value will fall, and the profits of stock employed in the cotton trade will be reduced; but such an effect can only be temporary. Some other department of industry must, at the same time, be understocked; \* and, yielding larger profits, will attract to itself the surplus capital employed in the cotton manufacture, and restore every thing to its former equilibrium.

\* Say, *Traité d'Economie Politique*, 3me edit. tome 1. 147.

It is not, therefore, the competition caused by an increase of capital which reduces profits as society advances, but it is the necessity of having recourse to inferior soils to obtain the necessary supplies of food, coupled with the increase of taxation.

Dr Smith has justly observed, that 'a man must always live by his work, and his wages must at least be sufficient to maintain him. They must, even upon most occasions, be somewhat more; otherwise it would be impossible for him to bring up a family; and the race of such workmen could not last beyond the first generation.'

But as the price of commodities can only be increased by an increase of the quantity of labour required to bring them to market, and not by an increase of wages; it follows, that if corn or manufactured goods always sold at the same price, profits would be high or low in proportion as wages were low or high. But, when corn rises in price, because more labour is necessary to produce it, and it must do so as soon as recourse is had to inferior soils, or soils of a decreasing degree of fertility, that cause will not raise the price of manufactured goods, in the production of which no additional quantity of labour is required: They therefore continue to sell at the same price as before; but, as the wages of labour, which must always bear a certain proportion to the price of raw produce, will then rise, it is obvious that the profits of stock must be proportionally diminished.

It is by this principle, of which Dr Smith was not aware, that we are enabled satisfactorily to account for the low rate of profit in all old settled and fully peopled countries, and for the slowness with which they accumulate capital and population. Profits, were other things stationary, would no doubt fall and rise according as taxes affecting the necessities of life, and consequently the wages of labour, were increased or diminished; but, whatever may be the rate of taxation, whether it be high or low, profits must decline, as recourse is had to lands of inferior quality, or, in other words, as the *real price*, or the *cost of production* of raw produce, is increased.

Dr Smith and other political economists have frequently referred to the rapid progress made by the United States in the accumulation of capital and riches, as a proof of the superior advantages resulting from the employment of capital in agriculture. This opinion, however, is altogether erroneous. The rapid accumulation of wealth by the Americans, is a consequence, not of their predilection for agriculture, but of the boundless extent of their fertile and unoccupied land. This enables them to raise a very large amount of raw produce at a comparatively small expense. The wages of workmen are high;

but as every workman operates with the best machinery, that is to say, cultivates the best soils, a very large nett profit remains to his master. Capital, therefore, and consequently population, rapidly accumulate; and, if the country is exempted from political convulsions, will continue to increase with the same rapidity, till the most fertile land having<sup>e</sup> been brought under cultivation, recourse must be had to inferior soils. Should the real wages of labour continue equally high subsequent to this era, the profits of stock would be very much diminished; for labour, by being exerted on worse land, would yield a proportionably small produce; and out of this diminished produce, the labourer would have to receive as large a share as before. Wages, however, would not continue equally high: for the check which would then be given to the power to accumulate capital, by gradually lessening the demand for labour, would ultimately lower wages to the sum which was merely necessary to continue the race of labourers, or to furnish the mass of the people of the United States with those necessaries and comforts which they may consider as indispensable to their existence, and without which they would not be inclined to marry, or to encumber themselves with a family. After wages had sunk to this point, they could sink no lower. <sup>e</sup>And if, in these circumstances, a great extension of manufacturing industry, or any other cause, should force recourse to be had to inferior soils to procure fresh supplies of raw produce, the profits of stock would immediately fall; and would continue to fall, and wages to rise, according as tillage was extended, or as additional quantities of food were required.

It follows, from these principles, that the interest of the landlord is always opposed to that of every other class in the community. In the progress of society, and as poorer lands are brought under cultivation, the landlord does not only receive a greater share of the produce of the soil as rent, but the value of that share, because of the increased difficulty of its production, is augmented. If his rent were increased from 100 to 200 quarters, it would be more than doubled, ~~inasmuch~~ <sup>inasmuch</sup> as he would be able to command more than double the quantity of commodities in exchange for the 200 quarters:—And as rents are generally agreed for, and paid in money, he would, under the circumstances supposed, receive more than double of his former money rent.

In like manner, if rent fell, the landlord<sup>e</sup> would suffer two losses; he would be a loser of that portion of the raw produce

which constituted his additional rent; and further, he would be a loser by the depreciation in the real or exchangeable value of the raw produce, in which, or in the value of which, his remaining rent would be paid.

But the rise, in the price of raw produce, which is advantageous to the landlord, is prejudicial to farmers, capitalists, labourers, and every other class of society. High rents are invariably accompanied by a high price of raw produce, and consequently by high wages, and a low rate of profit. Every increase of rent is, therefore, a proof that society is becoming clogged in its progress. It shows, that the power to accumulate capital and population, or to increase that fund, by whose extent the extent of the productive industry of the country must ever be regulated, is diminished. It is not possible, however, that in any society, rent and wages can ever absorb the whole value of a commodity; for, long ere this could happen, there would be no motive to accumulate; capitalists would live, not on profit but on capital; a want of employment would be universally experienced; population would rapidly diminish; and inferior lands being thrown out of cultivation, the price of raw produce would be reduced; rent and wages would fall, and capital would again yield a profit on its employment.

High rent and low profits, for they are inseparably connected, ought never to be made the subject of complaint, if they occur in the natural progress of society, and under a system of perfectly free intercourse with other nations. But if they are caused by an exclusive commercial system, or by restrictions which prevent the importation of cheap foreign corn, and which, therefore, force the cultivation of inferior soils at home, they are highly to be deprecated. A nation placed in such circumstances, must not only advance slowly, when compared with other nations which are enabled to raise their supplies of raw produce from superior soils, and at a less expense,—the power to accumulate capital must not only be diminished, but a strong inducement will be held out to transfer it to other countries. The love of country,—the thousand ties of society and friendship,—the ignorance of foreign languages, and the desire of having one's funds employed under their own inspection,—will, no doubt, in very many cases, induce capitalists to put up with a less rate of profit in their own, than they might realize by investing their funds in other countries. But this love of country has its limits. The love of gain is a no less powerful and constantly operating principle; and if capitalists are once assured that their stock can be laid out with equal security, and with considerably

greater advantage, in foreign states, a transference to a greater or less extent will undoubtedly take place.

A manufacturing country which has wisely adopted a liberal commercial system, has no reason to be alarmed at the effects of competition in any department of industry. The manufacture of one commodity opens up a market for the exchange, that is, for the *sale* of some other commodity. What a manufacturing nation has really to fear is, that the average profits of its capital do not fall lower than the average rate of profit in the surrounding countries. If this is the case, its progress must be retarded; and it will ultimately languish and decline. Neither the skill, industry, and perseverance of artisans, nor the most improved machinery, can permanently bear up against a constantly diminishing rate of profit. And such a comparative diminution is always produced by acting on a fictitious and exclusive system, which, by preventing the importation of foreign corn, forces the cultivation of poor soils, and raises the real price of raw produce.

The length to which the foregoing remarks have extended, and our anxiety to lay before our readers a faithful abstract of the fundamental principles which have been developed and illustrated by Mr Ricardo, and to point out some of their more important consequences, preclude our giving any detailed account of the subsidiary parts of his great work. We shall, perhaps, on some future occasion, endeavour to supply this deficiency; but, in the mean time, such of our readers as wish to be made acquainted with the laws by which the commercial transactions between different countries are always regulated, will do well to study Mr Ricardo's chapter on 'Foreign Trade.' This is one of the most valuable and original parts of the work before us; and affords a striking example of Mr Ricardo's uncommon sagacity in investigating and tracing the operation of fixed and general principles, and in disentangling and separating them from those of a secondary and accidental nature.

That part of Mr Ricardo's work which treats of the *THEORY OF TAXATION*, is entirely bottomed on the principles we have been endeavouring to elucidate; and a few remarks will be sufficient to give our readers an idea of its general scope and bearing.

It is observed by Mr Dugald Stewart, \* and the observation seems perfectly just, that Dr Smith is more loose and unsatisfactory in his chapter on the Principles of Taxation, than in almost any other part of his work. But the fact is, that it was

\* Sketch of the Life and Writings of Dr Smith.



impossible to engraft a sound theory of taxation on the principles which pervade the greater part of the *Wealth of Nations*. Had Dr Smith been acquainted with the real nature of rent, and with the circumstances which, in every stage of society, regulate the exchangeable value of commodities, he would doubtless have come to very different conclusions respecting the ultimate incidence and effects of various taxes.

That a direct tax on the wages of labour would raise wages, is universally admitted; and Dr Smith, in perfect conformity with his opinion, that every rise in the rate of wages caused a proportionable rise in the price of commodities, contended, that the final payment of such a tax would fall, not on the labourer or the capitalist, but on the consumer. If it be true, however, that a rise in the wages of labour does not, and cannot, raise the price of commodities, a tax on wages, it is obvious, could not be paid by the consumer. Such a tax would fall entirely on the employers of labourers, and, by raising wages, would *lower the profits of stock* to a corresponding extent.

The only difference between a direct tax on the wages of labour, and a tax on those commodities which, to use the words of Dr Smith, are not only indispensably necessary for the support of life, but which the custom of the country renders it indecent for creditable people even of the lowest order to be without, consists in this, that the former is altogether a tax on profits, and is entirely paid by the employers of labourers, whereas the latter is partly, because it must raise wages, a tax on profits, and partly, because every person is a consumer of necessaries, a tax on consumers generally.

The low rate of profit in Holland has often been appealed to as a practical proof of the truth of the theory which teaches that the increase of capital, and the consequent competition in the different departments of industry, is always attended by a diminution of the profits of stock. But the imposition of heavy taxes on the necessaries of life, and not the abundance of capital, was the real cause of the low rate of profits in Holland. The principle of population, if it does not outrun, will at least keep pace with, the increase of capital; and when this is the case, when the demand for commodities must be constantly increasing with every increase of the means whereby they are produced, it is impossible, as we have already remarked, to conceive how any multiplication of commodities, or any increase of capital, should be attended with a diminution of profits. This can only be effected by an increase of wages; and wages will always be increased by every increase of those taxes which affect the necessaries of life.

Higher duties were imposed on those necessaries in Holland than have ever been imposed in any other country. Dr Smith informs us that the price of bread consumed in the Dutch towns was supposed to be at least *doubled* by these means;\* and it was a common saying at Amsterdam, that every fish of fish was paid *once* to the fisherman, and *six* times to the State. But this oppressive system of taxation had not the least effect in raising the price of those commodities which were not strictly taxed. They continued to sell at the same price as before. The taxed commodities were raised in price; for if they had not been so raised, the producers could not have obtained the general profits of stock, and would no longer have brought them to market. But that rise could not communicate itself to any other commodity which was not taxed, and whose producers were already in possession of the ordinary rate of profit. These taxes, however, by being imposed chiefly on the necessaries of life, not only raised their price to every consumer, but they further raised the general or average rate of wages, and consequently reduced the common and average rate of profit.

Although a tax on a necessary—on corn for example—would raise its price to the extent of the tax, it must not therefore be imagined, that the profits of the stock employed in producing the corn would not be diminished. Prices would only be raised to the extent of the tax; but the tax, besides raising the price of corn, would also raise wages. For this additional sum, which the farmer would be obliged to pay his workmen, he could obtain no compensation. Prices would rise in proportion to the tax, but they would rise no higher; and the increased amount of wages would fall entirely on the profits of stock.

It has, we know, been contended, that a tax on raw produce would fall on the landlord, and that, instead of raising its price, it would only lower rent. But this could not possibly be the case. In a country where the growth of corn is just adequate to supply the wants of the inhabitants, if a tax of 5s. or 10s. were imposed on every bushel or quarter brought to the market, its price would necessarily be increased to that extent. The exchangeable value of raw produce, it must be remembered, is regulated entirely by that portion which is raised on land paying no rent, or by that capital which is employed on land without yielding any thing except the common and ordinary rate of profits. When, therefore, a tax is imposed on raw produce, the cultivator, if he did not obtain an equivalent increase of price, would be obliged to quit a trade where he

\* *Wealth of Nations*, vol. iii. p. 340.

could not obtain the general rate of profit; and the diminution of the aggregate supplies would speedily raise prices to their proper level. The raiser of that portion of raw produce which regulates the price of the whole, either pays no rent whatever, or he only gets, at the average existing prices, the common and ordinary rate of profit for a certain portion of his capital employed in producing. If he pays no rent, it is impossible he should be able to deduct the tax from a landlord; and assuredly he would not deduct it from his own profits; for there can be no reason why a farmer should continue in an employment which yields only small profits, when all other employments are yielding greater.

Such taxes, therefore, as raise the price of the necessaries of life, are attended by exactly the same effects as result from being compelled to have recourse to poorer soils for subsistence. They raise the price of the commodity on which they are imposed, in the same way as an increase in the quantity of labour necessary for its production would raise its price, and, enhancing the rate of wages, proportionably *lower the profits of stock*.

A tax on luxuries would not be productive of those effects. A duty on velvets, on claret, and on coaches, would fall entirely on the consumer. Such commodities are not consumed by the labourer, and a tax on them would not therefore raise wages, and would not have any effect on the profits of stock.

It is, perhaps, unnecessary to state, that these remarks apply entirely to the *general* and *ultimate* effects of taxation. But, when in a stationary state of society, or in a state where capital and population are increasing with nearly the same rapidity, a tax is imposed on any of the necessaries of life, labourers cannot *at once* raise their wages to a corresponding level. Their number would continue the same immediately after the imposition of the tax as before. This is a given quantity which cannot be increased or diminished in an instant. The supply of labourers is not like the supply of boots and shoes: it cannot be made to vary with every variation in the demand; and a considerable time must elapse before any great effect can be brought about, either in the way of its increase or diminution. During the whole of the period from the imposition of the tax, until the slackened operation of the principle of population had, by lessening the accustomed supply of labourers, raised their real wages to their former level, the tax would not fall altogether upon the profits of the capitalist. It would then fall partly on the labourers themselves, and would cause a greater or less diminution of their comforts and enjoyments.

Were a tax imposed on a necessary of life, in a country such

as the United States, where the rate of wages is high, it is probable that it would rather have a tendency to infuse a spirit of economy into the people, than, by checking the former rate of their increase, and diminishing the supply of labour, to raise its price. But in all old settled, and fully peopled countries, the wages of labour are seldom so high as to permit workmen to economize to any great extent. Nor is this to be at all desired. It is, whatever may be said to the contrary, the great and leading defect in the lower classes, that they submit to privations with too little reluctance. Nothing ought to be more earnestly deprecated, than any change in the sentiments of the great body of the people, which may have the effect of inducing them to lower their opinion as to what is necessary to their comfortable subsistence. Every such degradation is almost sure to be permanent; inasmuch as wages would always fall in a corresponding ratio.

But there are limits to this fall of wages, and there are consequently limits to the power of the labourers to pay taxes. And whenever these limits have been attained, and it is for the interest of society that they should be easily reached, or that wages should be kept as high and as steady as possible, every succeeding tax on wages, or on the necessaries required for the maintenance of the labourers, will fall entirely on the profits of their employers.

We have thus endeavoured, and we trust not altogether unsuccessfully, to lay before our readers an accurate exposition of the nature, as well of those general principles which Mr Ricardo has been the first to ascertain, as of those which he has adopted from late writers, and combined with the others into one harmonious, consistent, and beautiful system. It is to Mr Ricardo's own work, however, that such of our readers as wish to acquire a thorough knowledge of the subject, must have recourse; and although his conciseness of manner, coupled with the complexity and multiplicity of the details which every inquiry of this nature necessarily involves, may sometimes give the appearance of obscurity to his reasoning, it will be found, when rightly examined, to be no less logical and conclusive, than it is profound and important.

ART. III. *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage. Canto the Fourth.* By LORD BYRON. 8vo. pp. 257. London, 1818.

THERE are two writers, in modern literature, whose extraordinary power over the minds of men, it may be truly said,

has existed less in their works than in themselves,—Rousseau and Lord Byron. They have other points of resemblance. Both are distinguished by the most ardent and vivid delineations of intense conception, and by an intense sensibility of passion, rather than of affection. Both, too, by this double power, have held a dominion over the sympathy of their readers, far beyond the range of those ordinary feelings which are usually excited by the mere efforts of genius. The impression of this interest still accompanies the perusal of their writings: But there is another interest of more lasting, and far stronger power, which the one has possessed, and the other now possesses,—which lies in the continual embodying of the individual character,—it might almost be said, of the very person of the writer. When we speak or think of Rousseau or Byron, we are not conscious of speaking or thinking of an author. We have a vague but impassioned remembrance of men of surpassing genius, eloquence and power,—of prodigious capacity both of misery and happiness. We feel as if we had transiently met such beings in real life, or had known them in the dim and dark communion of a dream. Each of their works presents, in succession, a fresh idea of themselves; and, while the productions of other great men stand out from them, like something they have created, theirs, on the contrary, are images, pictures, busts of their living selves,—clothed, no doubt, at different times in different drapery, and prominent from a different background,—but uniformly impressed with the same form, and mien, and lineaments, and not to be mistaken for the representations of any other of the children of men.

But this view of the subject, though universally felt to be a true one, requires perhaps a little explanation. The personal character of which we have spoken, it should be understood, is not, altogether, that on which the seal of life has been set,—and to which, therefore, moral approval or condemnation is necessarily annexed, as to the language or conduct of actual existence. It is the character, so to speak, which is prior to conduct, and yet open to good and to ill,—the constitution of the being, in body and in soul. Each of those illustrious writers has, in this light, filled his works with expressions of his own character,—has unveiled to the world the secrets of his own being,—the mysteries of the framing of man. They have gone down into those depths which every man may sound for himself, though not for another; and they have made disclosures to the world of what they beheld and knew there—disclosures that have commanded and enforced a profound and universal sympathy, by proving that all mankind, the troubled and

the untroubled, the lofty and the low, the strongest and the frailest, are linked together by the bonds of a communion but inscrutable nature.

Thus, each of these wayward and richly-gifted spirits has made himself the object of profound interest to the world,—and that too, during periods of society when ample food was everywhere spread abroad for the meditations and passions of men. What love and desire,—what longing and passionate expectation hung upon the voice of Rousseau, the idol of his day!—That spell is broken. We now can regard his works in themselves, in great measure free from all the delusions and illusions that, like the glories of a bright and vapoury atmosphere, were for ever rising up and encircling the image of their wonderful creator. Still is the impression of his works vivid and strong. The charm which cannot pass away is there,—life breathing in dead words,—the pulses of passion,—the thrilling of the frame,—the sweet pleasure stealing from senses touched with ecstasy into sounds which the tongue frames, and the lips utter with delight. All these still are there,—the fresh beauty, the undimmed lustre—the immortal bloom and verdure and fragrance of life. These, light and vision-like as they seem, endure as in marble. But that which made the spirits of men, from one end of Europe to the other, turn to the name of Rousseau,—that idolizing enthusiasm which we can now hardly conceive, was the illusion of one generation, and has not survived to another. And what was the spell of that illusion? Was it merely that bewitching strain of dreaming melancholy which lent to moral declamation the tenderness of romance? Or that fiery impress of burning sensibility which threw over abstract and subtle disquisitions all the colours of a lover's tale? These undoubtedly—but not these alone. It was that continual impersonation of himself in his writings, by which he was for ever kept brightly present before the eyes of men. There was in him a strange and unsated desire of depicting himself, throughout all the changes of his being. His wild temper only found ease in tracing out, in laying bare to the universal gaze, the very groundwork, the most secret paths, the darkest coverts of one of the most wayward and unimaginable minds ever framed by nature. From the moment that his first literary success had wedded him to the public, this was his history,—and such his strange, contradictory, divided life. Shy, and shunning the faces of men in his daily walks, yet searching and rending up the inmost recesses of his heart for the inspection of that race which he feared or hated. As a man, turning from the light, as from something unsupportably loathsome, and plunging into the thickest

shades. Yet, in that other existence which he held from imagination, living only in the presence of men,—in the full broad glare, of the world's eye,—and eagerly, impetuously, passionately, unsparingly seizing on all his own most hidden thoughts—his loneliest moods—his most sacred feelings—which had been cherished for the seclusion in which they sprung—for their own still deep peace—and for their breathings of unbeheld communions,—seizing upon all these, and flinging them out into the open air, that they might feed the curiosity of that eager, idle, frivolous world from which he had fled in misanthropical disgust—that he might array an exhibition to their greedy gaze,—and that he, the morbid and melancholy lover of solitude, might act a conspicuous and applauded part on the crowded theatre of public fame.

It might, on a hasty consideration, seem to us, that such undisguised revelation of feelings and passions, which the becoming pride of human nature, jealous of its own dignity, would, in general, desire to hold in unviolated silence, could produce in the public mind only pity, sorrow, or repugnance. But, in the case of men of real genius, like Rousseau or Byron, it is otherwise. Each of us must have been aware in himself of a singular illusion, by which these disclosures, when read with that tender or high interest which attaches to poetry, seem to have something of the nature of private and confidential communications. They are not felt, while we read, as declarations published to the world,—but almost as secrets whispered to chosen ears. Who is there that feels, for a moment, that the voice which reaches the inmost recesses of his heart is speaking to the careless multitudes around him? Or, if we do so remember, the words seem to pass by others like air, and to find their way to the hearts for whom they were intended,—kindred and sympathizing spirits, who discern and own that secret language, of which the privacy is not violated, though spoken in hearing of the uninitiated,—because it is not understood. There is an unobserved beauty that smiles on us alone; and the more beautiful to us, because we feel as if chosen out from a crowd of lovers. Something analogous to this is felt in the grandest scenes of Nature and of Art. Let a hundred persons look from a hill-top over some transcendent landscape. Each will select from the wide-spread glory at his feet, for his more special love and delight, some different glimpse of sunshine,—or solemn grove,—or embowered spire,—or brown-mouldering ruin,—or castellated cloud. During their contemplation, the soul of each man is amidst its own creations, and in the heart of his own solitude;—nor is the depth of that solitude broken, though it

lies open to the sunshine, and before the eyes of unnumbered spectators. It is the same in great and impressive scenes of art,—for example, in a theatre. The tenderest tones of acted tragedy reach our hearts with a feeling as if that inmost soul which they disclose revealed itself to us alone. The audience of a theatre forms a sublime unity to the actor; but each person sees and feels with the same incommunicated intensity, as if all passed only before his own gifted sight. The publicity which is before our eyes is not acknowledged by our minds; and each heart feels itself to be the sole agitated witness of the pageant of misery.

But there are other reasons why we read with complacency writings which, by the most public declaration of most secret feelings, ought, it might seem, to shock and revolt our sympathy. A great poet may address the whole world in the language of intensest passion, concerning objects of which, rather than speak, face to face, with any one human being on earth, he would perish in his misery. For it is in solitude that he utters what is to be wafted by all the winds of heaven. There are, during his inspiration, present with him only the shadows of men. He is not daunted, or perplexed, or disturbed, or repelled by real living breathing features. He can updraw just as much as he chuses of the curtain that hangs between his own solitude and the world of life. He thus pours his soul out, partly to himself alone,—partly to the ideal abstractions, and impersonated images that float round him at his own conjuration,—and partly to human beings like himself, moving in the dark distance of the every-day world. He confesses himself, not before men, but before the Spirit of Humanity. And he thus fearlessly lays open his heart,—assured that nature never prompted unto genius that which will not triumphantly force its wide way into the human heart. We can thus easily imagine the poet whom, in real life, the countenances and voices of his fellow-men might silence into shame, or fastidiousness, or timidity, or aversion or disdain,—yet kindling in his solitude into irrepressible passion and enthusiasm towards human nature and all its transitory concerns,—anxiously moulding himself into the object of men's most engrossing and vehement love or aversion,—identifying his own existence with all their strongest and profoundest passions,—claiming kindred with them, not in their virtues alone, but in their darkest vices and most fatal errors;—yet, in the midst of all this, proudly guarding his own prevailing character, so that it shall not merge in the waves of a common nature, but stand in shape and gesture proudly eminent, contemplated with still-increasing interest by the millions that,



in spite of themselves, feel and acknowledge its strange and unaccountable ascendancy.

The reasons then are obvious, why a writer of very vivid sensibilities may, by empassioned self-delineation, hold a wondrous power over the entranced minds of his readers. But this power is in his living hands; and, like the wand of the magician, it loses its virtue on its master's death. We feel chiefly the influence of such a writer, while he lives—our cotemporary—going with us a fellow-voyager on the stream of life, and from time to time flashing towards us the emanations of his spirit. Our love—our expectation follow the courses of his mind, and, if his life repel us not, the courses of his life. It was the strange madness of Rousseau to pour the blaze of his reputation over the scandals of his life. But this was later in his career; and his name for a long time in Europe was that of an hermitage,—a martyr of liberty and virtue,—a persecuted good man loving a race unworthy of him, and suffering alike from their injustice and from the excess of his own spirit. He made a character for himself;—and whatever he had made it, it might have been believed. It was an assumed ideal impersonation of a character of literary and philosophical romance. At last, indeed, he broke up his own spell. But if he could have left the delusion behind him, he could not have left the power;—for the power hangs round the living man: it does not rest upon the grave.

When death removes such a writer from our sight, the magical influence of which we have spoken gradually fades away; and a new generation, free from all personal feelings towards the idol of a former age, may perhaps be wearied with that perpetual self-reference which to them seems merely the querulousness or the folly of unhappy or diseased egoism. It is even probable, that they may perversely withhold a portion of just admiration and delight from him who was once the undisputed sovereign of the soul, and that they may show their surprise at the subjection of their predecessors beneath the tyrannical despotism of genius, by scorning themselves to bow before its power, or acknowledge its legitimacy. It is at least certain, that by the darkness of death such luminaries, if not eclipsed, are shorn of their beams. So much, even in their works of most general interest, derives its beauty and fascination from a vivid feeling, in the reader's mind, of its being a portraiture of one with whom he has formed a kind of strange, wild and disturbed friendship, that they who come after, and have never felt the sorcery of the living man, instead of being kindled up by such pictures into impassioned wonder and delight, may

gaze on them with no stronger emotion than curiosity, and even turn from them with indifference. Such must be more or less the fate of all works of genius, however splendid and powerful, of which the chief interest is not in universal truth, so much as in the intensity of individual feeling, and the impersonation of individual character.

It would, indeed, be in most violent contradiction to all we have formerly written of Lord Byron, were we to say that he stands in this predicament. Yet, there is a certain applicability of our observations even to him, as well as to Rousseau, with whom, perhaps too fancifully, we have now associated his nature and his name. Posterity may make fewer allowances for much in himself and his writings, than his contemporaries are willing to do; nor will they, with the same passionate and impetuous zeal, follow the wild voice that too often leads into a haunted wilderness of doubt and darkness. To them, as to us, there will always be something majestic in his misery—something sublime in his despair. But they will not, like us, be withheld from sterner and severer feelings, and from the more frequent visitings of moral condemnation, by that awful commiseration and sympathy which a great poet breathes at will into all hearts, from his living agonies,—nor, by that restless, and watchful, and longing anxiety, to see again and again the princely sufferer rising up with fresh confessions of a still more magnificent sorrow,—nor, by that succession of affecting appeals to the frailties and troubles of our own hearts, which now keeps him vividly, and brightly, in our remembrance, wherever his soul, tempest-like, may have driven him over earth and sea,—nor, above all, by the cheering and lofty hope now felt by them who wish to see genius the inseparable companion of virtue,—that he whose inspiration holds us always in wonder, and so often in delight, may come ere long to breathe a serener atmosphere of thought,—and, after all his wanderings, and all his woes,—with subsided passions, and invigorated intellect, calmly rest at last in the collected majesty of his power.

We are not now writing a formal critique on the genius of Byron, but rather expressing our notions of the relation in which he stands with the lovers of poetry. There is felt to be between him and the public mind, a stronger personal bond than ever linked its movements to any other living poet. And we think that this bond will in future be still more closely rivetted. During the composition of the first cantos of *Childe Harold*, he had but a confused idea of the character he wished to delineate,—nor did he perhaps very distinctly comprehend the scope and tendencies of his own genius. Two conceptions, distinct

from each other, seem therein to be often blended,—one, of ideal human beings, made up of certain troubled powers and passions,—and one, of himself ranging the world of Nature and Man in wonder and delight and agitation, in his capacity of a poet. These conceptions, which frequently jostled and interfered with each other, he has since more distinctly unfolded in separate poems. His troubled imaginary beings,—possessing much of himself, and far more not of himself, he has made into Ginours, Conrads, Laras and Alps,—and his conception of himself has been expanded into *Childe Harold*, as we now behold him on that splendid pilgrimage. It is not enough to say that the veil is at last thrown off. It is a nobler creature who is before us. The ill-sustained misanthropy, and disdain of the two first Cantos, more faintly glimmer throughout the third, and may be said to disappear wholly from the fourth, which reflects the high and disturbed visions of earthly glory, as a dark swollen tide images the splendours of the sky in portentous colouring, and broken magnificence.

We have admitted, that much of himself is depicted in all his heroes; but when we seem to see the poet shadowed out in all those states of disordered being which such heroes exhibit, we are far from believing that his own mind has gone through those states of disorder, in its own experience of life. We merely conceive of it as having felt within itself the capacity of such disorders, and therefore exhibiting itself before us in possibility. This is not general—it is rare with great poets. Neither Homer, nor Shakspeare, nor Milton, ever so show themselves in the characters which they portray. Their poetical personages have no reference to themselves; but are distinct, independent creatures of their minds, produced in the full freedom of intellectual power. In Byron, there does not seem this freedom of power. There is little appropriation of character to events. Character is first, and all in all. It is dictated—compelled by some force in his own mind necessitating him,—and the events obey. These poems, therefore, with all their beauty and vigour, are not, like Scott's poems, full and complete narrations of some one definite story, containing within itself a picture of human life. They are merely bold, confused, and turbulent exemplifications of certain sweeping energies and irresistible passions. They are fragments of a poet's dark dream of life. The very personages, vividly as they are pictured, are yet felt to be fictitious; and derive their chief power over us from their supposed mysterious connexion with the poet himself, and, it may be added, with each other. The law of his mind is, to embody his own peculiar feelings in the forms of other men. In all his

heroes we accordingly recognise—though with infinite modifications, the same great characteristics,—a high and audacious conception of the power of the mind,—an intense sensibility of passion,—an almost boundless capacity of tumultuous emotion,—a haunting admiration of the grandeur of disordered power,—and, above all, a soul-felt, blood-felt delight in beauty,—a beauty which, in his wild creations, is often scared away from the agitated surface of life by stormier passions, but which, like a bird of calm, is for ever returning, on its soft, silvery wings, before the black swell has finally subsided into sunshine and peace.

It seems to us, that this exquisite sense of beauty has of late become still more exquisite in the soul of Byron. *Parasina*, the most finished of all his poems, is full of it to overflowing;—it breathes from every page of the *Prisoners of Chillon*;—but it is in *Manfred* that it riots and revels among the streams and waterfalls, and groves, and mountains, and heavens. Irrelevant and ill-managed as many parts are of that grand drama, there is in the character of *Manfred* more of the self-might of Byron than in all his previous productions. He has therein brought, with wonderful power, metaphysical conceptions into forms,—and we know of no poem in which the aspect of external nature is throughout lighted up with an expression at once so beautiful, solemn and majestic. It is the poem, next to *Childe Harold*, which we should give to a foreigner to read, that he might know something of Byron. Shakspeare has given to those abstractions of human life and being, which are truth in the intellect, forms as full, clear, glowing as the idealized forms of visible nature. The very words of *Ariel* picture to us his beautiful being. In *Manfred*, we see glorious but immature manifestations of similar power. The poet there creates, with delight, thoughts and feelings and fancies into visible forms, that he may cling and cleave to them, and clasp them in his passion. The beautiful *Witch of the Alps* seems exhaled from the luminous spray of the *Cataract*,—as if the poet's eyes, unsated with the beauty of inanimate nature, gave spectral apparitions of loveliness to feed the pure passion of the poet's soul.

We speak of *Manfred* now, because it seems to us to hold a middle place between the *Tales of Byron*, and *Childe Harold*, as far as regards the Poet himself. But we likewise do so, that we may have an opportunity of saying a few words on the moral of this poem, and a few words on a subject that may scarcely seem to fall under the legitimate province of the critic, but which, in the case of this great writer, forms so profoundly-interesting a part of his poetical character—we mean, his scepticism.

The moral character of Byron's poetry has often been assailed, and we have ourselves admitted that some strong objections might be urged against it. But we think that his mind is now clearing up, like noon-day, after a stormy and disturbed morning;—and when the change which we anticipate has been fully brought about, the moral character of his poetry will be lofty and pure. Over this fine drama, a moral feeling hangs like a sombrous thunder cloud. No other guilt but that so darkly shadowed out could have furnished so dreadful an illustration of the hideous aberrations of human nature, however noble and majestic, when left a prey to its desires, its passions and its imagination. The beauty, at one time so innocently adored, is at last soiled, profaned and violated. Affection, love, guilt, horror, remorse and death come in terrible succession, yet all darkly linked together. We think of Astartè as young, beautiful, innocent—guilty—lost—murdered—buried—judged—pardoned; but still, in her permitted visit to earth, speaking in a voice of sorrow, and with a countenance yet pale with mortal trouble. We had but a glimpse of her in her beauty and innocence; but, at last, she rises up before us in all the mortal silence of a ghost, with fixed, glazed and passionless eyes, revealing death, judgement and eternity. The moral breathes and burns in every word,—in sadness, misery, insanity, desolation and death. The work is 'instinct with spirit,'—and in the agony and distraction, and all its dimly imagined causes, we behold, though broken up, confused and shattered, the elements of a purer existence.

On the other point, namely, the dark and sceptical spirit prevalent through the works of this poet, we shall not now utter all that we feel, but rather direct the notice of our readers to it as a singular phenomenon in the poetry of the age. Whoever has studied the spirit of Greek and Roman literature, must have been struck with the comparative disregard and indifference wherewith the thinking men of these exquisitely polished nations contemplated those subjects of darkness and mystery which afford, at some period or other of his life, so much disquiet—we had almost said so much agony to the mind of every reflecting modern. It is difficult to account for this in any very satisfactory, and we suspect altogether impossible to do so in any strictly logical manner. In reading the works of Plato and his interpreter Cicero, we find the germs of all the doubts and anxieties to which we have alluded, so far as these are connected with the workings of our reason. The singularity is, that those clouds of darkness, which hang over the intellect, do not appear, so far as we can perceive, to have thrown at any time any

very alarming shade upon the feelings or temper of the ancient sceptic. We should think a very great deal of this was owing to the brilliancy and activity of his southern fancy. The lighter spirits of antiquity, like the more mercurial of our moderns, sought refuge in mere *gaieté du cœur* and derision. The graver poets and philosophers—and poetry and philosophy were in those days seldom disunited—built up some airy and beautiful system of mysticism, each following his own devices, and suiting the erection to his own peculiarities of hope and inclination; and this being once accomplished, the mind appears to have felt quite satisfied with what it had done, and to have reposed amidst the splendours of its sand-built fantastic edifice, with as much security as if it had been grooved and rivetted into the rock of ages. The mere exercise of ingenuity in devising a system, furnished consolation to its creators or improvers. Lucretius is a striking example of all this; and it may be averred that, down to the time of Claudian, who lived in the 4th century of our era, in no classical writer of antiquity do there occur any traces of what moderns understand by the restlessness and discomfort of uncertainty as to the government of the world, and the future destinies of Man.

There are three only even among the great poets of modern times, who have chosen to depict, in their full shape and vigour, those agonies to which great and meditative intellects are, in the present progress of human history, exposed by the eternal recurrence of a deep and discontented scepticism. But there is only one who has dared to represent himself as the victim of these nameless and undefinable sufferings. Goëthe chose for his doubts and his darkness the terrible disguise of the mysterious Faustus. Schiller, with still greater boldness, planted the same anguish in the restless, haughty and heroic bosom of Wallenstein. But Byron has sought no external symbol in which to embody the inquietudes of his soul. He takes the world and all that it inherit for his arena and his spectators; and he displays himself before their gaze, wrestling unceasingly and ineffectually with the demon that torments him. At times there is something mournful and depressing in his scepticism; but oftener, it is of a high and solemn character, approaching to the very verge of a confiding faith. Whatever the poet may believe, we his readers always feel ourselves too much ennobled and elevated even by his melancholy, not to be confirmed in our own belief by the very doubts so majestically conceived and uttered. His scepticism, if it ever approaches to a creed, carries with it its religion in its grandeur. Their is neither philoso-

phy nor religion in those bitter and savage taunts which have been cruelly thrown out, from many quarters, against those moods of mind which are involuntary, and will not pass away;—the shadows and spectres which still haunt his imagination, may once have disturbed our own;—through his gloom there are frequent flashes of illumination;—and the sublime sadness which, to him, is breathed from the mysteries of mortal existence, is always joined with a longing after immortality, and expressed in language that is itself divine.

But it is our duty now to give our readers an analysis of the concluding Canto of *Childe Harold*; and as it is, in our opinion, the finest of them all, our extracts shall be abundant. The poem which it brings to an end is perhaps the most original in the language, both in conception and execution. It is no more like Beattie's *Minstrel* than *Paradise Lost*—though the former production was in the Noble author's mind when first thinking of *Childe Harold*. A great poet, who gives himself up, free and unconfined, to the impulses of his genius, as Byron has done in the better part of this singular creation, shows to us a spirit as it is sent out from the hands of Nature, to range over the earth and the societies of men. Even Shakespeare himself submits to the shackles of history and society. But here Byron traverses the whole earth, borne along by the whirlwind of his own spirit. Wherever a forest frowns, or a temple glitters—there he is privileged to bend his flight. He may suddenly start up from his solitary dream by the secret fountain of the desert, and descend at once into the tumult of peopled, or the silence of desolated cities. Whatever lives now—has perished heretofore—or may exist hereafter—and that has within it a power to kindle passion, may become the material of his all-embracing song. There are no unities of time or place to fetter him,—and we fly with him from hilltop to hilltop, and from tower to tower, over all the solitude of nature, and all the magnificence of art. When the past pageants of history seem too dim and faded, he can turn to the splendid spectacles that have dignified our own days; and the images of kings and conquerors of old may give place to those yet living in sovereignty or exile. Indeed, much of the power which *Harold* holds over us is derived from this source. He lives in a sort of sympathy with the public mind—sometimes wholly distinct from it—sometimes acting in opposition to it—sometimes blending with it,—but, at all times,—in all his thoughts and actions having a reference to the public mind. His spirit need not go back into the past,—though it often does so,—to bring the objects of its love back to earth in more beautiful life. The ex-

istence he paints is—now. The objects he presents are marked out to him by men's present regards. It is his to speak of all those great political events which have been objects of such passionate sympathy to the nation. And when he does speak of them, he either gives us back our own feelings, raised into powerful poetry, or he endeavours to displace them from our breasts, and to substitute others of his own. In either case, it is a living speaker standing up before us, and ruling our minds. But chiefly he speaks our own feelings, exalted in thought, language, and passion. The whole substance and basis of his poem is, therefore, popular. All the scenes through which he has travelled, were, at the very moment, of strong interest to the public mind, and that interest still hangs over them. His travels were not, at first, the self-impelled act of a mind severing itself in lonely roaming from all participation with the society to which it belonged, but rather obeying the general motion of the mind of that society. The southern regions of Europe have been like a world opening upon us with fresh and novel beauty, and our souls have enjoyed themselves there, of late years, with a sort of romantic pleasure. This fanciful and romantic feeling was common to those who went to see those countries, and to those who remained at home to hear the narrations of the adventurers,—so that all the Italian, Grecian, Peninsular, Ionian and Ottoman feeling which pervades *Childe Harold*, singularly suited as it is to the genius of Byron, was not first brought upon the English mind by the power of that genius, but was there already in great force and activity.

There can be no limits set to the interest that attaches to a great poet thus going forth, like a spirit, from the heart of a powerful and impassioned people, to range among the objects and events to them most pregnant with passion,—who is, as it were, the representative of our most exalted intellect,—and who often seems to disclose within ourselves that splendour with which he invests our own ordinary conceptions. The consciousness that he is so considered by a great people, must give a kingly power and confidence to a poet. He feels himself entitled, and, as it were, elected to survey the phenomena of the times, and to report upon them in poetry. He is the speculator of the passing might and greatness of his own generation. But though he speaks to the public, at all times, he does not consider them as his judges. He looks upon them as sentient existences that are important to his poetical existence,—but, so that he command their feelings and passions, he cares not for their censure or their praise,—for his fame is more than mere literary fame; and he aims in poetry, like the fallen chief whose image is so often be-



fore him, at universal dominion, we had almost said, universal tyranny, over the minds of men.

Childe Harold is now in Italy; and his first strain rises from Venice, 'the City of the Sea.' There is, unquestionably, much vigour in his lament over her fallen greatness,—yet we confess, that, during the first thirty stanzas of this Canto, the poet's mind seems scarcely to have kindled into its perfect power; and that there is not much in them beyond the reach of a far inferior intellect. It seems to us, also, the only part of the poem in which he forces his own individual feelings into reluctant words, instead of giving vent to them, as is usual with him, in impassioned music. The following stanzas are fine.

Statues of glass—all shiver'd—the long file  
Of her dead Doges are declin'd to dust;  
But where they dwelt, the vast and sumptuous pile  
Bespeaks the pageant of their splendid trust;  
Their sceptre broken, and their sword in rust,  
Have yielded to the stranger: empty halls,  
Thin streets, and foreign aspects, such as must  
Too oft remind her who and what enthral,  
Have flung a desolate cloud o'er Venice' lovely wall,

When Athens' armies fell at Syracuse,  
And fetter'd thousands bore the yoke of war,  
Redemption rose up in the Attic Muse,  
Her voice their only ransom from afar:  
See! as they chant the tragic hymn, the car  
Of the o'erunmaster'd victor stops, the reins  
Fall from his hands—his idle scimitar  
Starts from its belt—he rends his captive's chains,  
And bids him thank the bard for freedom and his strains,

Thus, Venice, if no stronger claim were thine,  
Were all thy proud historic deeds forgot,  
Thy choral memory of the Bard divine,  
Thy love of Tasso, should have cut the knot  
Which ties thee to thy tyrants; and thy lot  
Is shameful to the nations,—most of all,  
Albion! to thee: the Ocean queen should not  
Abandon Ocean's children; in the fall  
Of Venice think of thine, despite thy watery wall,

I lov'd her from my boyhood—she to me  
Was as a fairy city of the heart,  
Rising like water-columns from the sea,  
Of joy the sojourn, and of wealth the mart;  
And Otway, Rattcliff, Schiller, Shakspeare's art,  
Had stamp'd her image in me, and even so,  
Although I found her thus, we did not part,

Perchance even dearer in her day of woe,  
Than when she was a boast, a marvel, and a show. p. 10—12.

Escaping from Venice, he presents us with an exquisite moon-light landscape on the banks of the Brenta. Indeed, the whole of this Canto is rich in description of Nature. The love of Nature now appears as a distinct passion in his mind. It is a love that does not rest in beholding, nor is satisfied with describing what is before him. It has a power and being, blending itself with the poet's very life. Etherially and ideally beautiful and perfect, and therefore satisfying the longings of a poet's soul, Nature yet seems to woo with delight his very senses—to love him, frail, weak and lowly as he is, and to breathe upon him the blessedness and glory of her own deep, calm, and mighty existence. Though Byron had, with his real eyes, perhaps seen more of Nature than ever was before permitted to any great poet, yet he never before seemed to open his whole heart to her genial impulses. But in this he is changed; and, in the third and fourth Cantos of *Harold*, he will stand a comparison with the best descriptive poets, in this age of descriptive poetry.

The Moon is up, and yet it is not night—  
Sunset divides the sky with her—a sea  
Of glory streams along the Alpine height  
Of blue Fiumi's mountains; Heaven is free  
From clouds, but of all colours seems to be  
Melted to one vast Iris of the West,  
Where the Day joins the past Eternity;  
While, on the other hand, meek Dian's crest  
Floats through the azure air—an island of the blest!

A single star is at her side, and reigns  
With her o'er half the lovely heaven; but still  
Yon sunny sea heaves brightly, and remains  
Roll'd o'er the peak of the far Rætian hill,  
As Day and Night contending were, until  
Nature reclaim'd her order:—gently flows  
The deep-dyed Brenta, where their hues instil  
The odorous purple of a new-born rose,  
Which streams upon her stream, and glass'd within it glows,  
Fill'd with the face of heaven, which, from afar,  
Comes down upon the waters; all its hues,  
From the rich sunset to the rising star,  
Their magical variety diffuse:  
And now they change; a paler shadow strews  
Its mantle o'er the mountains; parting Day  
Dies like the dolphin, whom each pang imbues  
With a new colour as it gasps away,  
The last still loveliest, till—'tis gone—and all is gray. p. 16, 17.

Passing through Arqua, the mountain-village where Petrarch 'went down the vale of years,' he beautifully muses over the remains of his simple mansion and his sepulchre, and then starts away from the peacefulness of the hallowed scene, into one of those terrible fits, which often suddenly appal us in his poetry. 6

There is a tomb in Arqua ;—rear'd in air,  
Pillar'd in their sarcophagus, repose  
The bones of Laura's lover : here repair  
Many familiar with his well-sung woes,  
'The pilgrims of his genius. He arose  
To raise a language, and his land reclaim  
From the dull yoke of her barbaric foes :  
Watering the tree which bears his lady's name  
With his melodious tears, he gave himself to fame.

They keep his dust in Arqua, where he died ;  
The mountain village where his latter days  
Went down the vale of years ; and 'tis their pride—  
An honest pride—and let it be their praise,  
'To offer to the passing stranger's gaze  
His mansion and his sepulchre ; both plain  
And venerably simple, such as raise  
A feeling more accordant with his strain  
Than if a pyramid form'd his monumental fane.

And the soft quiet hamlet where he dwelt  
Is one of that complexion which seems made  
For those who their mortality have felt,  
And sought a refuge from their hopes decay'd  
In the deep umbrage of a green hill's shade,  
Which shows a distant prospect far away  
Of busy cities, now in vain display'd,  
For they can lure no further ; and the ray  
Of a bright sun can make sufficient holiday,

Developing the mountains, leaves, and flowers,  
And shining in the brawling brook, where-by,  
Clear as its current, glide the sauntering hours  
With a calm languor, which, though to the eye  
Idlesse it seems, hath its morality.

If from society we learn to live,  
'Tis solitude should teach us how to die ;  
It hath no flatterers ; vanity can give  
No hollow aid ; alone—man with his God must strive :

Or, it may be, with Demons, who impair  
The strength of better thoughts, and seek their prey  
In melancholy bosoms, such as were  
Of moody texture from their earliest day,

And lov'd to dwell in darkness and dismay,  
 Deeming themselves predestin'd to a doom  
 Which is not of the pangs that pass away ;  
 Making the sun like blood, the earth a tomb,  
 The tomb a hell, and hell itself a murkier gloom. 18—20.

In Ferrara, he vents his pity over the fate of Tasso, and his wrath against the tyrant Alphonso; and after some eloquent eulogiums on Italy and her finest spirits, we find him at Florence. The delight with which the pilgrim contemplates the ancient Greek statues there, and afterwards at Rome, is such as might have been expected from any great poet, whose youthful mind had, like his, been imbued with those classical ideas and associations, which afford so many sources of pleasure, through every period of life. He has gazed up on these masterpieces of art with, as it seems to us, a more susceptible, and in spite of his disavowal, we had almost said with a more learned eye, than can be traced in the effusions of any poet who had previously expressed, in any formal manner, his admiration of their beauty. It may appear fanciful to say so;—but we think the genius of Byron is, more than that of any other modern poet, akin to that peculiar genius, which seems to have been diffused among all the poets and artists of ancient Greece; and in whose spirit, above all its other wonders, the great specimens of Sculpture seem to have been conceived and executed. Modern poets, in general, delight in a full assemblage of persons or ideas or images, and in a rich variety of effect, something not far dissimilar from which is found and admired in the productions of Painters. Byron alone seems to be satisfied with singleness, simplicity and unity. He shares, what some consider to be the disadvantages of Sculpture, but what we conceive to be, in no small degree, the sources of that power, which, unrivalled by any other productions, save only those of the poet, breathes from the inimitable monuments of that severest of the arts. His creations, whether of beauty or of strength, are all single creations. He requires no grouping to give effect to his favourites, or to tell his story. His heroines are solitary symbols of loveliness, which require no foil; his heroes stand alone as upon marble pedestals, displaying the naked power of passion, or the wrapped up and reposing energy of grief. The artist who would illustrate, as it is called, the works of any of our other poets, must borrow the mimic splendours of the pencil. He who would transfer into another vehicle the spirit of Byron, must pour the liquid metal, or hew the stubborn rock. What he loses in ease, he will gain in power. He might draw from Medora, Gulnare, Lara, or Manfred, subjects for relieves, worthy of enthusiasm almost as great as Harold

has himself displayed on the contemplation of the loveliest, and the sternest relics, of the inimitable genius of the Greeks.

But Arno wins us to the fair white walls,  
 Where the Etrurian Athens claims and keeps  
 A softer feeling for her fairy halls.  
 Girt by her theatre of hills, she reaps  
 Her corn, and wine, and oil, and Plenty leaps  
 To laughing life, with her redundant horn.  
 Along the banks where smiling Arno sweeps  
 Was modern Luxury of Commerce born,  
 And buried Learning rose, redeem'd to a new morn.

There, too, the Goddess loves in stone, and fills  
 The air around with beauty ; we inhale  
 The ambrosial aspect, which, beheld, instils  
 Part of its immortality ; the veil  
 Of heaven is half undrawn ; within the pale  
 We stand, and in that form and face behold  
 What Mind can make. when Nature's self would fail ;  
 And to the fond idolaters of old

Envy the innate flash which such a soul could mould :

We gaze and turn away, and know not where,  
 Dazzled and drunk with beauty, till the heart  
 Reels with its fulness ; there—for ever there—  
 Chain'd to the chariot of triumphal Art,  
 We stand as captives, and would not depart.  
 Away !—there need no words, nor terms precise,  
 The paltry jargon of the marble mart,  
 Where Pedantry gulls Folly—we have eyes :  
 Blood—pulse—and breast, confirm the Dardan Shepherd's prize.

Appear'dst thou not to Paris in this guise ?  
 Or to more deeply blest Anchises ? or,  
 In all thy perfect goddess-ship, when lies  
 Before thee thy own vanquish'd Lord of War  
 And gazing in thy face as toward a star,  
 Laid on thy lap, his eyes to thee upturn,  
 Feeding on thy sweet cheek ! while thy lips are  
 With lava kisses melting while they burn,  
 Showered on his eyelids, brow, and mouth, as from an urn !

Glowing, and circumfused in speechless love,  
 Their full divinity inadequate  
 That feeling to express, or to improve,  
 The gods become as mortals, and man's fate  
 Has moments like their brightest ; but the weight  
 Of earth recoils upon us ;—let it go !

We can recal such visions, and create,  
 From what has been, or might be, things which grow  
 Into thy statue's form, and look like gods below. p. 27—29.

With the same divine glow of enthusiasm he speaks of the Greek statues at Rome.

Or, turning to the Vatican, go see  
 Laocoon's torture dignifying pain—  
 A father's love and mortal's agony  
 With an immortal's patience blending :—Vain  
 The struggle ; vain, against the coiling strain  
 And grip, and deepening of the dragon's gasp,  
 The old man's clench ; the long envenomed chain  
 Rivets the living links,—the enormous asp  
 Enforces pang on pang, and stifles gasp on gasp.  
 Or view the Lord of the unerring bow,  
 The God of life, and poesy, and light—  
 The Sun in human limbs array'd and brow  
 All radiant from his triumph in the fight ;  
 The shaft hath just been shot—the arrow bright  
 With an immortal's vengeance ; in his eye  
 And nostril beautiful disdain, and night,  
 And majesty, flash their full lightnings by,  
 Developing in that one glance the Deity.

But in his delicate form—a dream of Love,  
 Shaped by some solitary nymph, whose breast  
 Long'd for a deathless lover from above,  
 And madden'd in that vision—are express'd  
 All that ideal beauty ever bless'd  
 The mind with in its most unearthly mood,  
 When each conception was a heavenly guest—  
 A ray of immortality—and stood,

Starlike, around, until they gathered to a god !

And if it be Prometheus stole from Heaven  
 The fire which we endure, it was repaid  
 By him to whom the energy was given  
 Which this poetic marble hath array'd  
 With an eternal glory—which, if made  
 By human hands, is not of human thought ;  
 And Time himself, hath hallowed it, nor laid  
 One ringlet in the dust—nor hath it caught

A tinge of years, but breathes the flame with which 'twas  
 wrought. p. 83, 84.

While he yet remains at Florence, he meditates for a while on the ashes of the great men in Santa Croce ; and then, expressing a feigned scorn of those very works of art, which had awakened his inspiration, he carries us at once into the bloody field of Thrasimene.

— I roam  
 By Thrasimene's lake, in the detiles

Fatal to Roman rashness, more at home ;  
 For there the Carthaginian's warlike wiles  
 Come back before me, as his skill beguiles  
 The host between the mountains and the shore,  
 Where Courage falls in her despairing files,  
 And torrents, swoln to rivers with their gore,  
 Reek through the sultry plain, with legions scatter'd o'er.

Like to a forest fell'd by mountain winds ;  
 And such the storm of battle on this day,  
 And such the phrenzy, whose convulsion blinds  
 To all save carnage, that, beneath the fray,  
 An earthquake reel'd unheededly away !  
 None felt stern Nature rocking at his feet,  
 And yawning forth a grave for those who lay  
 Upon their bucklers for a winding sheet ;  
 Such is the absorbing hate when warring nations meet !

The Earth to them was as a rolling bark  
 Which bore them to Eternity ; they saw  
 The Ocean round, but had no time to mark  
 The motions of their vessel ; Nature's law,  
 In them suspended, reck'd not of the awe  
 Which reigns when mountains tremble, and the birds  
 Plunge in the clouds for refuge and withdraw  
 From their down-toppling nests ; and bellowing herds'  
 Stumble o'er heaving plains, and man's dread hath no words.  
p. 34, 35.

How delightful, after such a terrible picture, is the placid  
 and beautiful repose of what follows.

Far other scene is Thrasimene now ;  
 Her lake a sheet of silver, and her plain  
 Rent by no ravage save the gentle plough ;  
 Her aged trees rise thick as once the slain  
 Lay where their roots are ; but a brook hath ta'en—  
 A little rill of scanty stream and bed—  
 A name of blood from that day's sanguine rain ;  
 And Sanguinetto tells ye where the dead  
 Made the earth wet, and turn'd the unwilling waters red.

But thou, Clitumnus ! in thy sweetest wave  
 Of the most living crystal that was e'er  
 The haunt of river nymph, to gaze and lave  
 Her limbs where nothing hid them, thou dost rear  
 Thy grassy banks whereon the milk-white steer  
 Grazes ; the purest god of gentle waters !  
 And most serene of aspect, and most clear ;  
 Surely that stream was unprofaned by slaughters—  
 A mirror and a bath for Beauty's youngest daughters !

And on thy happy shore a temple still,  
 Of small and delicate proportion, keeps,  
 Upon a mild declivity of hill,  
 Its memory of thee; beneath it sweeps  
 Thy current's calmness; oft from out it leaps  
 The sinny darter with the glittering scales,  
 Who dwells and revels in thy glassy deeps:  
 While, chance, some scatter'd water-lily sails  
 Down where the shallower wave still tells its bubbling tales.

p. 35, 36.

This gentle scene is again suddenly disturbed by a description of the Cataract of Velino, which absolutely thunders in our ears like a reality. The passion with which the whole description is imbued, is peculiarly characteristic of Byron.

The roar of waters!—from the headlong height  
 Velino cleaves the wave-worn precipice;  
 The fall of waters! rapid as the light  
 The flashing mass foams shaking the abyss;  
 The hell of waters! where they howl and hiss,  
 And boil in endless torture; while the sweat  
 Of their great agony, wrung out from this  
 Their Phlegethon, curls round the rocks of jet  
 That gird the gulf around, in pitiless horror set,  
 And mounts in spray the skies, and thence again  
 Returns in an unceasing shower, which round,  
 With its unemptied cloud of gentle rain,  
 Is an eternal April to the ground,  
 Making it all one emerald:—how profound  
 The gulf! and how the giant element  
 From rock to rock leaps with delirious bound.  
 Crushing the cliffs, which, downward worn and rent  
 With his fierce footsteps, yield in chasms a fearful vent  
 To the broad column which rolls on, and shows  
 More like the fountain of an infant sea  
 Torn from the womb of mountains by the throes  
 Of a new world, than only thus to be  
 Parent of rivers, which flow gushingly,  
 With many windings, through the vale:—Look back!  
 Lo! where it comes like an eternity,  
 As if to sweep down all things in its track,  
 Charming the eye with dread,—a matchless cataract,  
 Horribly beautiful! but on the verge,  
 From side to side, beneath the glittering morn,  
 An Iris sits, amidst the infernal surge,  
 Like Hope upon a death-bed, and, unworn  
 Its steady dyes, while all around is torn  
 By the distracted waters, bears serene



Its brilliant hues with all their beams unshorn :

Resembling, 'mid the torture of the scene,

Love watching Madness with unalterable mien. p. 37-39.

There immediately follows this a passage, which produces a powerful effect on our imagination, as it would seem almost entirely by the mere enumeration of the names of famous mountains. We feel as if we, as well as the poet, had been eyewitnesses of all the sublimity.

Once more upon the woody Apennine,

The infant Alps, which—had I not before

Gazed on their mightier parents, where the pine

Sits on more shaggy summits, and where roar

The thundering lawine—might be worshipp'd more ;

But I have seen the soaring Jungfrau rear,

Her never-trodden snow, and seen the hoar

Glaciers of bleak Mont-Blanc both far and near,

And in Chimari heard the thunder-hills of fear,

Th' Acroceraunian mountains of old name ;

And on Parnassus seen the eagles fly

Like spirits of the spot, as 'twere for fame,

For still they soared unutterably high :

I've look'd on Ida with a Trojan's eye ;

Athos, Olympus, Ætna, Atlas, made

These hills seem things of lesser dignity, ' &c. p. 39, 40. '

But the Pilgrim now approaches—and enters that place whither all his visions were tending, and which surpasses in grandeur all that even his eyes had before witnessed on earth. He has not disappointed us in his poetical commemoration of the Eternal City. Souls the most untouched with that inspiration of which he has drunk so deeply, cannot gaze upon that most affecting of all earthly scenes, without being wrapt for a season into something of that high ecstasy which is the privileged element of genius,—without catching a Roman grandeur in the midst of the crumbled palaces of Rome. The Seven Hills themselves have mouldered into one mass of ruin. ' The concussions of war, time, and barbarism, have levelled the old land-marks with which we are familiar in the pages of Livy, Tacitus and Virgil,—they have bereaved not only the Palatine of its splendour, but the Tarpeian of its height. We descend, not ascend, to the Pantheon ; and in a few damp, dreary, and subterranean dungeons, we survey the only relics of the gigantic palace of the Cæsars, ' the *Domus Aurea*, ' the wonder of the world. In the midst of this chaos and this desert—throned on the pathless labyrinth of her ruin, sits the Genius of the place—a personification which is not dreamlike or imaginary, but which rivets and rules the soul of the most prosaic observer,—the ma-

jestic image or memory of the fallen city. Here indeed the sombre spirit of Harold must have found a fitting resting-place. Here, indeed, there was no occasion for the exercise of that fearful power, with which it has been his delight to throw a veil over gladness, and make us despise ourselves for being happy even under the fairest influences of the bloom of Nature. The darkest soul might here revel in images of grief, without fearing any want of sympathy for its terrible creations. But Byron has wisely forbore to carry the impression further than was necessary; or rather, with the genuine submission and reverence natural to a truly great mind, he disdains to be other than passive on such an arena; and taking, as it were, the troubled fingers of his Pilgrim from the lyre, he sets up the trembling strings to answer, only as it may be spoken to them by the mournful breezes of the surrounding desolation.

Oh Rome! my country! city of the soul!  
The orphans of the heart must turn to thee,  
Lone mother of dead empires! and controul  
In their shut breasts their petty miserv.

What are our woes and sufferance? Come and see

The cypress, hear the owl, and plod your way  
O'er steps of broken thrones and temples, Ye!

Whose agonies are evils of a day—

A world is at our feet as fragile as our clay,

The Niobe of nations! there she stands,  
Childless and crownless, in her voiceless woe;  
An empty urn within her withered hands,  
Whose holy dust was scatter'd long ago;  
The Scipios' tomb contains no ashes now;  
The very sepulchres lie tenantless  
Of their heroic dwellers: dost thou flow,  
Old Tiber! through a marble wilderness?

Rise, with thy yellow waves, and mantle her distress!

The Goth, the Christian Time, War, Flood, and Fire,  
Have dealt upon the seven-hill'd city's pride;

She saw her glories star by star expire,

And up the steep barbarian monarchs ride,

Where the car clim'b the capitol: far and wide

Temple and tower went down, nor left a site:—

Chaos of ruins! who shall trace the void,

O'er the dim fragments cast a lunar light,

And say, "here was, or is," where all is doubly night?

The double night of ages, and of he!,

Night's daughter, Ignorance, hath wrapt and wrap

All round us; we but feel our way to err:

The ocean hath his chart, the stars their map;

And Knowledge spreads them on her ample lap;  
 But Rome is as the desert, where we steer  
 Stumbling o'er recollections; now we clap  
 Our hands, and cry, "Eureka!" it is clear—  
 When but some false mirage of ruin rises near.

Alas! the lofty city! and alas!

The trebly hundred triumphs! and the day  
 When Brutus made the dagger's edge surpass  
 The conqueror's sword in bearing fame away!

Alas, for Tully's voice, and Virgil's lay,  
 And Livy's pictur'd page!—but these shall be  
 Her resurrection; all beside—decay.

Alas, for Earth, for never shall we see

That brightness in her eye she bore when Rome was free!

Oh thou, whose chariot roll'd on Fortune's wheel,

Triumphant Sylla! Thou, who didst subdue

Thy country's foes ere thou would pause to feel

The wrath of thy own wrongs, or reap the due

Of hoarded vengeance till thine eagles flew

O'er prostrate Asia;—thou, who with thy frown

Annihilated senates—Roman, too,

With all thy vices, for thou didst lay down

With an atoning smile a more than earthly crown—

The dictatorial wreath,—couldst thou divine

To what would one day dwindle that which made

Thee more than mortal? and that so supine

By aught than Roman's Rome should thus be laid?

She who was named Eternal, and array'd

Her warriors but to conquer—she who veil'd

Earth with her haughty shadow, and display'd,

Until the o'er-canopied horizon fail'd,

Her rushing wings—Oh! she who was Almighty hail'd!

p. 42-45.

Here his mind reverts, in its passion, to the great ruling spirits of his own country or age, in whom he discerns a dark and shadowy resemblance to the Syllas and Cæsars of Rome; and, passing from Cromwell to Napoleon, he glances at the French Revolution, and fills several confused and turbid stanzas with political retrospects and prophecies. From these lucubrations, however, we confess we are not unwillingly brought back to the scene before him, by a very beautiful passage, which ends, like so many others, with the powerful expression of his own gloom and misanthropy. This strain, however, is soon discontinued. Among the ruins of Rome there is no steadfast resting-place for the indulgence of individual sorrow; and the pilgrim, rising into a loftier mood, thus blends his spirit with the glorious decay.

Then let the winds howl on ! their harmony  
 Shall henceforth be my music, and the night  
 The sound shall temper with the owl's cry,  
 As I now hear them, in the fading light  
 Dim o'er the bird of darkness' native site,  
 Answering each other on the Palatine,  
 With their large eyes, all glistening grey and bright,  
 And sailing pinions.—Upon such a shrine  
 What are our petty griefs?—let me not number mine.

Cypress and ivy, weed and wallflower grown  
 Matted and mass'd together, lillocks heap'd  
 On what were chambers, arch crush'd, column strown  
 In fragments, chok'd up vaults, and frescos steep'd  
 In subterranean damps, where the owl peep'd,  
 Deeming it midnight :—Temples, baths, or halls ?  
 Pronounce who can ; for all that Learning reap'd  
 From her research hath been, that these are walls—  
 Behold the Imperial Mount ! 'tis thus the mighty falls.

There is the moral of all human tales ;  
 'Tis but the same rehearsal of the past,  
 First Freedom, and then Glory—when that fails,  
 Wealth, vice, corruption,—barbarism at last.  
 And History, with all her volumes vast,  
 Hath but *one* page,—'tis better written here,  
 Where gorgeous Tyranny had thus amass'd  
 All treasures, all delights, that eye or ear,  
 Heart, soul could seek, tongue ask—Away with words ! draw  
 near,

Admire, exult—despise—laugh, weep,—for here  
 There is such matter for all feeling :—Man !  
 Thou pendulum betwixt a smile and tear,  
 Ages and realms are crowded in this span,  
 This mountain, whose obliterated plan  
 The pyramid of empires pinnacled,  
 Of Glory's gewgaws shining in the van  
 Till the sun's rays with added flame were fill'd !  
 Where are its golden roofs ? where those who dared to build ?

\* Tully was not so eloquent as thou,  
 Thou nameless column with the buried base !  
 What are the laurels of the Caesar's brow ?  
 Crown me with ivy from his dwelling-place.  
 Whose arch or pillar meets me in the face,  
 Titus or Trajan's ? No—'tis that of Time :  
 Triumph, arch, pillar, all he doth displace  
 Scoffing ; and apostolic statues climb  
 To crush the imperial urn, whose ashes slept sublime,

Buried in air, the deep blue sky of Rome,  
 And looking to the stars: they had contain'd  
 A spirit which with these would find a home,  
 The last, of those who o'er the whole earth reign'd,  
 The Roman globe, for after none sustain'd,  
 But yielded back his conquests:—he was more  
 Than a mere Alexander, and, unstain'd  
 With househo'd blood and wine, serenely wore  
 His sovereign virtues still we Trajan's name adore.

Where is the rock of Triumph, the high place  
 Where Rome embraced her heroes? where the steep  
 Turpeian? fittest goal of Treason's race,  
 The promontory whence the Traitor's Leap  
 Cured all ambition. Did the conquerors heap  
 Their spoils here? Yes; and in yon field below,  
 A thousand years of silenced factions sleep—  
 The Forum, where the immortal accents glow,  
 And still the eloquent air breathes—burns with Cicero!

p. 56—59.

On the accidental recurrence to his mind of the character of Numa, his spirit falls into a passionate dream of the Egerian Grot, in which there breathes that full, delicate, and perfect sense of beauty which often steals upon him during moods of a very different kind, and wins him, somewhat reluctantly, *away* into scenes filled with images of stillness and peace.

Egeria! sweet creation of some heart  
 Which found no mortal resting-place so fair  
 As thine ideal breast; what'er thou art  
 Or wert,— a young Aurora of the air,  
 The nympholepsy of some fond despair;  
 Or, it might be, a beauty of the earth,  
 Who found a more than common votary there  
 Too much adoring; whatsoe'er thy birth,  
 Thou wert a beautiful thought, and softly bodied forth.

The mosses of thy fountain still are sprinkled  
 With thine Elysian water-drops; the face  
 Of thy cave-guarded spring, with years unwrinkled,  
 Reflects the meek-eyed genius of the place,  
 Whose green, wild margin now no more erases  
 Art's works; nor must the delicate waters sleep,  
 Prisoned in marble, bubbling from the base  
 Of the cleft statue, with a gentle leap  
 The rill runs o'er, and round, fern, flowers, and ivy, creep,  
 Fantastically tangled; the green hills  
 Are clothed with early blossoms, through the grass  
 The quick-eyed lizard rustles, and the bills  
 Of summer-birds sing welcome as ye pass;

Flowers fresh in hue, and many in their class,  
 Implore the pausing step, and with their dyes  
 Dance in the soft breeze in a fairy mass;  
 The sweetness of the violet's deep blue eyes,  
 Kiss'd by the breath of heaven, seems colour'd by its skies.

Here didst thou dwell, in this enchanted cover,  
 Egéria! thy all heavenly bosom beating  
 For the far footsteps of thy mortal lover;  
 The purple Midnight veil'd that mystic meeting  
 With her most stary canopy, and seating  
 Thyself by thine adorer, what besel?  
 This cave was surely shaped out for the greeting  
 Of an enamour'd Goddess, and the cell  
 Haunted by holy Love—the earliest oracle!

And didst thou not, thy breast to his replying,  
 Blend a celestial with a human heart;  
 And Love, which dies as it was born, in sighing,  
 Share with immortal transports? could thine art  
 Make them indeed immortal, and impart  
 The purity of heaven to earthly joys,  
 Expel the venom and not blunt the dart—  
 The dull satiety which all destroys—  
 And root from out the soul the deadly weed which cloy's?

p. 60—62.

But he will not allow himself to be held in the innocent enchantment of such emotions, and bursts again into those bitter communings with misery, without which it would absolutely seem he can have no continued existence, till at last he denounces a curse—the curse of forgiveness it is said to be—on all that has perturbed and maddened his spirit. We wish to avoid, as much as possible, all reference to such distressing passions. But here they give a dark and terrible colouring to the poem, and it is impossible to misunderstand them. Our business is only with the poetry—at least we desire not to extend our privilege: And of the poetry we must say, that the season when the wild curse is imprecated, midnight; the scene, the ruined site of the Temple of the Furies; the auditors, the ghosts of departed years; and the imprecator, a being whose soul, though endowed with the noblest gifts of nature, is by himself said to be in ruins like the grandeur around him—and even dark hints thrown out, that for its aberrations there may be found the most mournful of all excuses in the threatening of the most mournful of all human calamities;—all this renders the long passage to which we allude, one of the most awful records of the agonies of man—perhaps the most painful and agitating pic-

ture of the misery of the passions, without their degradation, that is to be found in the whole compass of human language. Let us escape from it, and turn our eyes to the moonlight and indistinct shadow of the ruins of the Coliseum.

A ruin—yet what ruin! from its mass  
Walls, palaces, half-cities, have been reared;  
Yet oft the enormous skeleton ye pass  
And marvel where the spoil could have appeared.  
Hath it indeed been plundered, or but cleared?  
Alas! developed, opens the decay,  
When the colossal fabric's form is neared:  
It will not bear the brightness of the day,  
Which streams too much on all years, man, have left away.  
But when the rising moon begins to climb  
Its topmost arch, and gently pauses there;  
When the stars twinkle through the loops of time,  
And the low night-breeze waves along the air  
The garland-forest, which the grey walls wear,  
Like laurels on the bald first Cæsar's head;  
When the light shines serene but doth not glare,  
Then in this magic circle raise the dead:  
Heroes have trod this spot—'tis on their dust ye tread.

p. 74, 75

We regret that our limits will not allow us to quote any more of his description of the Ancient City;—not even that of St Peter's—in which the loftiest words and most majestic images render back an image of the august conceptions by which the mind of the poet seems to have been expanded in its contemplation. There are still, however, two passages in the poem which we would wish to lay before our readers—that on the death of our Princess—and that on the Ocean. On the first we have not yet heart to venture—and with the last, therefore, we shall conclude; in which the Poet bids us farewell in a more magnificent strain than we can hope to hear again till his own harp, which has assuredly lost none of its music, be once more struck—and may it then be with steadier hands and a more tranquil spirit!

There is a pleasure in the pathless woods,  
There is a rapture on the lonely shore,  
There is society, where none intrudes,  
By the deep Sea, and music in its roar:  
I love not Man the less, but Nature more,  
From these our interviews, in which I steal  
From all I may be, or have been before,  
To mingle with the Universe, and feel  
What I can ne'er express, yet can not all conceal.

Roll on, thou deep and dark blue Ocean—roll !  
 Ten thousand fleets sweep over thee in vain ;  
 Man marks the earth with ruin—his control  
 Stops with the shore ;—upon the watery plain  
 The wrecks are all thy deed, nor doth remain  
 A shadow of man's ravage, save his own,  
 When, for a moment, like a drop of rain,  
 He sinks into thy depths with bubbling groan,  
 Without a grave, unkuell'd, uncoffin'd, and unknown.

• His steps are not upon thy paths,—thy fields  
 Are not a spoil for him,—thou dost arise  
 And shake him from thee ; the vile strength he wields  
 For earth's destruction thou dost all despise,  
 Spurning him from thy bosom to the skies,  
 And send'st him, shivering in thy playful spray  
 And howling, to his Gods, where haply lies  
 His petty hope in some near port or bay,  
 And dashest him again to earth :—there let him lay.

The armaments which thunderstrike the walls  
 Of rock-built cities, bidding nations quake,  
 And monarchs tremble in their capitals,  
 The oak leviathans, whose huge ribs make  
 Their clay creator the vain title take  
 Of lord of thee, and arbiter of war ;  
 These are thy toys, and, as the snowy flake,  
 They melt into thy yeast of waves, which mar  
 Alike the Armada's pride, or spoils of Trafalgar.

Thy shores are empires, changed in all save thee—  
 Assyria, Greece, Rome, Carthage, what are they ?  
 Thy waters wasted them while they were free,  
 And many a tyrant since ; their shores obey  
 The stranger, slave, or savage ; their decay  
 Has dried up realms to deserts :—not so thou,  
 Unchangeable save to thy wild waves' play—  
 Time writes no wrinkle on thine azure brow—  
 Such as creation's dawn beheld, thou rollest now.

• Thou glorious mirror, where the Almighty's form  
 Glasses itself in tempests ; in all time,  
 Calm or convuls'd—in breeze, or gale, or storm,  
 Icing the pole, or in the torrid clime  
 Dark-heaving ;—boundless, endless, and sublime—  
 The image of Eternity—the throne  
 Of the Invisible ; even from out thy slime  
 The monsters of the deep are made ; each zone  
 Obeys thee ; thou goest forth, dread, fathomless, alone.



And I have loved thee, Ocean! and my joy  
 Of youthful sports was on thy breast to be  
 Borne, like thy bubbles, onward: from a boy  
 I wantoned with thy breakers—they to me  
 Were a delight; and if the freshening sea  
 Made them a terror—'twas a pleasing fear,  
 For I was as it were a child of thee,  
 And trusted to thy billows far and near,  
 And laid my hand upon thy mane—as I do here.

My task is done—my song hath ceased—my theme  
 Has died into an echo; it is fit  
 The spell should break of this protracted dream.  
 The torch shall be extinguish'd which hath lit  
 My midnight lamp—and what is writ, is writ,—  
 Would it were worthier! but I am not now  
 That which I have been—and my visions flit  
 Less palpably before me—and the glow  
 Which in my spirit dwelt, is fluttering, faint, and low.

Farewell! a word that must be, and hath been—  
 A sound which makes us linger;—yet - farewell!  
 Ye! who have traced the Pilgrim to the scene  
 Which is his last, in your memories dwell  
 A thought which once was his, if on ye swell  
 A single recollection, not in vain  
 He wore his sandal shoon, and scallop-shell;  
 Farewell! with *him* alone may rest the pain,  
 If such there were—with *you*, the moral of his strain!

p. 92-96.

The Pilgrimage of Childe Harold has now been brought to its close; and of his character there remains nothing more to be laid open to our view. It is impossible to reflect on the years which have elapsed since this mysterious stranger was first introduced to our acquaintance, without feeling that our own spirits have undergone in that time many mighty changes—sorrowful in some it may be, in others happy changes. Neither can we be surprised, knowing as we well do who Childe Harold is, that he also has been changed. He represented himself, from the beginning, as a ruin; and when we first gazed upon him, we saw indeed in abundance the black traces of recent violence and convulsion. The edifice has not been rebuilt; but its hues have been sobered by the passing wings of time, and the calm slow ivy has had leisure to wreath the soft green of its melancholy among the fragments of the decay. In so far, the Pilgrim has become wiser. He seems to think more of others, and with a greater spirit of humanity. There was some-

thing tremendous, and almost fiendish, in the air with which he surveyed the first scenes of his wanderings; and no proof of the strength of genius was ever exhibited so strong and unquestionable, as the sudden and entire possession of the minds of Englishmen by such a being as he then appeared to be. He looked upon a bull-fight, and a field of battle, with no variety of emotion. Brutes and men were, in his eyes, the same blind, stupid victims of the savage lust of power. He seemed to shut his eyes to every thing of that citizenship and patriotism which ennoble the spirit of the soldier, and to delight in scattering the dust and ashes of his derision over all the most sacred resting-places of the soul of man.

•Even then, we must allow, the original spirit of the Englishman and the poet broke triumphantly, at times, through the chilling mist in which it had been spontaneously enveloped. In Greece, above all, the contemplation of Athens, Salamis, Marathon, Thermopylae and Plataea, subdued the prejudices of him who had gazed unmoved upon the recent glories of Trafalgar and Talavera. The nobility of manhood appeared to delight this moody visitant; and he accorded, without reluctance, to the shades of long-departed heroes that reverent homage, which, in the strange mixture of envy and scorn wherewith the contemplative so often regard active men, he had refused to the living, or to the newly dead.

At all times, however, the sympathy and respect of Childe Harold—when these have been excited by any circumstances external to himself—have been given almost exclusively to the intellectual, and refused to the moral greatness of his species. There is certainly less of this in his last Canto. Yet we think that the ruins of Rome might have excited within him not a few glorious recollections, quite apart from those vague lamentations and worshippings of imperial power, which occupy so great a part of the conclusion of his Pilgrimage. The stern purity and simplicity of domestic manners—the devotion of male and female bosoms—the very names of Lucretia, Valeria, and the mother of the Gracchi, have a charm about them at least as enduring as any others, and a thousand times more delightful than all the iron memories of conquerors and consuls.—But the mind must have something to admire—some breathing-place of veneration—some idol, whether of demon or of divinity, before which it is its pride to bow. Byron has chosen too often to be the undoubting adorer of Power. The idea of tyrannic and unquestioned sway seems to be the secret delight of his spirit. He would pretend, indeed, to be a republican,—but his heroes are all stamped with the leaden signet of despotism; and we

sometimes see the most cold, secluded, inextinguishable tyrant of the whole, lurking beneath the 'scallop-shell and sandal-shoon' of the Pilgrim himself.

In every mien and gesture of this dark being, we discover the traces of one that has known the delights, and sympathized with the possessors of intellectual power; but too seldom any vestiges of a mind that delights in the luxuries of quiet virtue, or that could repose itself in the serenity of home. The very possession of purity would sometimes almost seem to degrade, in his eyes, the intellectual greatness with which it has been sometimes allied. He speaks of Pompey with less reverence than Cæsar; and, in spite of many passing visitings of anger and of scorn, it is easy to see that, of all cotemporary beings, there is *ONE* only with whom he is willing to acknowledge mental sympathy—one only whom he looks upon with real reverence—one only whose fortunes touch the inmost sanctuaries of his proud soul—and that this one is no other than that powerful, unintelligible, unrivalled spirit, who, had he possessed either private virtue or public moderation, might still have been in a situation to despise the offerings of even such a worshipper as Harold.

But there would be no end of descanting on the character of the Pilgrim, nor of the moral reflections which it awakens. Of the Poet himself, the completion of this wonderful performance inspires us with lofty and magnificent hopes. It is most assuredly in his power to build up a work that shall endure among the most august fabrics of the genius of England. Indeed, the impression which the collective poetry of our own age makes upon our minds is, that it contains great promise of the future; and that, splendid as many of its achievements have been, some of our living poets seem destined still higher to exalt the imaginative character of their countrymen. When we look back and compare the languid, faint, cold delineations of the very justest and finest subjects of inspiration, in the poetry of the first half of the last century, with the warm, life-flushed and life-breathing pictures of our own, we feel that a great accession has been made to the literature of our day,—an accession not only of delight, but of power. We cannot resist the persuasion, that if literature, in any great degree, impresses and nourishes the character of a people,—then this literature of ours, pregnant as it is with living impressions,—gathered from Nature in all her varieties of awfulness and beauty,—gathered too from those high and dread Passions of men, which our ordinary life scarcely shows, and indeed could scarcely bear, but which, nevertheless, have belonged, and do belong, to our human life,—and held up in the powerful representations of the poets to our con-

sciousness at times, when the deadening pressure of the days that are going by might bereave us of all genial hope and all dignified pride,—we say it is impossible for us to resist the belief that such pregnant, glowing, powerful poetry, must carry influences into the heart of this generation, even like those which are breathed from the heart of Nature herself,—or like those which lofty passions leave behind them in bosoms which they have once possessed. The same spirit of poetical passion which so uniformly marks the works of all our living poets, must exist very widely among those who do not aspire to the name of genius; it must be very widely diffused throughout the age, and, as we think, must very materially influence the reality of life. Yet highly as we estimate the merits of our modern poetry, it is certain, that the age has not yet produced any one great epic or tragic performance. Vivid and just delineations of passion there are in abundance,—but of moments of passions—fragments of representation. The giant grasp of thought, which conceives, and brings into full and perfect life, full and perfect passion—passion pervading alike action and character, through a majestic series of events, and at the same time cast in the mould of grand imagination,—this seems not to be of our age. In the delineation of external nature, which, in a poet's soul, requires rather moral beauty than intellectual strength, this age has excelled. But it has produced no poem gloriously illustrative of the agencies, existences, and events, of the complex life of man. It has no *Lear*—no *Macbeth*—no *Othello*. Some such glory as this Byron may yet live to bring over his own generation. His being has in it all the elements of the highest poetry. And that being he enjoys in all the strength of its prime. We might almost say, that he needs but to exercise his will to construct a great poem. There is, however, much for him to alter in what may be called, his Theory of Imagination respecting Human Life. Some idols of his own setting-up he has himself overthrown. There are yet some others, partly of gold, and partly of clay, which should be dashed against the floor of the sanctuary. We have already spoken of his personal character, as it shines forth in his poetry. This personal character exists in the nature of his imagination, and may therefore be modified—purified—dignified by his own will. His imagination does, to his own eyes, invest him with an unreal character. Purposes, passions, loves, deeds, events, may seem great and paramount in imagination, which have yet no power to constrain to action; and those which perhaps may govern our actions, vanish altogether from our imagination. There is a region—a

world—a sphere of being in imagination, which, to our real life, is no more than the world of a dream; yet, long as we are held in it by the transport of our delusion, we live, not in delight only, but in the conscious exaltation of our nature. It is in this world that the spirit of Byron must work a reformation for itself. He knows, far better than we can tell him, what have been the most hallowed objects of love and of passion to the souls of great poets in the most splendid era of poetry,—and he also knows well, that those objects, if worshipped by him with becoming and steadfast reverence, will repay the worship which they receive, by the more fervent and divine inspiration which they kindle.

ART. IV. *Notes on a Journey in America, from the Coast of Virginia to the Territory of the Illinois.* By MORRIS BIRKBECK. Second Edition. 8vo. pp. 163. London. Ridgway, 1818.

WE have no hesitation in pronouncing this one of the most interesting and instructive books that have appeared for many years. The subject is curious and important in the highest degree; the rapid growth of one country, still in its early infancy,—and the formation of another in its neighbourhood, by the overflowings of its population. The author is an eyewitness of every thing he describes; and, with a good sense extremely rare among authors, he is content to tell what is material, without tedious dissertations or trifling details, and to tell it in the plainest language. His matter is condensed, and his style is unexceptionable. We think he deserves peculiar credit, too, for the unassuming appearance, and moderate price of his book. What he has given for a few shillings, in the form of a pamphlet, would have swelled to a guinea quarto in the hands of a regular bookmaker. Indeed, which of the costly volumes for the last twenty years poured upon the publick by travellers of all descriptions, can vie with this modest little tract, in the importance, the novelty, or the interest of its contents?

We have heard much said of Mr Birkbeck's work; and its merits have been very generally allowed. But we have found, that this tribute is most reluctantly paid in certain quarters, where his statements, and their effect on the publick mind, have given great umbrage, and even excited considerable alarm. They who hate America, as it were, personally; who meanly regard with jealousy every step she advances in renown, or foolishly view with apprehension each accession to her power,

or ridiculously consider all that she gains of wealth as taken from England—this class of reasoners (if the term may be so applied) can with difficulty conceal their dismay at the testimony borne by Mr Birkbeck, to the prodigious rapidity with which that marvellous community is advancing in every direction. Their favourite course of argument, indeed, had always been a little inconsistent. To make the Americans the more detested, they often represented them as dangerous competitors for wealth and power, and actually succeeded in producing a war with them by spreading the alarm. But the same feeling that made them hate those rivals, induced a strong desire to make them also the objects of contempt; and, forgetting that it was difficult at once to dread and deprecise any thing, they used every means to underrate the importance of the United States. This last course of attack proved, in the end, the most gratifying both to the senseless feelings of animosity against the Americans, and to the sense of national pride: Accordingly, when required to chuse between the two inconsistent arguments, it was preferred; and of late years the tone assumed by the party has been that of unsparing detraction and bitter sneering at every thing beyond the Atlantic,—except the province of Canada, which the same judicious authorities represent upon all occasions as the very right arm of British strength. These contemptuous feelings seem to have augmented pretty nearly in proportion as their object was rising in importance and power; and they appeared to be approaching their acmè, if indeed they had not reached it, when, unhappily, Mr Birkbeck's 'plain tale' comes forth to put them down. So untoward an event has not often happened in such controversies; and the rage and disappointment excited by it have been proportioned to its decisive influence upon the question, and to the necessity which existed for stifling the outward expression of it. The remains of stubborn pride and dignified contempt for America forbade that; and the inoffensive modest character of the much hated volume seemed equally to prescribe, at least, the semblance of moderation to its adversaries. Accordingly, while they mutter curses both loud and deep, they are beginning already to change the manner of attack, and, precluded from indulging their spleen in the shape of contempt, they are preparing to seek relief by venting it in open hatred, drawing, from Mr Birkbeck's statements, the materials of alarm.

The spectacle presented by America during the last thirty or forty years,—ever since her emancipation began to produce its full effect, and since she fairly entered the lists as an independent nation with a completely popular government,—has been, be-

yond every thing formerly known in the history of mankind, imposing and instructive. In order to contemplate its wonders with complete advantage, an observer ought to have visited the New World *twice* in the course of a few years. A single view is insufficient to exhibit this progress in the States already settled; for there, quickly as the changes are going on, the process of creation is not actually seen at once, or disclosed, as it were, to the eye; some interval of time must be allowed, and the comparison then shows the extent of the wonderful change. But the extraordinary state of things in the Western part of the Union, developed by Mr Birkbeck, shows us the process both of colonization and increase at one glance:—We see exposed to the naked eye, the whole mystery of the generation as well as the growth of nations; we at once behold in what manner the settled parts of America are increasing with unparalleled rapidity; and how new and extensive communities are daily created in the plains and the forests of the West, by the superfluous population of the Eastern settlements. Those settlements assume a novel and a striking aspect;—they no longer are to be regarded as new colonies, to which other communities send their overflowing numbers—they are already fully peopled States, which having reached maturity in a few years, cannot stop in their growth; but become in their turn the '*officina gentium*,' and send off their countless swarms to the hardly more recent, but infinitely less peopled, regions that surround them. The new community of the United States is, in fact, already the source of an emigration beyond all comparison more extensive than ever was known in the most confined and overpeopled portions of the old world. A broad, deep, and rapid stream of population is running constantly towards the western parts of the Continent; and vast states are forming towards the Pacific Ocean, the growth of which as much exceeds in rapidity what we have been wont to admire on the shores of the Atlantic, as this leaves at an immeasurable distance the scarcely perceptible progress of our European societies.

Mr Birkbeck is not a professed author, although he is most creditably known by a work, in plan similar to the present, upon France. He is himself a practical man, having devoted his life to agriculture; and he begins with stating the reasons which induced him to change the condition of an English farmer for that of an American proprietor. Political principles seem to have had some weight among these.

'A nation, with half its population supported by alms, or poor-rates, and one fourth of its income derived from taxes, many of which are dried up in their sources, or speedily becoming so, must teem with

emigrants from one end to the other : and, for such as myself, who have had "nothing to do with the laws but to obey them," it is quite reasonable and just to secure a timely retreat from the approaching crisis—either of anarchy or despotism.

‘An English farmer, to which class I had the honour to belong, is in possession of the same rights and privileges with the *villens* of old time, and exhibits for the most part, a suitable political character. He has no voice in the appointment of the legislature unless he happen to possess a freehold of forty shillings a year, and he is then expected to vote in the interest of his landlord. He has no concern with public affairs excepting as a tax-payer, a parish officer, or a militia man. He has no right to appear at a county meeting, unless the word *inhabitant* should find its way into the sheriff's invitation : in this case he may show his face among the nobility, clergy, and freeholders :—a felicity which once occurred to myself, when the inhabitants of Surrey were invited to assist the gentry in crying down the Income Tax.

‘Thus, having no elective franchise, an English farmer can scarcely be said to have a political existence; and political *duties* he has none, except such as, under existing circumstances, would inevitably consign him to the special guardianship of the Secretary of State for the home department.’ p. 8, 9.

Upon the soundness of these reasonings in behalf of emigration, there may be some difference of opinion; there can be none as to the other inducements which operated upon his mind, and which, we may reasonably presume, turned the balance in favour of America. With all its excellences, the English government is a most expensive one; protection to person and property is nowhere so dearly purchased; and the follies of the people, and the corruption of their rulers, have entailed such a load of debt upon us, that whoever prefers his own to any other country as a place of residence, must be content to pay an enormous price for the gratification of his wish. In truth, a temptation to emigrate is now held out to all persons of moderate fortune, which must, in very many cases, prove altogether irresistible. Nor can any thing be more senseless than the wonder testified by some zealous lovers of their native land, at any family, of small income, seeking a more fruitful soil and a better climate, where half their means may not be seized to pay the state and the poor—except perhaps the indignation which such a change of residence usually excites in the same sagacious personages. Mr Birkbeck appears not to have been at all deterred by such feelings, and to have decided upon emigrating with his family and his capital, not because he overlooked the many inconveniences to which the removal must expose him, but because he was desirous of purchasing, ‘by a great sacrifice of present ease, an exemption,



‘in the decline of life, from that wearisome solicitude about pecuniary affairs, from which even the affluent find no refuge in England.’ He expected also to obtain for his children ‘a career of enterprise, and wholesome family connexion, in a society whose institutions are favourable to virtue;’ and to have the consolation of ‘leaving them efficient members of a flourishing, public spirited, energetic community, where the insolence of wealth and the servility of pauperism, between which, in England, there is scarcely an interval remaining, are alike unknown.’ We notice these sentiments, for the purpose of remarking, *first*, that they are calculated to excite very great indignation among the thoughtless optimists of this country, who would be far less irritated if they were not conscious that the offensive observations have at least some foundation in fact; and, *secondly*, that the state of our finances and poor laws ought, instead of discouraging a true lover of his country from all attempts at restoring a healthful order of things, only to animate his efforts, by reminding him of the necessity which exists for a reformation. Mr Birkbeck, as a moderate capitalist and the father of a large family, may be justified in every point of view for leaving this country; but those who remain in it are only the more loud to redouble their exertions in favour of a necessary reform; because such persons as Mr Birkbeck are induced to emigrate by the defects which at present exist in our system of administration: and they certainly are the most shallow, as well as the most unjust of all reasoners, who, while they loudly blame emigration, strenuously resist every attempt at removing the evils which produce it.

Our emigrants, after a favourable voyage in a large vessel, arrived at Norfolk in Virginia, about the beginning of May. Every thing they at first saw made them regret the country they had left. The market place was filled with negroes selling the worst butcher's meat at high prices; miserable horses drew all the vehicles of the farmer; and the horrors of negro slavery appeared in every corner. As they ascended the river, the great beauty of the scenery somewhat reconciled them to their new abode. By degrees the character of the country improved; the soil was rich and well cultivated; and the habitations of the farmers wore an appearance of ease and comfort, which the practice of domestic slavery alone interrupted. They arrived at Petersburg during the time of the races; and the following passage deserves attention.

A Virginian tavern resembles a French one with its table d'hôte, (though not in the excellence of the cookery) but somewhat exceeds it in sith, as it does an English one in charges. The daily number

of guests at the ordinary in this tavern (and there are several large taverns in Petersburg) is fifty, consisting of travellers, store-keepers, lawyers, and doctors.

'A Virginian planter is a republican in politics, and exhibits the high-spirited independence of that character. But he is a slave-master, irascible, and too often lax in morals. A dirk is said to be a common appendage to the dress of a planter in this part of Virginia.

'I never saw in England an assemblage of countrymen who would *average* so well as to dress and manners: none of them reached any thing like style; and very few descended to the shabby.

'As it rained heavily, every body was confined the whole day to the tavern, after the race, which took place in the forenoon. The conversation which this afforded me an opportunity of hearing, gave me a high opinion of the intellectual cultivation of these Virginian farmers.

'Negro slavery was the prevailing topic—the beginning, the middle and the end—an evil uppermost in every man's thoughts; which all deplored, many were anxious to fly, but for which no man can devise a remedy. One gentleman, in a poor state of health, dared not encounter the rain, but was wretched at the thought of his family being for one night without his protection—from his own slaves! He was suffering under the effects of a poisonous potion, administered by a negro, who was his personal servant, to whom he had given indulgences and privileges unknown to the most favoured valet of an English gentleman. This happened in consequence of some slight unintentional affront on the part of the indulgent master. It is stated as a melancholy fact, that severe masters seldom suffer from their slaves' resentment.' p. 16, 17.

Here they left the vessel, and proceeded in the steam boat to Richmond, where every thing seemed to be dear beyond example; eggs, 2d. a piece; butter, 3s. 6d. a pound; hay, 9s. per cwt.; a warehouse 200*l.* a year; and ground to build upon, from 2000*l.* to 3000*l.* an acre. It is reckoned the dearest and worst supplied town in the United States. We must here pause to extract a passage containing this calm and accurate observer's testimony to the radical and incurable evils of negro slavery, even in a form by far the most mitigated; for who can compare the state of the slave in the Sugar Islands with that in North America?

'I saw two female slaves and their children sold by auction in the street, an incident of common occurrence here, though horrifying to myself and many other strangers. I could hardly bear to see them handled and examined like cattle; and when I heard their sobs, and saw the big tears roll down their cheeks at the thought of being separated, I could not refrain from weeping with them. In selling these unhappy beings, little regard is had to the parting

of the nearest plantations. Virginia prides itself on the comparative mildness of its treatment of the slaves; and in fact they increase in numbers, many being annually supplied from this state to those farther south, where the treatment is said to be much more severe. There are regular dealers, who buy them up and drive them in gangs, chained together, to a southern market. I am informed that few weeks pass without some of them being marched through this place. A traveller told me that he saw, two weeks ago, one hundred and twenty sold by auction, in the streets of Richmond; and that they filled the air with their lamentations.

It has also been confidently alleged, that the condition of slaves in Virginia, under the mild treatment they are said to experience, is preferable to that of our English labourers. I know and lament the degrading state of dependent poverty, to which the latter have been gradually reduced, by the operation of laws originally designed for their comfort and protection. I know also, that many slaves pass their lives in comparative ease, and seem to be unconscious of their bonds, and that the most wretched of our paupers might envy the allotment of the happy negro: This is not, however, instituting a fair comparison, to bring the opposite extremes of the two classes into competition. Let us take a view of some particulars which operate generally.

In England, exertion is not the result of personal fear; in Virginia, it is the prevailing stimulus.

The slave is punished for mere *indolence*, at the discretion of an *overseer*:—The peasant is only punished by the law when guilty of a crime.

In England, the labourer and his employer are equal in the eye of the law. Here, the law affords the slave no protection, unless a white man gives testimony in his favour.

Here, any white man may insult a black with impunity: whilst the English peasant, should he receive a blow from his employer, might and would return it with interest, and afterwards have his remedy at law for the aggression.

The testimony of a peasant weighs as much as that of a lord in a court of justice; but the testimony of a slave is never admitted at all, in a case where a white man is opposed to him.

A few weeks ago, in the streets of Richmond, a friend of mine saw a white boy wantonly throw quicklime in the face of a negro-man. The man shook the lime from his jacket, and some of it accidentally reached the eyes of the young brute. This casual retaliation excited the resentment of the brother of the boy, who complained to the slave's owner, and actually had him punished with thirty lashes. This would not have happened to an English peasant. I must, however, do this justice to the slave-master of Virginia: I have not from him that I ever heard a defence of slavery; some extenuation on the score of expediency, or necessity, is the utmost range now taken by that description of reasoners, who, in former

times, would have attempted to support the principle as well as the practice.

' Perhaps it is in its depraving influence on the moral sense of both slave and master, that slavery is most deplorable. Brutal cruelty, we may hope, is a rare and transient mischief; but the degradation of soul is universal, and, as it should seem, from the general character of free negroes, indelible.

' All America is now suffering in morals through the baneful influence of negro slavery, partially tolerated, corrupting justice at the very source.' p. 21-24.

Our party journeyed on in hired carriages and diligences to Washington; where they were struck with the absurd inconsistency of the architectural ornaments affected in the public buildings. 'Ninety marble capitals,' says Mr Birkbeck, 'have been imported at a vast cost from Italy, to crown the columns of the capitol, and show how *un-American* is the whole plan.'— 'There is nothing,' he adds, with his usual sagacity and neatness, 'to which I can liken this affectation of splendor, except the painted face and gaudy head-dress of a half-naked Indian.' When, continuing their route, they arrived at the point on the road to Pittsburg, where their stage coach stopt, they found themselves 130 miles of mountain country short of that place, and had no means of proceeding, except on foot, or by waiting for vehicles and horses from a great distance. They preferred walking, and set out, nine in number, to traverse the Alleghany Ridge with the current of emigrants setting in towards the same quarter, and which he thus in a simple picturesque manner describes.

'We have now fairly turned our backs on the old world, and find ourselves in the very stream of emigration. Old America seems to be breaking up, and moving westward. We are seldom out of sight, as we travel on this grand track towards the Ohio, of family groups, behind and before us, some with a view to a particular spot; close to a brother perhaps, or a friend, who has gone before, and reported well of the country. Many like ourselves, when they arrive in the wilderness, will find no lodge prepared for them.

'A small waggon (so light that you might almost carry it, yet strong enough to bear a good load of bedding, utensils and provisions, and a swarm of young citizens,—and to sustain marvellous shocks in its passage over these rocky heights) with two small horses; sometimes a cow or two comprises their all; excepting a little store of hard-earned cash for the land-office of the district, where they may obtain a title for as many acres as they possess half-dollars, being one-fourth of the purchase-money. The waggon has a tilt, or cover, made of a sheet, or perhaps a blanket. The family are seen before, behind, or within the vehicle, according to the road or weather, or perhaps the spirits of the party.

'The New-Englanders, they say, may be known by the cheerful air of the women, advancing in front of the vehicle; the Jersey people by their being fixed steadily within it; whilst the Pennsylvanians creep lingering behind, as though regretting the homes they have left. A cart and single horse frequently afford the means of transfer, sometimes a horse and pack-saddle. Often the back of the poor pilgrim bears all his effects; and his wife follows, naked-footed, braving under the hopes of the family.

'This is a land of plenty; and we are proceeding to a land of abundance, as is proved by the noble droves of oxen we meet, on their way from the western country to the city of Philadelphia. They are kindly, well-formed, and well-fed animals, averaging about six cwt.

'A flock of sheep, properly speaking, has not met my eyes in America, nor a tract of good sheep pasture. Twenty or thirty half-starved creatures are seen now and then straggling about in much wretchedness. These supply a little wool for domestic use. Cattle are good and plentiful, and horses excellent.' p. 31—34.

The following general remarks may still further tend to present a picture of this wonderful emigration to the reader.

'The condition of the people of America is so different from aught that we in Europe have an opportunity of observing, that it would be difficult to convey an adequate notion of their character.

'They are great travellers; and in general, better acquainted with the vast expanse of country spreading over their eighteen states, (of which Virginia alone nearly equals Great Britain in extent), than the English with their little island.

'They are also a migrating people; and, even when in prosperous circumstances, can contemplate a change of situation, which under our old establishments and fixed habits, none, but the most enterprising, would venture upon, when urged by adversity.

'To give an idea of the internal movements of this vast hive, about 12,000 waggons passed between Baltimore and Philadelphia, in the last year, with from four to six horses, carrying from thirty-five to forty cwt. The cost of carriage is about seven dollars per cwt., from Philadelphia to Pittsburg; and the money paid for the conveyance of goods on this road, exceeds 300,000 sterling. Add to these the numerous stages loaded to the utmost, and the innumerable travellers, on horseback, on foot, and in light waggons, and you have before you a scene of bustle and business extending over a space of three hundred miles which is truly wonderful.

'When, on our voyage, we approached within twenty leagues of the American coast, we were cheered by the sight of ships in every direction. Up James River, vessels of all sorts and sizes, from five hundred tons downwards, continually passing; and steam-boats crowded with passengers. The same on the Potomack: and in the winter, when the navigation is interrupted by frost, stages, twelve or fourteen in file, are seen posting along, to supply the want of that luxurious accommodation.

‘ But what is most at variance with English notions of the American people, is the urbanity and civilization that prevail in situations remote from large cities. In our journey from Norfolk, on the coast of Virginia, to this place, in the heart of the Alleghany mountains, we have not for a moment lost sight of the manners of polished life. Refinement is unquestionably far more rare, than in our mature and highly cultivated state of society; but so is extreme vulgarity. In every department of common life, we here see employed, persons superior in habits and education to the same class in England.

‘ The taverns in the great towns east of the mountains which lay in our route, afford nothing in the least corresponding with our habits and notions of convenient accommodation: the only similarity is in the expense.

‘ At these places all is performed on the gregarious plan: every thing is public by day and by night;—for even night in an American inn affords no privacy. Whatever may be the number of guests, they must receive their entertainment *en masse*, and they must sleep *en masse*. Three times a day the great bell rings, and a hundred persons collect from all quarters to eat a hurried meal, composed of almost as many dishes. At breakfast you have fish, flesh, and fowl, bread of every shape and kind, butter, eggs, coffee, tea—every thing, and more than you can think of. Dinner is much like the breakfast, omitting the tea and coffee; and supper is the breakfast repeated. Soon after this meal, you assemble once more, in rooms crowded with beds, something like the wards of an hospital; where, after undressing in public, you are fortunate if you escape a partner in your bed, in addition to the myriads of bugs, which you need not hope to escape.

‘ But the horrors of the kitchen, from whence issue these shoals of dishes, how shall I describe, though I have witnessed them!—It is a dark and sooty hole, where the idea of cleanliness never entered, swarming with negroes of all sexes and ages, who seem as though they were bred there; without floor, except the rude stones that support a raging fire of pine logs, extending across the entire place; which forbids your approach, and which no being but a negro could face.’ p. 35—39.

Pittsburg, termed the Birmingham of America, was naturally expected to present a scene of filth, noise and smoke, somewhat resembling its archetype in the old world. The travellers, however, were agreeably disappointed to find themselves in a beautiful and cleanly though busy town, at the junction of the two rivers which here form the Ohio, and surrounded by the most delightful woodland and hilly scenery. Though a manufacturing district, wages are so high that a poor Irish emigrant who came as a journeyman shoemaker, three years before, had already saved money enough to pay 800 dollars for the good-

will of his master's shop, and had, when Mr Birkbeck saw him, a well stocked shop and very lucrative business. 'In this town,' says Mr Birkbeck, 'I heard delightful musick from a pianoforte made here!—a few years ago it was a fort, from which a white man durst not stir without a military guard, for the Indians.' A small remnant of this race still resides, it seems, at no great distance, having adopted the habits of their civilized neighbours. But the rise of a man's fortune, and the general progress of the country, is better illustrated by the history of a few individuals whom Mr Birkbeck judiciously selects as examples. One whom he conversed with

—' is about thirty; has a wife and three fine healthy children: His father is a farmer; that is to say, a proprietor, living five miles distant. From him he received five hundred dollars, and "began the world" in true style of American enterprise, by taking a cargo of flour to New Orleans, about two thousand miles, gaining a little more than his expenses, and a stock of knowledge. Two years ago, he had increased his property to nine hundred dollars; purchased this place; a house, stable, &c. and two hundred and fifty acres of land (sixty-five of which are cleared and laid down to grass), for three thousand five hundred dollars, of which he has already paid three thousand, and will pay the remaining five hundred next year. He is now building a good stable, and going to improve his house. His property is at present worth seven thousand dollars; having gained, or rather grown, five thousand five hundred dollars in two years, with prospects of future accumulation to his utmost wishes. Thus it is that people here grow wealthy, without extraordinary exertion, and without any anxiety.' p. 51.

Of another, an Irishman, he tells us, that, fourteen years ago, he came to his present estate, before an axe had ever been lifted on it, and with only his axe in his hand; and that he now discusses the interests of the country like one concerned in its prosperity—being possessed of 118 acres of excellent land, well cultivated; the father of twenty descendants; and paying eight dollars a year in taxes, five to the federal treasury, and three to his own country, in all about fourpence an acre. About the same time, there came also another poor emigrant, who 'unloaded his family under a tree,' on the land where he now possesses two hundred acres of fine land, in excellent culture, producing from 80 to 100 bushels of Indian corn an acre. Incited by such prospects, the emigrants pour along this tract in countless swarms. Fourteen waggons of them passed in one day; thirteen the next. Three of these contained forty-two young children. The inhabitants of the wilderness are driven back: And Mr Birkbeck relates the singular case of a General Boon, one of the first settlers of Kentucky, who, smitten with the love of so-

litude, plunged into the western territory, beyond the Missouri, at what was then thought an inapproachable distance from civilized footsteps. There he lived alone; and, while solely occupied with the chase, about two years ago, he was overtaken, in his turn, by 'the restless foot of civilization,' and compelled to go back two hundred miles further; where, having attained the age of seventy, he may hope that his fellow creatures will not reach him before he terminates his days.

Our party having purchased horses at Pittsburg, proceeded on their journey westward; and, crossing the Ohio, began to search for a spot where they might fix their abode. Every step of the way afforded evidence of the rapid progress of this wonderful country. They had travelled seventy miles, in company with a gentleman who, twelve years before, had gone the same journey, and recollected it as an Indian footpath through the wilderness. It was now a string of plantations, scarcely interrupted by an uncleared tract. The price of land in this district, has, during that period, risen to twenty or thirty dollars an acre; and, at first, it cost only 320 dollars for 160 acres, the sum to be paid in five years;—so that the settler, who at the beginning had little more than a hundred dollars, now finds himself worth 3000 or 4000, besides supporting his family during the whole time. The whole taxes do not exceed forty shillings upon a square mile of territory, however highly cultivated. An observation occurs almost as soon as Mr Birkbeck enters upon his journey, and is constantly repeated in all parts of the country, that the unhealthy character of most of the settlements is entirely owing to their having been founded in low grounds, on the banks of rivers, and in marshy land. The love of gain—the desire of saving a little trouble, or a little money—dictated this selection; and, wherever it has been adopted, the consequence has been fatal to health—wherever a more elevated position has been chosen, the climate has been found salubrious.

One of the most striking features in the great western wilderness, is the magnificent growth of the vegetable kingdom. In one place our travellers measured a fine walnut tree, about seven feet in diameter, or twenty-one in girth. Two sycamores of equal dimensions were decaying in its neighbourhood. But the white oak, he says, is the glory of the upland forest. As they generally grow in thick groups, their stems are by no means as large as they would be if they stood single; but they are lofty and straight in an extraordinary degree—sometimes eighty or ninety feet without a branch. Mr Birkbeck measured one which



was six feet in diameter at four feet from the ground; and three feet in diameter at seventy from the ground. This is a giant-tick growth, altogether unknown in our hemisphere. In one spot he found some hills covered with the same grand trees. For miles together, within view of the road, were thousands of them, whose stems were fourteen or fifteen feet round, and rising straight, and without a branch; for seventy or eighty feet, where they were crowned with luxuriant tops. An accident had befallen this woody tract, which is well described.

‘ For the space of a mile in breadth, a hurricane, which traversed the entire western country in a north-east direction, about seven years ago, had opened itself a passage through this region of giants, and has left a scene of extraordinary desolation. We pass immediately on, after viewing those massive trunks, the emblems of strength and durability, to where they lie tumbled over each other like scattered stubble, some torn up by the roots, others broken off at different heights, or splintered only, and their tops bent over, and touching the ground:—such is the irresistible force of these impetuous airy torrents. These hurricane tracts afford strong holds for game, and all animals of savage kind. There is a panther, the only one remaining, it is said, in this country, which makes this spot its haunt, and eludes the hunters.’ pp. 77, 78.

While traversing these vast forests, our travellers sometimes met with adventures little known to those who journey in more frequented paths. The following passage gives a simple, but a lively account of one of these.

‘ Our rear party, consisting of one of the ladies, a servant boy, and myself, were benighted, in consequence of accidental detention, at the foot of one of these rugged hills; and, without being well provided, were compelled to make our first experiment of “camping out.” A traveller in the woods should always carry flint, steel, tinder, and matches,—a few biscuits, a half-pint phial of spirits, and a tin cup—a large knife or tomahawk; then with his two blankets, and his great coat and umbrella, he need not be uneasy, should any unforeseen delay require his sleeping under a tree. Our party having separated, the important articles of tinder and matches were in the baggage of the division which had proceeded; and as the night was rainy and excessively dark, we were for some time under some anxiety lest we should have been deprived of the comfort and security of a fire. Fortunately, my powder-flask was in my saddle-bags, and we succeeded in supplying the place of tinder, by moistening a piece of paper, and rubbing it with gunpowder. We placed our touch-paper on an old cambric handkerchief, as the most readily combustible article in our stores. On this we scattered gunpowder pretty copiously, and our flint and steel soon enabled us to raise a flame,

and, collecting dry wood, we made a noble fire. There was a mattress for the lady, a bearskin for myself, and the load of the pack-horse as a pallet for the boy. Thus, by means of great coats and blankets, and our umbrellas spread over our heads, we made our quarters comfortable; and placing ourselves to the leeward of the fire, with our feet towards it, we lay more at ease than in the generality of taverns. Our horses fared rather worse; but we took care to tie them where they could browse a little, and occasionally shifted their quarters. We had a few biscuits, a small bottle of spirits, and a phial of oil; with the latter we contrived, by twisting some twine very hard, and dipping it in the oil, to make torches; and after several fruitless attempts we succeeded in finding water; we also collected plenty of dry wood. "Camping out" when the tents are pitched by daylight, and the party is ready furnished with the articles which we were obliged to supply by expedients, is quite pleasant in fine weather. My companion was exceedingly ill, which was, in fact, the cause of our being benighted; and never was the night's charge of a sick friend undertaken with more dismal forebodings, especially during our ineffectual efforts to obtain fire, the first blaze of which was unspeakably delightful: After this, the rain ceased, and the invalid passed the night in safety; so that the morning found us more comfortable than we could have anticipated.' pp. 95-97.

Mr Birkbeck, almost from the moment of his entering the Ohio country, was surrounded by temptations to stop and settle. He found cleared lands, at a moderate price; comforts in the neighbourhood; pleasant society;—But he was resolved to push on till he came to a station where the lowest Government price of two dollars an acre might suffice; aware that a crowd of neighbouring settlers would soon follow, to give the land a higher value, and to bring along with them the comforts and pleasures of social life. At length, in the south-east district of the Illinois territory, this judicious person fixed upon an allotment of 1440 acres, by advancing one-fourth of the price, or 720 dollars; and Mr Flower, his friend and the companion of his fortunes, made an equal and similar purchase adjoining to his own. These allotments form part of a rich and beautiful *prairie*, six miles from the Big Wabash, and as far from the Little Wabash rivers, both of which are navigable. The reader may naturally be desirous of learning how these land sales are carried on by the American government, and how the vast tracts of territory at its disposal are parcelled out to new settlers. Mr Birkbeck has given this information in the following passage, with his accustomed accuracy and conciseness.

The tract of country, which is to be disposed of, is surveyed, and laid out in sections of a mile square, containing six hundred and forty acres, and these are subdivided into quarters, and, in particular situations, half-quarters. The country is also laid out in counties of

about twenty miles square, and townships of six miles square in some instances, and in others eight. The townships are numbered in ranges, from north to south, and the ranges are numbered from west to east; and lastly, the sections in each township are marked numerically. All these lines are well-defined in the woods, by marks on the trees. This done at a period, of which public notice is given, the lands in question are put up to auction, excepting the sixteenth section in every township, which is reserved for the support of schools, and the maintenance of the poor. There are also sundry reserves of entire townships, as funds for the support of seminaries on a more extensive scale; and sometimes for other purposes of general interest. No government lands are sold under two dollars per acre; and I believe they are put up at this price in quarter sections, at the auction; and if there be no bidding, they pass on. The best lands and most favourable situations are sometimes run up to ten or twelve dollars, and in some late instances much higher. The lots which remain unsold are, from that time, open to the public, at the price of two dollars per acre; one fourth to be paid down, and the remaining three-fourths to be paid by instalments in five years; at which time, if the payments are not completed, the lands revert to the State, and the prior advances are forfeited.

‘When a purchaser has made his election of one, or any number of vacant quarters, he repairs to the land office, pays eighty dollars, or as many times that sum as he purchases quarters, and receives a certificate, which is the basis of the complete title, which will be given him when he pays all: this he may do immediately, and receive eight per cent. interest for prompt payment. The sections thus sold are marked immediately on the general plan, which is always open at the land office to public inspection, with the letters A. P. “advance paid.” There is a receiver and a register at each land office, who are checks on each other, and are remunerated by a per-centage on the receipts.’ p. 70, 71.

When a person has, in this manner, obtained possession of part of a *prairie*, it only wants fencing, and water for the live-stock, to make at once rich pasture land; and from this to arable land the transition is easy, expeditious, and profitable as it proceeds. The whole cost of purchase, fencing and watering, that is, of buying the land, and then making it begin to yield a profit, is only eighteen shillings an acre. The cost of buildings and stocking is of course more difficult to estimate; but Mr Birkbeck calculates that 2000*l.* would suffice for 640 acres; so that for 3000*l.* an English farmer, who was but indifferently off on a farm of 600*l.* or 700*l.* a year rent, may find himself owner of a fine estate of 600 or 700 acres in America, capable of almost unlimited improvement, and in the neighbourhood of rich, cheap land, in which he may invest his surplus profits.

This is unquestionably one of the most tempting points of view

in which emigration has ever yet been represented to men of moderate fortunes and industrious habits. Yet we are not of the number of those who view with alarm the probable consequences of such a temptation being held out. After all, says Dr Smith, man is, of all luggage, the most difficult to be transported. In truth, he takes such root wherever he has been planted, that, long after almost all nourishment has been extracted from it, we find him cling to its bare rocks, and rather wither than be torn away. It is in vain to remind him how bleak the sky, how scanty the nutriment, how exposed to tempests the position. We find him rebuilding his cottage upon the half cooled lava which has swept all his possessions away, and obstinately refusing to quit a spot of earth which the perpetual conflicts of the elements hardly leave at rest for a day. Not even the pestilential swamps of Guiana and Java can frighten him from his home, and dissolve the most powerful of all ties—local attachment. In vain we remind him of his privations, his sufferings, his risks. He knows it all; he feels it to be a dear price;—but his home he deems above all price, and he willingly pays it. In vain we paint to his imagination the delights of happier climates, and the rich abundance of more luxuriant soils. He admits it all; but in those lands he feels he would ever be a stranger, and against all these enjoyments he sets one word—home. Even when he leaves it for a season, he fondly dwells upon its pleasures, now magnified in his imagination; while the friendly treachery of his memory sinks every unpleasing reality which fancy has failed to varnish over with fairy colours. And, in the midst of distant pursuits, which leave hardly a possibility that his connexion with the sacred spot should ever be other than nominal, he refuses to give it up, be it but a name; and his heart loudly protests against any final step that may dispel what he knows all the while to be a mere illusion of the brain. If Providence had not, by so powerful an instinct, set its canon against emigration, all the laws of man could never have tied the bulk of any community to a country where they are doomed to pine in want—while ease and comfort are within their reach, and to be purchased by the single act of changing their place of abode. Nay, with the vast majority of mankind, those feelings, which the rudest climate and meanest lot cannot subdue, are too strong even for the ruder hand of the Government and its agents,—what shape soever they may assume—whether of inquisitors, or spies, or mercenary troops, or collectors of taxes.

It thus happens, that unless in circumstances the most extraordinary, the number of emigrants from any community must always bear a very small proportion to the whole population.

The United States appear at present to be placed in circumstances of this description. The rapid multiplication of the inhabitants, which began when the country was almost a wilderness, has apparently gone on without being retarded by the cultivation and consequent scarcity of the land. Had there been no unsettled territory in the neighbourhood, the checks to population would soon have begun to operate; but the possibility of always finding a vent in those boundless and fertile regions, has seemingly kept the velocity of increase in the United States at its original rate. Accordingly, the emigration bears a sensible proportion, if not to the whole numbers of the people, at least to the yearly augmentation of those numbers. The rapidity with which new settlements are formed in this manner, is illustrated by Mr Birkbeck's whole book; but nothing tends more clearly to show it than the state of society which he found at Princeton, where he took up his abode while his land was preparing to receive him. This is a small town, placed at the further limit of Indiana, and founded only two years before our author's arrival. It contained fifty houses; was the county town of the district; and contained (says Mr B.) 'as many well informed, genteel people, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, as any county town I am acquainted with.'—'I think,' (he adds), 'there are half as many individuals who are entitled to that distinction as there are houses; and not one decidedly vicious character, nor one that is not able and willing to maintain himself.'

Though these settlements are apparently locked up in the interior of a vast continent, they have, by the aid of navigable rivers, an easy communication with the ocean; and the invention of the steam-boat renders the voyage, in either direction, sure and expeditious. Shawnee Town, about forty-five miles from Mr Birkbeck's plantation, is connected with it by the Wabash river, at a distance of only six miles. From Shawnee to New Orleans is 1200 miles, and this distance is performed in twenty days. The whole addition to the voyage across the Atlantic amounts to no more than one month. The settlement has a communication also to the north, by means of the Wabash river, for about four hundred miles, and is thus connected with the whole trade of the settlements behind Canada. No situation can be more promising for future wealth and greatness. A frugal and industrious people, here established, is morally certain of rising to the rank of a great state in the course of a few generations. Mr Birkbeck states distinctly, that, although he is desirous of assisting any person in settling upon this territory, he will be agent to no man who intends to remain at home, and

embark his capital in purchases, from the prospect of gain by the rise in the value of land. We believe that the effect of reading his book has pretty uniformly been to excite a strong desire of emigrating in the first instance; and then, as this ardour cooled, to engender a plan of investing capital in purchases near the sagacious author's settlement. Reading, however, to the end, we are disappointed to find, that he will not facilitate such schemes, and that no one can hope for help from him, or benefit from his settlement through him, who will not remove thither himself, with his household gods.

It is impossible to close this interesting volume, without casting our eyes upon the marvellous empire of which Mr Birkbeck paints the growth in colours far more striking than any heretofore used in portraying it. Where is this prodigious increase of numbers, this vast extension of dominion, to end? What bounds has Nature set to the progress of this mighty nation? Let our jealousy burn as it may; let our intolerance of America be as unreasonably violent as we please; still it is plain, that she is a power in spite of us, rapidly rising to supremacy; or, at least, that each year so mightily augments her strength, as to overtake, by a most sensible distance, even the most formidable of her competitors. In foreign commerce, she comes nearer to England than any other maritime power; and already her mercantile navy is within a few thousand tons of our own! If she goes on as rapidly for two or three years, she must overtake and outstrip us. Men's minds are naturally turned towards the chances of her being retarded; and the first and most obvious has been, the prospect of her dividing into several states.

The war has proved this expectation to be in a great measure chimerical. Those who indulged it held, that how well soever adapted to the purposes of internal government, the Federal Constitution must fall to pieces before a foreign enemy;—that war must be the end of the Union. A war with England, the power most likely to divide the States—the only power having a natural interest and party among the American people—was, happily for the Union, begun on principles so extravagant, and conducted with such want of moderation, as to strengthen the party opposed to the English government, and to knit in one indissoluble body the whole States of America.

What chance, then, is there of time effecting, by its silent pace, that which the ruder shock of foreign conflict has failed to accomplish? The question of the dissolution is intimately connected with the causes of the peaceable union of this great empire.

We perceive a nation rapidly progressing (as they themselves

term it in language borrowed from our own great poet) towards universal dominion over the New World. Its present population of ten millions will in another generation be increased to twenty; and the new community now forming to the westward, to a million or two more. The question is natural, Can such a vast mass of people, spread over so large a territory, be kept together by a feeble government? And the enemies of the United States have seldom any hesitation in boldly concluding, that their fate is, either to become the slaves of a military despotism, or the prey of internal disunion. No one seems to think the subsistence of the Federal Union a possible event.

It might be proper, however, to consider the real ground of stability which the government of America possesses, before we decide in so positive a manner against it. There can be little doubt, that the whole question turns upon the difference of American and European society, and the total want, in the former, of that race of political characters which abounds in the latter. In America, all men have abundant occupation of their own, without thinking of the State. Every person is deeply interested, and perpetually engaged, in driving his trade, and cultivating his land: and little time is left to any one for thinking of state affairs, except as a subject of conversation. As a business, they engage the attention of no one except the rulers of the country; and even they keep the concerns of the public subordinate to their own. The governor of a State is generally a large landowner and farmer of his own ground. A foreign minister is the active member of a lucrative and laborious profession, quitting it for a few months, and returning to its gains and its toils when his mission is ended. The business of the Senate occupies but a few weeks in the year; and no man devotes himself so much to its duties, as to leave it doubtful to what class of the industrious community he properly belongs. The race of mere statesmen, so well known among us in the Old world, is wholly unknown in the New; and, until it springs up, even the foundations of a change cannot be considered as laid. The Americans, no doubt, are, like other freemen, decided partisans, and warm political combatants; but what project or chance can counterbalance, in their eyes, the benefits conferred by the Union, of cultivating their soil, and pursuing their traffic freely and gainfully, in their capacity of private individuals? A preacher of insurrection might safely be left with such personages as the American farmers; and, until the whole frame of society alters, even a great increase of political characters will not enable those persons successfully to appeal to the bulk of the community, with the pro-

spect of splitting the Union. The cautious and economical character of the Federal Government seems admirably adapted to secure its hold over the affections of a rational and a frugal people.

In the abstracts and extracts, of which this article consists, we have given a tolerably fair outline of Mr Birkbeck's work. We shall close our account of it with one more quotation, containing the account of a religious society, so extraordinary, that we are desirous of acquainting the reader with its character, because all such peculiarities tend to throw a light upon the history of human nature. With this extract, then,—with a warm recommendation of Mr B.'s work, and an expression of our hopes that we may soon again hear from him of the progress which his interesting colony has made, we conclude the present article.

' At this, our third visit, Harmony becomes more enigmatical. This day, being Sunday, afforded us an opportunity of seeing grouped and in their best attire, a large part of the members of this wonderful community. It was evening when we arrived, and we saw no human creature about the streets:—we had even to call the landlord of the inn out of church to take charge of our horses. The cows were waiting round the little dwellings, to supply the inhabitants with their evening's meal. Soon the entire body of people, which is about seven hundred, poured out of the church, and exhibited so much health, and peace, and neatness in their persons, that we could not but exclaim, surely the institutions which produce so much happiness must have more of good than of evil in them; and here I rest, not lowered in my abhorrence of the hypocrisy, if it be such, which governs the ignorant by nursing them in superstition; but inclined in charity to believe that the leaders are sincere. Certain it is, that living in such plenty, and a total abstraction from care about the future provision for a family, it must be some overbearing thralldom that prevents an increase of their numbers by the natural laws of population.

' I had rather attribute this phenomenon to bigotry pervading the mass, than charge a few with the base policy of chaining a multitude, by means of superstition. It is, however, difficult to separate the idea of policy from a contrivance which is so highly political. The number of Mr Rapp's associates would increase so rapidly, without some artificial restraint, as soon to become unmanageable.

' This colony is useful to the neighbourhood, a term which includes a large space here: it furnishes from its store many articles of great value, not so well supplied elsewhere; and it is a market for all spare produce. There are also valuable culinary plants and fruit trees, for which the neighbourhood is indebted to the Harmonites; and they set a good example of neatness and industry: but they are despised as ignorant; and men are not apt to imitate what they scorn. Ignorant as the mass of Harmonites may be, when we contrast their



neatness and order with the slovenly habits of their neighbours, we see the good arising from mere *association*, which advances these poor people a century, probably much more, on the social scale, beyond the solitary beings who build their huts in the wilderness. For my reflections on the principles which may be supposed to actuate the rulers of this highly prosperous community, having no personal knowledge of the parties who govern, nor intimacy with any of the governed, I have no data, except the simple and, possibly, superficial observations of a traveller. Should I in this character have underrated or mistaken them, I shall, when their neighbour, gladly repair my error.

‘ In the institution of these societies, the Shakers and the Harmonites,—religion, or, if you will, fanaticism, seems to be an agent so powerful, and in fact *is* so powerful in its operation on the conduct of their members, that we are apt to attribute all the wonders that arise within the influence of this principle to its agency alone: for what may not be effected, by a sentiment which can bear down and abrogate entirely, in the instance of the Shakers, and nearly so in that of the Harmonites, the first great and fundamental law of human, or rather of *all*, nature? I allude to the tenet which is avowed in the former, and more obscurely inculcated in the latter, that the gospel of Christ is offered to them under the injunction of abstinence from sexual intercourse.

‘ I have had repeated opportunities of personal observation, on the effects of the united efforts of the Harmonites. The result of a similar union of powers among the Shakers, has been described to me by a faithful witness; and I am quite convinced that the association of numbers, in the application of a good capital, is sufficient to account for all that has been done: and that the unnatural restraint, which forms so prominent and revolting a feature of these institutions, is prospective, rather than immediate in its object.

‘ It has, however, as I before remarked, the mischievous tendency to render their example, so excellent in other respects, altogether unavailing. Strangers visit their establishments, and retire from them full of admiration:—but, a slavish acquiescence under a disgusting superstition, is so remarkable an ingredient in their character, that it checks all desire of imitation.’ p. 135—140.

**ART. V. *View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages.***  
By HENRY HALLAM, Esq. 2 vol. 4to. London, 1818.

**T**HE object of this work is to trace the progress of Europe from the middle of the fifth to the end of the fifteenth century; from the establishment of Clovis in Gaul, to the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII.; from the final settlement of the Barbarians in the Western empire, to the consolidation of

Christendom into a political system of unequal, but independent states, which has subsisted with little variation to our own times. There are few periods of history more deserving investigation, or more pregnant with useful information to the present age. To the revolutions of the Middle Ages the nations of Europe owe their existing laws and institutions, their peculiar manners and character, their particular faults and merits. We still suffer from the prejudices and errors, we still profit by the spirit and wisdom of our ancestors.

It would be difficult to appreciate exactly the merits, and invidious to point out the defects, of the numerous precursors of Mr Hallam in this branch of historical investigation. It is sufficient to remark, that the plan of his work is more extensive than that of our countryman Dr Robertson, its arrangement more strictly historical, its views more comprehensive, and its information more copious and critical. Mr Hallam appears to have bestowed much time and reflection on his subject. He has availed himself, without scruple, of the labours of those who had preceded him in the same career; but he has not servilely adopted their opinions, nor carelessly copied their errors. On every disputable point he has exercised his judgment freely, and examined the conclusions of his predecessors with diligence and impartiality. But, though he has not disdained the aid of modern abridgments, he has not trusted implicitly to the extracts of compilers and system makers. On the contrary, he appears to have had recourse habitually to the original authors, who describe the transactions and exhibit the sentiments of their own age. This, it must be owned, is often an ungrateful labour. Many pages must sometimes be perused of these worthies, before a single fact or observation occurs that repays the toil. But to an historian of the present day, who wishes to be imbued with the real spirit and feeling of ages that are past, the study of their writings is indispensable. To a familiar acquaintance with the early chronicles and original histories of the Barbarians, Mr Hallam has added a diligent examination of their laws; and wherever records throw their steady and certain light on the progress of events, he has consulted them with care. But it is not the labour and industry employed by Mr Hallam in the composition of his work, nor even the valuable and interesting information it contains, that constitute its chief or peculiar merit. It is written throughout with a spirit of freedom and liberality, that do credit to the author. A firm but temperate love of liberty, an enlightened but cautious philosophy, form its distinguished excellence. We never find the author attempting to palliate injustice, or excuse oppression;

and whenever he treats of popular rights, or pronounces on the contentions of subjects with their sovereigns, we meet with a freedom and intrepidity of discussion that remind us of better times. But though a decided enemy to the encroachments of arbitrary power, Mr Hallam is no infatuated admirer of antient turbulence, nor blind apologist of popular excesses. If, indeed, there is any quality of his work that merits our unqualified approbation, it is the spirit of fairness and impartiality that pervades the whole. We have sometimes found him careless, and have sometimes thought him in the wrong; but we have not met with an uncandid misrepresentation, an ungenerous sentiment, or a narrow-minded prejudice in his book.

To give a full analysis of Mr Hallam's labours, in the short compass of a review, would be a task impossible to execute. To those who wish to follow the progress of Europe from rudeness to refinement,—from turbulence and violence to order and tranquillity,—from poverty and ignorance to wealth and knowledge, we recommend his book as one of the most valuable additions made in our time to the stock of our historical information. We must content ourselves with a short notice of the principal subjects which he treats, giving extracts to show the spirit in which he writes, and occasionally interspersing observations of our own on particular points where we think him mistaken, or happen to differ from him in opinion.

The first chapter of Mr Hallam's book is employed in giving an abridgement of the history of France, from its conquest by Clovis to the invasion of Naples by Charles VIII. This is a rapid but masterly sketch of the revolutions of that great kingdom. The principal events are selected with judgment, and related with spirit. It was no part of the author's plan to follow, with minute and tedious exactness, the succession of princes, or to expatiate on undecisive wars and fruitless victories. His object was, to mark those important events which led to permanent changes in the internal state and political institutions of France. He passes slightly over the degradation and deposal of the first dynasty; dwells with complacency on the splendid character of Charlemagne; describes the anarchy that led to the usurpation of the Capets; and traces with precision the successive encroachments by which the princes of that ambitious family gradually extended their dominions and increased their power, till the feudal constitution, of which they were at first only the superior lords, disappeared from sight, and left an absolute and arbitrary monarchy in its place. In his review of the Capetian race, Mr Hallam bestows that eulogy on St Lewis which his solitary virtue so justly merits.

The wars with England, arising from the claim of Edward III. to the French crown, occupy a considerable part of this abridgment, and are related with great fairness and candour. The magnificent character of Edward and his son, the splendor of their victories, and the chivalrous spirit of their court, are themes that still warm the imagination, and excite no unnatural exultation in every English bosom. 'If we could forget,' says Mr Hallam, 'what never should be forgotten, the wretchedness and devastation that fell upon a great kingdom, too dear a price for the display of any heroism, we might count these English wars in France among the brightest periods in history.'— 'A good lesson,' he continues, 'may be drawn by conquerors, from the change of fortune that befel Edward III. A long warfare, and unexampled success, had procured for him some of the richest provinces of France. Within a short time, he was entirely stripped of them, less through any particular misconduct, than in consequence of the intrinsic difficulty of preserving such acquisitions. The French were already knit together as one people; and even those, whose feudal duties sometimes led them into the field against their sovereign, could not endure the feeling of dismemberment from the monarchy.' In the provinces ceded to Edward, by the peace of Breigny, the inhabitants submitted, with sullen reluctance, to the English yoke. 'Such unwilling subjects might, perhaps, have been won by a prudent government; but the temper of the Prince of Wales, which was rather stern and arbitrary, did not conciliate their hearts to his cause.' The war was soon after renewed; and, 'in a few campaigns, the English were deprived of almost all their conquests, and even, in a great degree, of their original possessions in Guienne.'

Charles V. of France, having expelled the English, 'became a sagacious statesman, an encourager of literature, a beneficent lawgiver. But all the fruits of his wisdom were lost in the succeeding reign. In a government essentially popular, the youth or imbecility of the sovereign creates no material derangement. In a monarchy, where all the springs of the system depend upon one central force, these accidents, which are sure, in the course of a few generations, to recur, can scarcely fail to dislocate the whole machine.' The States General interfered, with success at first, to restrain the prodigality of the court; but the partisans of royalty ultimately prevailed. The city of Paris, which had shown a spirit of democratic freedom, offensive to its rulers, 'was treated as the spoil of conquest; its immunities abridged; its most active leaders

put to death; a fine of uncommon severity imposed; and the taxes, which had been repealed by the States General, were renewed by arbitrary prerogative. It is difficult,' continues Mr Hallam, 'to name a limit beyond which taxes will not be borne without impatience, when they appear to be called for by necessity, and faithfully applied. But the sting of taxation is wastefulness. What high-spirited man could see, without indignation, the earnings of his labour, yielded ungrudgingly to the public defence, become the spoils of parasites and peculators? It is this that mortifies the liberal hand of public spirit; and those statesmen, who deem the security of government to depend, not on laws and armies, but on the moral sympathies and prejudices of the people, will vigilantly guard against even the suspicion of prodigality.' Such were not the statesmen, unhappily for France, who then presided over her destinies. The outrageous dissoluteness of the Court, its enormous extravagance, and shameless contempt of public opinion, aggravated the discontent, and embittered the distresses of the people. Assassination openly perpetrated, and publicly vindicated, destroyed all confidence between the hostile factions. Henry V. of England, profiting by these dissensions, contrived, by war and negotiation, to be declared the successor to the French monarchy. His premature death, fortunately for both countries, frustrated his plans. England in her turn became distracted by domestic dissensions, and patriotism and superstition combined to expel her armies once more from France.

We have no hesitation in condemning, with Mr Hallam, the pretension of Edward III. to the Crown of France. The claim of Philip had been recognised by the States and people of France, and confirmed by his peaceable possession of the throne for several years. He had been guilty of no errors of government, or encroachments on his subjects' rights, that could justly absolve them from their allegiance. Whether he was the nearest heir to the preceding monarch or not, seems to us, in these circumstances, a matter of mighty indifference. He had the best of all titles, the willing acquiescence of his subjects, and their firm determination to support him against all competitors. But, if the claim of Edward is to be considered as a mere question of hereditary right, we are not sure that Mr Hallam has either stated the argument in his favour correctly, or decided with justice against its validity. Edward and his antagonist agreed in admitting, that females were excluded from the French throne. What Edward contended was, that this exclusion did not extend to their male posterity; and, of these, that he was the nearest male relation to the last King, and

therefore his lawful heir. Whatever we may think of this last distinction, essential, it must be confessed, to Edward's claim, it was considered of importance in the middle ages. It was the ground on which Bruce rested his pretension to the Scottish sceptre; and at Caspe, where the same question was agitated before commissioners from the three kingdoms of Arragon, the principle maintained by Edward, was adopted in the disposal of the crown, by a majority of the delegates present on that occasion. Ferdinand of Castile was preferred to his competitors, because he was the heir male nearest in blood to the preceding monarch. This trifling oversight of Mr Hallam is the more extraordinary, as the real ground of Edward's pretensions to the crown of France, had been stated with precision by Ruyin and by Carte.

Mr Hallam's abridgement of the history of France, is an excellent preparation for the chapter that follows on the feudal system, one of the most valuable and instructive parts of his book. In his dissertation upon this subject, he traces the rise and progress of that singular form of polity,—explains its principles,—and distinguishes what was original and essential to the system, from that which was incidental and confined to particular times and countries. Its effects on society and government, he appretiates with sagacity and candour; and explains, with great judgement and perspicuity, the causes that led to its establishment, and the changes that gradually undermined its principles, and finally subverted its institutions.

'It is the previous state of society,' he observes, 'under the grandchildren of Charlemagne, which we must always keep in mind, if we would appreciate the effects of the feudal system upon the welfare of mankind. The institutions of the eleventh century must be compared with those of the ninth, not with the advanced civilization of modern times. The state of anarchy, which we usually term feudal, was the natural result of a vast and barbarous empire, feebly administered, and the cause, rather than the effect of the general establishment of feudal tenures. These, by preserving the mutual relations of the whole, kept alive the feeling of a common country, and common duties; and settled, after the lapse of ages, into the free constitution of England, the firm monarchy of France, and the federal union of Germany.'

The utility of any form of policy may be estimated, by its effects upon national greatness and security, upon civil liberty and private rights, upon the tranquillity and order of society, upon the increase and diffusion of wealth, or upon the general tone of moral sentiment and energy. The feudal constitution was little adapted for the defence of a mighty kingdom, far less for schemes of conquest. But as it prevailed alike in several adjacent countries, none had any thing to

fear from the military superiority of its neighbours. It was this inefficiency of the feudal militia, perhaps, that saved Europe, during the middle ages, from the danger of universal monarchy. In times, when princes had little notion of confederacies for mutual protection, it is hard to say what might not have been the successes of an Otho, a Frederic, or a Philip Augustus, if they could have wielded the whole force of their subjects, whenever their ambition required. If an empire equally extensive with that of Charlemagne, and supported by military despotism, had been formed about the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, the seeds of commerce and liberty, just then beginning to shoot, would have perished; and Europe, reduced to a barbarous servitude, might have fallen before the free barbarians of Tartary.

If we look at the feudal polity as a scheme of civil freedom, it bears a noble countenance. To the feudal law it is owing, that the very names of right and privilege were not swept away, as in Asia, by the desolating hand of power. The tyranny, which, on every favourable moment, was breaking through all barriers, would have riot-ed without control, if, when the people were poor and disunited, the nobility had not been brave and free. So far as the sphere of feudality extended, it diffused the spirit of liberty, and the notions of private right. Every one will acknowledge this, who considers the limitations of the services of vassalage, so cautiously marked in those law books which are the records of customs; the reciprocity of obligation between the lord and his tenant; the consent required in every measure of a legislative or general nature; the security, above all, which every vassal found in the administration of justice by his peers, and even (we may in this sense say) in the trial by combat. The bulk of the people, it is true, were degraded by servitude; but this had no connexion with the feudal tenures.

The peace and good order of society were not promoted by this system. Though private wars did not originate in the feudal customs, it is impossible to doubt that they were perpetuated by so convenient an institution, which indeed owed its universal establishment to no other cause. And, as predominant habits of warfare are totally irreconcilable with those of industry, not merely by the immediate works of destruction which render its efforts unavailing, but through that contempt of peaceful occupations which they produce, the feudal system must have been intrinsically adverse to the accumulation of wealth, and the improvement of those arts which mitigate the evils or abridge the labours of mankind.

But, as a school of moral discipline, the feudal institutions were perhaps most to be valued. Society had sunk, for several centuries after the dissolution of the Roman empire, into a condition of utter depravity, where, if any vices could be selected as more eminently characteristic than others, they were falsehood, treachery and ingratitude. In slowly purging off the lees of this extreme corruption, the feudal spirit exerted its ameliorating influence. Violation of faith

stood first in the catalogue of crimes, most repugnant to the very essence of a feudal tenure; most severely and promptly avenged; most branded by general infamy. The feudal law books breathe throughout a spirit of honourable obligation. The feudal course of jurisdiction promoted, what trial by peers is peculiarly calculated to promote, a keener feeling, as well as readier perception, of moral as well as of legal distinctions. In the reciprocal services of lord and vassal, there was ample scope for every magnanimous and disinterested energy. The heart of man, when placed in circumstances that have a tendency to excite them, will seldom be deficient in such sentiments. No occasions could be more favourable, than the protection of a faithful supporter, or the defence of a beneficent sovereign, against such powerful aggression, as left little prospect except of sharing in his ruin.

It is in France, chiefly, that Mr Hallam contemplates the feudal system and therefore, in describing its decay, he is naturally led to the consequences that ensued, in that kingdom, on its fall. He traces the gradual encroachments of the Crown, as the power of the nobility was reduced; its usurpation of the legislative authority, which had lain dormant for centuries; its assumption of the right of taxation, in opposition to the remonstrances of the States; its success in wresting from the Barons their territorial jurisdiction, and in placing the administration of justice in judges appointed by the king. He shows, in the course of this inquiry, that it was to the dissolution of all but the feudal government, at the accession of the third dynasty, and to the independence effected, and for many ages maintained by the feudal nobility, that the kings of France were indebted for the absolute authority which they at last acquired. When Hugh Capet usurped the throne, France was 'rather a collection of states, partially allied to each other, than a single monarchy. The kingdom was as a great fief, or rather as a bundle of fiefs, and the king little more than one of a number of feudal nobles, differing rather in dignity than in power from some of the rest.' The vassals of the Crown had the right of coining money, and of waging private war; they enjoyed exemption from all public tributes, except the feudal aids; were free from legislative control; and possessed the exclusive exercise of original jurisdiction in their dominions. 'The king,' says St Lewis in his establishments, 'cannot make proclamation, that is, declare any new law, in the territory of a baron, without his consent, nor can the baron do so in that of a vavassor. If legislative power, therefore, be essential to sovereignty, we cannot, in strictness, assert the king of France to have been sovereign beyond the limits of his own do-



mains.' Trusting to this exemption from all laws, but those to which they had given their express consent, the barons withheld their presence from the king's court, or attended on particular occasions only, when questions of great public importance were to be discussed. In this suspension of legislative authority, the necessity of new laws induced the kings of France to frame ordinances by advice of their council; and to these ordinances, when they became powerful, they gave the effect of laws, by means of the coercive authority acquired by their courts of justice. The supreme legislative power of the Crown was, in this manner, the natural result of the original independence of the nobility, and of 'their ill-judged confidence in the stability of their feudal privileges.' In these and other encroachments of prerogative, the king had the never-failing support of the lawyers and the clergy, who were disgusted with the violence of the nobles, and had found, in the civil and canon law, a system of political maxims very different from those of the feudal code. 'A new theory of absolute power and unconditional obedience was introduced;' and Frenchmen were taught, that 'all feudal privileges were encroachments on the imprescriptible rights of the monarchy.'

The States General were first assembled by Philip the Fair, for the purpose of obtaining money from his subjects. 'At no period, and in no instances did they possess a co-ordinate legislative authority with the Crown, or even a consenting voice. Mably, Boulainvilliers, and Montlosien are as decisive on this subject, as the most courtly writers of that country. It follows,' says Mr Hallam, 'that France never possessed a free constitution; nor had the monarchy any limitations in respect of enacting laws, save those which, until the reign of Philip the Fair, the feudal principles had imposed.' The sole privilege possessed by the States was, to grant money, and to regulate the collection of it. But, notwithstanding the narrow limits of their constitutional authority, they made various efforts to redress the grievances, and reform the government of the State. These attempts, however, though renewed at intervals, from the time of John to the reign of Charles VIII., were constantly defeated, either by the dissensions of the different orders, or by the disturbances and popular excesses to which they gave rise. The authority of the States, even in grants of money, was extremely limited. They were held to have no power of imposing taxes without the specific consent of their constituents. Whether it was the timidity of the deputies, or false notions of freedom, which produced this doctrine, it was evidently repugnant to the stability and dignity of a representative as-

sembly. Nor was it less ruinous in practice, than mistaken in theory. For as the necessary subsidies, after being provisionally granted by the States, were often rejected by their electors, the king found a reasonable pretence for dispensing with the concurrence of his subjects, when he levied contributions upon them.' In the fifteenth century, provincial assemblies, which were found to be more manageable than the States General, were substituted in their place for obtaining grants of money; and at length 'the formality of consent, whether by general or provincial States, ceased to be reckoned indispensable. Charles VII. levied money by his own authority. Lewis XI. carried this encroachment to the highest pitch of exaction. It was the boast of courtiers, that he first released the kings of France from dependence; or, in other words, that he effectually demolished those barriers, which, however imperfect and ill placed, had opposed some impediment to the establishment of despotism.'

After a long and unequal struggle to maintain their independence, the territorial courts of the Barons were brought under the authority of the royal tribunals. This change, in many respects beneficial to the people, was completed in the fourteenth century, by the establishment of the Parliament of Paris and other sovereign courts. But these tribunals, after contributing to the exaltation of the royal prerogative, attempted to set up barriers against the power they had created. It had become usual to promulgate in the Parliament of Paris, the royal edicts prepared in the Council, or to send them thither for registration. 'This formality was deemed essential to render them authentic and notorious, and thus indirectly gave them the sanction and validity of law.' In the fifteenth century, the Parliament began to claim a right of judging the expediency of the edicts transmitted to it for registration; and this pretension, extraordinary and anomalous as it appears, it maintained to the period of the Revolution. Subsequent regulations rendered its members independent of the Court; and, from the spirit of resistance which they afterwards displayed, this body of lawyers 'became, in later times, the sole depositary of public spirit, and attachment to justice, in France. Doubtless,' says Mr Hallam, 'the Parliament of Paris, with its prejudices and narrow views; its high notions of loyal obedience, so strangely mixed up with remonstrances and resistance; its anomalous privilege of objecting to edicts, hardly approved by the nation who did not participate in it, and overturned with facility by the king, whenever he thought fit to exert the sinews of his prerogative, was indeed poorly substituted for that coordinate sovereignty, that equal concurrence of na-

tional representatives in legislation, which has long been the exclusive pride of our government, and to which the States-General of France, in their best days, had never aspired. No man of sane understanding would desire to revive institutions, both uncongenial to modern opinions and to the natural order of society. Yet the name of the Parliament of Paris must ever be respectable. It exhibited, upon various occasions, virtues from which human esteem is as inseparable as the shadow from the substance; a severe adherence to principles, an unaccommodating sincerity, individual disinterestedness and consistency.

The decline of the feudal system in France, Mr Hallam ascribes to the aggrandisement of the Crown by the annexation of Normandy, Toulouse, and other great fiefs; to the institution of free and chartered towns; and to the introduction of hired soldiers in place of the feudal militia. The emancipation of the towns he refers to the necessities, rather than to the policy of the Court; and doubts whether the Crown derived any substantial addition of power from this innovation, till the reign of Lewis VIII., when the king claimed 'the immediate sovereignty over all chartered towns, in exclusion of their original lords.' By the establishment of this pretension, and the prudent use made of it by the government, a deadly blow was given to the feudal aristocracy, which, from other causes, was going rapidly to decay. It is worthy of remark, that as soon as the independence of the Barons had completely yielded, 'the Court began to give into a new policy, which was ever after pursued; that of maintaining the dignity and privileges of the noble class against those attacks which wealth and liberty encouraged the plebeians to make upon them.' It was by this variable, but uniformly selfish policy, skilfully adapted to circumstances as they arose, that the kings of France were enabled to trample by turns on every class of their subjects, and erect an arbitrary despotism on the ruins of their liberty. To humble his nobles, the king condescended to become the protector of his towns, and dispenser of equal justice to his people. When his nobles were sufficiently humbled, he espoused their cause, and crushed their plebeian adversaries with his sceptre of iron. The lawyers, after contributing to his victory, and corrupting public opinion by their doctrines, when they attempted to raise their feeble voice against his power, found their own slavish maxims and lessons of obedience turned against themselves. Had these different orders of men possessed sagacity to discern their real interests, and sense to unite against their common enemy, France, like England, might have settled into a limited monarchy, instead of being for ages the scourge of Europe abroad, and victim of arbitrary power at home.

Mr Hallam finds instances of hired soldiers in the 10th and 11th centuries. In the 12th and 13th, the practice became common; and, in the 14th, nearly universal. But these soldiers were disbanded at the conclusion of hostilities; a standing army in time of peace being unknown in France, till the ordinance of Charles VII. in 1444. The employment of hired soldiers led to another innovation, that of escuage or scutage; which was a compensation in money paid by the feudal vassals to their sovereign, in lieu of the military service to which they were bound by their tenures. Madox cannot trace the existence of scutage in England beyond the time of Henry I. But there is a transaction recorded of William Rufus, that bears a great resemblance to it, and appears to us to throw considerable light upon its origin. We are informed in the *Annals of Waverly*, that in 1094, *rex Willielmus misit ad hanc terram (Angliam scilicet) et jussit summoneri viginti millia Anglorum qui venirent illi in auxilium in Normanniam; sed postquam ad mare venerunt, jussi sunt redire, et mittere regi pecuniam quam deferebant, scilicet unusquisque viginti solidos, quod ipsi fecerunt.* That is, the military tenants gave to the crown what they had provided to bear the expenses of their expedition, and the king accepted this payment in lieu of their personal attendance. They were saved from the dangers, inconvenience and fatigues of war; and he was furnished with money for the hire of mercenaries, whose 'soldier-like principles of indiscriminate obedience, still more than their courage and field discipline, rendered them dear to kings, who dreaded the free spirit of a feudal army.'

Before taking leave of this part of Mr Hallam's book, we must observe, that some doubtful positions are maintained in it, to which we should have been desirous of calling his attention, if we had not been afraid of fatiguing our readers by the minuteness and prolixity of the discussion. We shall therefore content ourselves with expressing our doubts of the correctness of his statement, 'that the exclusion of females from inheritance in fixed possessions was very common among the Teutonic nations.' †—We shall cite a few examples to the contrary. The Burgundian law is one of the most antient codes of the Barbarians, and most exempt from the interpolation of later times. But in that code we have the following passage. *Inter Burgundiones id volumus custodiri, ut si quis filium non reliquerit, in loco filii filia in patris matrisque hereditate succedat.* † The same law of inheritance was established among the Lombards. *Si quis*

\* Gale, 2. 139.

† Vol. I. p. 103. Note.

‡ Tit. 14, 1.

*Langobardus sine filiis legitimis masculinis mortuus fuerit, et filiam dereliquerit unam aut plures legitimas, ipsæ ei in omnem hereditatem patris vel matris suæ, tanquam filii legitimi masculini, heredes succedant.* § Sons were preferred to daughters, by the northern nations, in the inheritance of land; but we know of no absolute exclusion of females, except in the celebrated text *de terra salica*; and of what this *terra salica* consisted, Mr Hallam is fully aware no two antiquarians are agreed. With respect to other sorts of alodial land, the Salii, like the other German tribes, had no difficulty in admitting the succession of females.\* The Ripuarii excluded women from any portion of their grandfather's inheritance, while any of his male progeny survived; † and the Angli maintained this prohibition, while there were male relations to be found in the fifth degree of consanguinity; but in neither case was the exclusion absolute. *Post quintam autem (generationem) filia ex toto, sive de patris sive matris parte, in hereditatem succedat, et tunc demum hereditas ad fustum a lancea transeat.* ‡ If a man dies without children, says the Ripuarian code, and leaves neither father nor mother, let his brother and sister succeed to his inheritance; and if he has neither brother nor sister, let his aunts inherit his possessions. || The Saxons and Alemani preferred sons to daughters; but, on the failure of sons, the whole inheritance of the father descended to the daughters. ¶

Mr Hallam controverts the opinion of Montesquieu, adopted by Robertson and Mably, that the benefices granted by the Merovingian kings of France, were originally precarious, and resumable at the pleasure of the Sovereign; and he has certainly shown, that the authorities cited by Montesquieu do not warrant him in that conclusion. It is probable, that benefices were granted on different terms by different nations. There is reason to believe, that among the Burgundians they were from the first hereditary. It appears from the laws of that nation, that those who held benefices from the Crown, had no share in the distribution of the alodial lands taken from the Romans. *Licet eodem tempore, says the Burgundian lawgiver, quo populus noster mancipiorum tertiam et duas terrarum partes accepit, ejusmodi a nobis fuerit amissa præceptio, ut quicumque agrum cum mancipiis, seu parentum nostrorum, sive largitate nostra perceperat;*

§ Luitprandi leges, cap. 1.

\* Lex Salica, tit. 62.

† Lex Ripuar. tit. 56.

‡ Leg. Angl. et Werin. tit. 6, l. 8.

|| Lex Ripuar. tit. 56, ll. 1, 2, 3.

¶ Lex Saxon, tit. 7, ll. 1, 5.—Lex Aleman. tit. 57, 92.

*nec mancipiorum tertiam nec duas terrarum partes ex eo loco, in quo ei hospitalitas fuerat delegata, requireret.* \* But, when this regulation was made, if beneficiary lands could have been resumed at pleasure, or had returned to the Crown on the death of the person who held them, the Leudes of Burgundy must have been in a worse condition than the alodial proprietors, though superior to them in rank and dignity. If this anomaly ever existed, which we can hardly believe, it must have been of short duration. The same code informs us, that at the time when it was promulgated, beneficiary lands had become hereditary property in Burgundy. Among the Visigoths, the *Fideles* were secured in their benefices and these declared to be their hereditary property, by the decrees of the 5th and 6th Councils of Toledo.

The revolutions of Italy, which, according to the plan adopted by Mr Hallam, follow his account of the feudal system in France, are too numerous and too complicated to be treated with interest and perspicuity in an abridgement like this. Mr Hallam may be forgiven for not accomplishing, in 150 pages, what it has cost M. Sismondi ten volumes to execute. There are, nevertheless, fine passages and interesting details in this chapter; and throughout we find the same spirit of liberality and impartial regard to justice, which are so conspicuous in the other parts of his book. His account of the great struggle between Frederick Barbarossa and the Lombard cities, is given with spirit and animation; and the concluding remarks exhibit an admirable specimen of the true lessons to be drawn from history.

'The successful insurrection of Lombardy,' he observes, 'is a memorable refutation of that system of policy to which its advocates give the appellation of vigorous, and which they perpetually hold forth as the only means through which a disaffected people are to be restrained. By a certain class of statesmen, and by all men of harsh and violent disposition, measures of conciliation, adherence to the spirit of treaties, regard to ancient privileges, or to those rules of moral justice which are paramount to all positive right, are always treated with derision. Terror is their only specific; and physical inability to rebel, their only security for allegiance. But if the razing of cities, the abrogation of privileges, the impoverishment and oppression of a nation could assure its constant submission, Frederic Barbarossa would never have seen the militia of Lombardy arrayed against him at Legnano. Whatever may be the pressure on a conquered people, there will come a moment of their recoil. Nor is it material to allege, in answer to the present instance, that the acci-

\* Lex Burgund. Tit. 54.

dental destruction of Frederic's army by disease, enabled the cities of Lombardy to succeed in their resistance. The fact may well be disputed; since Lombardy, when united, appears to have been more than equal to a contest with any German force that could have been brought against her; but, even if we admit the effect of this circumstance, it only exhibits the precariousness of a policy, which collateral events are always liable to disturb.

His account of the feuds and internal dissensions of the Italian republics, is written in the same excellent spirit. Their implacable animosities—their merciless proscriptions—the partiality, violence, and ingratitude of their factions, he censures as they deserve; but in comparison with the benefits which liberty conferred upon them, 'the disorders that ruffled their surface appear slight and momentary. The men and institutions of the fourteenth century are to be measured by their contemporaries. Who would not rather have been a citizen of Florence, than a subject of the Visconti? In a superficial review of history, we are sometimes apt to exaggerate the vices of free states, and to lose sight of those inherent in tyrannical power. The bold censoriousness of republican historians, and the cautious servility of writers under an absolute monarchy, conspire to mislead us as to the relative prosperity of nations. Acts of outrage and tumultuous excesses in a free state, are blazoned in minute detail, and descend to posterity; the deeds of tyranny are studiously and perpetually suppressed.' So strongly is he impressed with the evils attendant on slavery, that, in a subsequent passage, he states it as 'a doubtful problem, whether the sum of general happiness has lost more in the last three centuries, through arbitrary power, than it has gained through regular police and suppression of disorder.'

Florence, the most democratic of the great Italian republics, preserved her freedom, and maintained her station as protector of the general liberties of Italy; while neighbouring cities, less fortunate, or less wisely administered, sunk under the yoke of tyrants, or shrunk into jealous oligarchies. Her turn came at last. Her free constitution fell a sacrifice to the cunning arts of the Medici, whose patronage of letters and encouragement of the arts cannot redeem their name from the infamy of having subverted the most splendid republic that has existed since the days of Athens. It was by the exercise of some virtues, and the affectation of others, that the Medici obtained that fatal popularity which enabled them to cheat their fellow-citizens of their liberties. The hour of their victory was the last of the moderation they had affected. No revolution at Florence was followed by more numerous exiles, polluted by more extensive

confiscations, disgraced by more permanent exclusions, or stained with more noble blood, than the success of the pretended father of his country. Their predecessors, though guilty of occasional acts of violence, 'had in general respected the legal forms of their free republic; the Medici made all their government conducive to hereditary monarchy.' From the moment this family of profligate hypocrites obtained the supreme authority, the character of Florence was as much changed as that of Rome by the dominion of the Cæsars. The external politics of the State became low and selfish. To secure their own power was the sole object of its new rulers. The republic had been the constant enemy of the Visconti. The Medici became the friends and allies of the Sporzas. The degradation of individuals followed the decline of public principle in the State; and Florence sunk into that abyss of infamy and corruption, from which it has never since emerged.

Mr Hallam seems to have considered the annals of the Visigoths as unworthy his attention; and to this prepossession we must ascribe the mistakes and omissions, into which he has fallen, in his account of Castile. He tells us, for instance, that Roderic of Toledo, 'one of the earliest Spanish historians,' flourished in the beginning of the 13th century. But, if he had taken the same trouble with the history of Spain, which he has bestowed on the transactions of France, he would have known, that there is a regular succession of Spanish chronicles, and some of them curious and valuable, from Idatius in the 6th century, to the annals of Compostella, and the Latin chronicle of Alonso VIIth in the 12th. He would also have avoided a mistake in his chapter on ecclesiastical usurpations, where he relates the deposal of 'one Wamba, a King of the Visigoths in Spain,' as the first instance of the deposition of a sovereign Prince, by authority of the Church. If he had consulted the Spanish historians, he would have found, that Wamba, being supposed on the point of death, had received the tonsure as a preparation for a better world; and that having submitted to this ceremony, he was rendered incapable of resuming the sceptre by a previous law of the 6th council of Toledo, which enacted, that no person *sub religionis habitu detonsus* should wear the crown. The successor of Wamba was suspected of having caused his illness, by administering to him certain poisonous drugs; and it was even said, that when Wamba submitted to the tonsure, he was unconscious of what was done to him. It might have been a question, therefore, whether the transaction was not fraudulent, and on that ground Wamba might have reclaimed the crown, if he had been so disposed; but there can be no doubt, that by the existing law, supposing him to



have been fairly tonsured, he was no longer capable of holding the sceptre. Wamba abdicated, or was deposed in 680. The law, by which he was excluded, had been passed in 638, in a council composed, as usual, of Bishops and Palatines. These are not the only mistakes into which Mr Hallam has been led by his contempt of the Spanish historians. He represents Ferdinand I. of Leon and Castile, as 'master of the whole Hispano-Gothic monarchy.' But, so far from this being true, there were at that time independent Spanish Kings in Navarre, Sobrarbe and Arragon; and, so far from 'a cessation of hostilities between the Christian States,' enabling the latter to direct their united force against the Moors, there was a sanguinary contest between Ferdinand and his brother Garcia, King of Navarre, in which the latter lost his life, and a considerable part of his dominions.

In this part of his book, Mr Hallam has made excellent use of the valuable works of Marina, of which we gave some account in our former Numbers. He has not scrupled, however, to dissent from that author, when he thinks him in the wrong. Marina, led away by the popular humour prevalent at Cadiz when he published his book, has exerted himself to prove, that after the 13th century, the nobility and clergy ceased to be constituent parts of the Cortes. Mr Hallam combats this opinion as highly improbable, and contrary to the general spirit of the mixed monarchies of Europe. 'The exclusion of the prelates and nobility from the Cortes, can hardly have been defensible on any constitutional rule, and must, one would imagine, have affected the legality of those few assemblies where it occurred.' This reasoning is plausible, and not entirely to be rejected; but Mr Hallam is not aware of certain peculiarities in the constitution of Castile, which makes it less applicable to that State, than to any other monarchy founded on the free principles brought from the woods of Germany by our ancestors.

The supreme legislative power in Castile was vested in the king, with advice and consent of his subjects; but there seems to have been no fixed or certain rule to determine the class or description of persons, with whose advice and consent he was to exercise this authority. We find, in fact, the greatest possible irregularity in the composition as well as in the forms of proceeding of the legislative assemblies of that kingdom. In early times, after a recital of the persons present in Cortes, the laws are said to have been enacted by the king *de universorum consensu*; \* or *con consejo e con acuerdo* of the princes of the

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\* In 1208.

blood, prelates, *ricos omes*, knights of the military orders, and good men of the towns, and other good men there assembled.† But so early as 1286, in the Cortes of Palencia, there are laws enacted on the petition, and by the advice of the deputies of the towns, without any mention of the nobles and clergy, who appear not to have been convoked on that occasion. At the Cortes of Valladolid, in 1293, various important laws were made on the petition of the deputies of the towns of Leon, *con acuerdo* of the prelates and nobles summoned to Cortes; and two years afterwards, laws are said to be enacted in Cortes, held at the same place, *con otorgamiento* of the prelates, nobles, and good men of the towns, though none but the last were in fact consulted. In 1299 and 1325, none appear to have been summoned to Cortes except the deputies of the towns; and laws are made, at their petition, by the king, without any mention of the higher orders. But in 1329 we have a very full meeting of Cortes, attended by the prelates, the masters of the military orders, the *ricos omes*, *infanzones*, knights, esquires, and deputies of the towns, to whom the king addressed himself as his natural friends, requesting and commanding them to advise and direct him in the government of his kingdom, which he was desirous to administer and reform by their advice. All the members of this assembly appear to have deliberated together, and to have given their joint opinion on the form of petitions, to which in general the king gave his full assent. The Cortes of Burgos in 1301, those of Valladolid in the same year, the Cortes of Medina del Campo in 1305, and those of Valladolid in 1307, had been composed of the same classes of persons; and laws had been enacted by the advice and consent of the whole assembly. But, notwithstanding these precedents, we find Cortes at Burgos in 1338, in which many important laws were passed, attended by the nobles alone, the *ricos omes*, *infanzones* and knights, and members of the king's council; and in the following year we have Cortes at Madrid, to which none but deputies of the towns appear to have been summoned. In 1348 we have the beginning of a very important innovation, which was afterwards to make a great and fundamental change in the constitution of Castile. The deputies of all the cities and towns were summoned to meet the king in Cortes at Alcala de Henares, but no letters of convocation were sent to the absent nobles or prelates, none of whom appear to have attended this meeting, except those who were about the person of the king. In 1349 the same practice was followed at the Cortes of Leon.

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† In 1252 and 1258.

At the accession of Peter the Cruel, we meet with the first clear and well-marked division of the Cortes into three separate estates. That monarch held Cortes at Valladolid in 1351, in which the clergy, nobles, and deputies of the towns, met and deliberated separately, presented their petitions separately to the king, and had separate answers. It is impossible to peruse these petitions, without perceiving, that these three orders, with the king, did not form one indivisible legislature, requiring the common consent of all to the exercise of its authority; but that each, with the king, had complete powers of legislation, so as to form three separate bodies, with different, and often opposite interests and pretensions, of which the king was the common regulator and moderator. In consequence of this legislative power, exercised by the king, in conjunction with any one of the three estates, we find, in the Cortes held at Medina del Campo in 1370, several laws repealed by the king, at the petition of the towns, which had been enacted the preceding year at Toro, with consent of the three Estates, *con acuerdo de los perlados, e de ricos omes, e procuradores de las cibdades e villas*.

Under the three first Princes of the house of Frastamare, who, like our Lancastrian kings, owed their crown to a successful usurpation, the government seems to have been well administered, and the constitutional rights of the subject duly respected. The nobles and the clergy were, in general, summoned to the Cortes; though, on some occasions, none but deputies from the towns appear to have been assembled. Petitions for grievances were, in general, presented in the name of the deputies; but the old practice was still occasionally maintained, of bringing them forward in the name of the whole Cortes; and, in one instance, there was a separate list of grievances presented by the clergy. The petitions were answered by the king, sometimes *de proprio motu*, or with advice of his council; but, more frequently, with consent of the nobles and prelates. When laws were promulgated, they were said to be enacted by advice of the Cortes; and grants of money were made in the name of the clergy and nobles, as well as of the deputies. The constitution was still irregular; but it seemed fast verging to the same form with our own. The accession of John II. to the throne, the first legitimate prince of the house of Frastamare, in right of Constance of Lancaster, his mother, may be fixed upon as the era from which public liberty began to decline. The practice, introduced by Alonso XI., was revived, of discontinuing letters of convocation to the absent nobles and prelates. None but deputies of towns had writs of summons; and the number of towns, to which writs were sent, was gra-

dually diminished, till they were reduced to seventeen. It was at this period, too, that we hear of the first complaints among the deputies, of interference in elections, on the part of the Crown; sometimes, by naming or designating the deputies to be chosen; and, at other times, by direct acts of bribery. Certain nobles and prelates still attended the Cortes; but they were persons about the Court, who were not likely to oppose any impediment to its designs. The great body of the nobles, occupied with private feuds, or engaged in open or secret combinations against the favourite Don Alvaro de Luna, lost all recollection of their constitutional privileges, and never thought of obtaining redress of grievances, except by arms. The laws promulgated at this period, were made at the petition of the deputies, by advice of the council, or of the prelates and nobles, who happened to be present at the Cortes.

During the reigns of John II. and Henry IV., we have found but one instance of the prelates and nobles assembling on public business; and that meeting resembled more the congress of two hostile powers, than the convocation of a deliberative assembly. It was held at Cabezon, in the open fields, like the meeting of John and his barons at Runnimede. After a conference between Henry IV. and the Marquis of Villena, and other chiefs of the malcontents, it was agreed to appoint a committee of five to reform the State; two on the part of the king, two on the part of the nobles, and one to have a casting voice in case of need. This committee met at Medina del Campo; and, after much deliberation, prepared a body of ordinances, which were confirmed and promulgated by the royal authority, but not carried into execution in consequence of the disturbances that ensued. The meeting at Cabezon is termed by the king, in the public instrument recording and ratifying its proceedings, the *ayuntamiento*, which he held with the prelates, *ricos omes*, and knights of his kingdom. *Ayuntamiento* was at that time the word usually employed to designate the meeting of Cortes. Among the ordinances made on this occasion, there is one (the 19th) which declares, that no money shall be levied on the subject, without consent of the prelates and nobles, as well as of the deputies of the towns; a proof, that, though seldom exercised, it was still held to be the constitutional right of the two superior orders of the State, to concur in grants of money to the Crown.

From the congress or *ayuntamiento* of Cabezon in 1465, there was no convocation of the nobles or clergy till 1527, when they were assembled by the Emperor Charles V., to obtain a supply against the Infidels. This application having been unsuccessful, they were not summoned again to Cortes, though several meet-

ings of the deputies of the towns took place in the interval, till 1538, when they were assembled for the last time at Toledo. On this occasion the three orders met, and deliberated separately; and were not allowed to confer together, notwithstanding the earnest supplications of the nobles to be permitted with the deputies of the towns. The object of the meeting was to obtain a general tax or excise. The clergy were willing to comply with the Emperor's wishes, but the nobles steadily refused their consent; and, after three months had been spent in useless deliberations, Charles at length dissolved them abruptly, and never afterwards called them together. From this time the Cortes of Castile consisted of deputies of the towns only.

We have been led into these details by the difference of opinion between Mr Hallam and Marina. We have not quoted our authorities, because they are the manuscript acts of the Cortes which we have consulted on this point. It appears, that in Castile, as in most European monarchies, the supreme legislative power was supposed to be vested in the king, but not to be legally exercised without the consent of his subjects. It appears, however, there was no fixed or established usage that determined the particular description of persons, whose consent was necessary to give validity to his legislative acts; and that the practice was exceedingly variable, not only from one age to another, but in the same age. We have, in the same reign, laws with consent of the whole Cortes, and laws with consent of one branch of the Cortes only. This irregularity led, in the 15th century, to the general practice of summoning no persons to Cortes, except the deputies of the towns, with whose consent and the advice of his council the king made laws and ordinances for the better government of his kingdom. At a still later period, an abuse, which had begun in the reign of John II., was converted into an engine for superseding entirely the legislative control of the Cortes. Pragmaticas were issued by the King in Council, which were declared to have the force of laws, till they should be confirmed in Cortes: And as the power of the Crown increased and the spirit of the people declined, these pragmatics were at length declared to have the same force as if they had been passed in Cortes. Such has been the state of Spanish legislation since the accession of the house of Bourbon.

The deputies of the towns in Castile were persons of rank and consideration at a very early period, and may, with greater propriety, be compared to the knights of the shires, than to the citizens and burgesses of England. In the thirteenth century, they are styled *omes buenos* in the acts of the Cortes; but in

the fourteenth and succeeding centuries, they call themselves *fijos delgo, cavalleros e escuderos e omes buenos*. They had wages from their constituents as in England. In 1525, the deputies of Seville had each four ducats a day. They had, in general, full powers from the cities they represented; but on some occasions, their powers were limited. Each town or city had a single vote; and therefore it was of no consequence how many members it sent to Cortes. In later times, it was usual to chuse two representatives only; but in the early part of Spanish history, we find the number exceedingly variable, and sometimes very great. At the Cortes of Burgos in 1315, many towns were represented by one member only, while Soria sent seven and Avila thirteen. Where the deputies of a town were equally divided in opinion, that town, of course, lost its vote on the question. Contested elections were decided by the Council, notwithstanding several ineffectual attempts of the deputies to bring the decision before themselves. The members of the Council had a right to be present at the deliberations of the Cortes, though this was sometimes disputed; but they had no voice in their decisions. The deputies deliberated with close doors, and took an oath not to reveal what was communicated to them by the king, or what passed in debate among themselves.

Mr Hallam, misled by a passage in the *Partidas*, denies the existence of territorial jurisdictions in Castile. If he had looked into the *ordenamiento* of Alcalá, he would have found ample proof to the contrary.\* The local jurisdictions in Castile, were not feudal; and, in some respects, were a still more imperfect institution. The seignior, or lord of the district, did not hold a court, and try causes with assistance of his vassals, but appointed an *alcalde*, or single judge, who had the administration of justice, civil and criminal, in the first instance. These territorial rights of justice, originated, like the charters of corporations, in grants of the Crown; and there was an appeal from all subordinate tribunals to the King's Courts. The same constitution still subsists in Castile. Every village, or *pueblo*, is *realengo*, *abadengo* or *de senorio*, according as it is subject to the king, to the church, or to a seignior; and a certain territory, called its *jurisdiccion*, is annexed to it, within which the *alcalde* has a right to try all questions, civil or criminal, and even to decide in cases of life and death, but with an appeal to the superior courts. The *alcalde* is appointed by

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\* Tit. 27.

the king, or by the seignior, civil or ecclesiastical, of the village, and is commonly taken from a list of three persons, selected by the alcalde of the preceding year. Certain dues are payable to the lord; but, in general, they are slight, and not exacted with severity; and, in return, the lord is expected to give his assistance to the village, in times of distress or public calamity. In antient times, it was considered an advantage to belong to the king; but latterly it has been deemed a misfortune, the officers of the Crown having been found more rigid in their exactions than those of private lords. The *regidores* are not judges, as Mr Hallam seems to imagine, but magistrates, who have charge of the police of the streets and markets, and the management of the revenues and common property of the town or village.

After so much time bestowed on Castile, it will be impossible for us to enter at length on the constitution of Arragon. We must therefore content ourselves with recommending to our readers the observations of Mr Hallam on this singular form of government. They will find, in particular, an excellent account of the office and functions of the Justiza, and a deserved eulogium on the admirable institutions of the Arragonese, for the protection of individual liberty. It was the boast of Arragon, as it used to be the glory of England, that no stranger could set his foot upon her soil, without enjoying the equal benefit of her laws. Arragon was, in these ages, the only spot in Europe, that afforded refuge to the persecuted, and gave security to the oppressed. So fully was this principle established, that it was usual for the kings of Arragon, when they took strangers into their service, to make a private bargain with them—that they should not appeal to the protection of the Justiza. A saying of Alonso IV. shows the different spirit of the government in Arragon and Castile. That prince had taken for his second wife a sister of the king of Castile; and, yielding to her importunities, had, contrary to law, alienated in favour of her son, certain possessions annexed to the Crown. The Valencians remonstrated against these grants; and, declaring they would die sooner than consent to them, threatened to punish the advisers of this illegal transaction. The King excused himself feebly; but the Queen, who was present at the council, rose in a fury and exclaimed, that her brother, the King of Castile, would not have suffered such language to be used to him, but would have cut off the head of any one who had opposed him with such insolence. On which the King said, ‘Queen, our people are free, and not so submissive as the Castilians; they have respect for us as their lord, but we must treat them as our

good vassals and comrades;’ and then rising from his seat, he ordered the grants to be recalled. \* At a much earlier period, when the French were threatening to invade Catalonia, Peter III. assembled the Cortes of Arragon at Tarazona, to solicit their assistance. The Cortes laid before him a statement of grievances, for which they demanded redress before they would engage in the war, saying, that subjects without their rights could have little heart to fight for their king. Peter was obstinate, and refused to listen to their grievances, till the war was over; on which they confederated together, according to the ancient use and custom of their country, for the preservation of their laws, franchises and liberties, resolving to stand by one another in the enterprise, and to punish all who took part against them, but without renouncing their allegiance to the king, unless he should punish any of them without a legal trial, in which case they declared they should no longer consider him as their lawful king, but transfer their allegiance to his son. ‘All,’ says the historian, ‘were unanimous in this determination; the *ricos homes* and knights were not more jealous of their liberties than the common and inferior persons; all were of opinion, that the being and existence of Arragon depended, not on the strength of the kingdom, but on its liberty; all were resolved, that if their liberties must perish, the kingdom should perish with them.’ Peter was compelled at length to give way, and to grant the *Privilegio general*, or, as Mr Hallam justly calls it, the Magna Charta of Arragon.

We must pass over the two following chapters on the German and Greek empires, with a general recommendation to our readers, of their contents.

The chapter on ecclesiastical power is written with great care, and composed in a truly liberal and philosophical spirit. Mr Hallam traces the gradual usurpations of the ecclesiastical on the civil authority, favoured sometimes by the mistaken policy or devotion, and sometimes submitted to by the weakness and pusillanimity of Princes. He shows by what steps the Church acquired an exclusive jurisdiction over its own members, and by what artifices its tribunals made such extensive encroachments on the civil courts. He exposes the impudent pretensions of the Bishops, in the ninth and tenth centuries, and hardly regrets the subjugation to which they were reduced by the Roman see in the eleventh and twelfth. With some bias in favour of the Throne, he relates the contests between the Crown and the Papal tiara; but expatiates with just indig-

\* Zurita, lib. 7. cap. 17.



nation on the shameless rapacity and immoderate ambition of the Roman Pontiff, when he succeeded in the struggle. The scandalous dissoluteness and open simony of Avignon, prepared the downfall of the Papal power; and the schism, that so long disgraced and divided the Church, was near reducing its chiefs to the comparatively humble station they had filled in the tenth century. But the violent and outrageous conduct of the councils enabled them to recover some portion of their authority. The Bishops, who were ready enough to seize the spoils of the Church, gave ample warning at Constance, that its spiritual weapons would not be suffered to rust in their hands. Their decree, that no faith was to be kept with Huss, in prejudice of the Catholic Church, has affixed a stain on that assembly, which no time or casuistry can efface. We were pleased with a reflection of Mr Hallam on that tragical event. As the sober judgment of history, on all similar transactions, it is the sentence of posterity on all who violate their engagements with a fallen enemy, or profit by capitulations, and then evade the performance of them. 'The great moral,' he observes, 'to be drawn from the condemnation of Huss is, that no breach of faith can be excused by our opinion of ill desert in the party, or by a narrow interpretation of our own engagements. Every capitulation ought to be construed favourably for the weaker side. In such cases it is emphatically true, that if the letter killeth, the spirit should give life.'

Throughout this chapter, Mr Hallam is animated with a laudable zeal against the impostures and usurpations of the Church; and, in relating the measures taken in different countries to restrain the enormous jurisdiction once possessed by the hierarchy, he makes this sensible observation, 'that *ecclesiastical*, and not merely *papal* encroachments, are what civil governments, and the laity in general, have to resist; a point which some very zealous opposers of Rome have been willing to keep out of sight. The latter arose out of the former, and perhaps were in some respects less objectionable. But the true enemy is what are called High-Church principles—be they maintained by a pope, a bishop, or a presbyter.'

We shall not enter into an examination of some doubtful points, concerning which we might, perhaps, differ from Mr Hallam; but we cannot dismiss this chapter without remarking, that he hardly does justice to the Church in the dispute about investitures. The open simony practised by kings and princes; their scandalous nominations to vacant benefices; their spoliation of the lands and property of the clergy committed to their custody; the number of years they kept abbeyes and bishopricks

vacant, in order to enjoy their temporalities, rendered some regulations necessary to restrain their rapacity. Religion would otherwise have fallen into poverty and contempt; and the restraints, such as they were, which it opposed to lawless violence and brutal indulgence, would have become altogether ineffectual. That the Pope made a bad use of his victory, cannot be denied; but the struggle was necessary; and, like other reforms, the change was for some time beneficial. We are also of opinion, that Mr Hallam has not given sufficient credit to the Church for her services in the cause of civil liberty. We doubt whether the kings of Europe would not have succeeded universally in usurping an absolute authority over their subjects, if they had not been engaged in contests with the Church, which occupied their time, weakened their power, and forced them to cultivate the affections of their people. It cannot be denied, that whatever success attended the efforts of the Italian republics against the emperors, they were greatly indebted for it to the support and countenance of the Popes. In our country, the quarrel between Becket and Henry Plantagenet was fortunately interposed at a critical moment, most dangerous to our liberties, when a young, ambitious, and artful prince had been recalled to the throne after a disastrous usurpation. The exhortations and counsels of Langton prompted and directed the Barons in their contest with John; and the disputes of his grandson with the clergy, contributed not a little to obtain for us the last confirmation and final establishment of the charters. In all contests between the Crown and the People in the middle ages, we find the monkish chroniclists on the popular side of the question; and these men, no doubt, spoke the sentiments of the order to which they belonged. The lower clergy, necessarily taken from the body of the people, must have participated in all their feelings; and, where the interests of the Church were not concerned, must have been inclined, in general, to espouse their cause. The democracy of Europe had, in those ages, no political power or consideration, except the portion it enjoyed through these its virtual representatives in the Church. Superstition, which in our days has contributed so powerfully to rivet the chains of nations, was fortunately an ally of the people, when her influence was at its height.

The chapter that follows, on the Constitution of England, is the most valuable and interesting part of the book. We have no hesitation in stating it to be the most full, accurate, and impartial history of the constitution, that has yet appeared. In addition to other sources of information, Mr Hallam has made careful and diligent use of the rolls of Parliament; by the as-

sistance of which, he has been enabled to trace, with greater exactness than any former historian, the progress of our constitutional liberties, from the reign of Edward III. to the accession of the house of York, when the records of Parliament become comparatively barren and insignificant. Without setting up our antient constitution as a model of perfection, he has shown that the people of this country have always lived under a monarchy limited by law; and, in this view, his work may be considered as a complete and satisfactory answer to the false and mischievous theories of Brady and Carte, adapted and brought into notice by the genius and authority of Hume. The work of Mr Miller, the only historical view of the constitution that has appeared since Mr Hume's history, is remarkable for the sagacity of its conjectures, the ingenuity of its explanations, the boldness of its discussions, and its total freedom from prejudice; but it is deficient in accuracy and research, and will not bring conviction to a mind that has received its first impressions from the plausible but delusive representations of Hume. It is with great satisfaction, therefore, that we recommend the work before us to all who doubt the existence, or desire to trace the progress of our liberties, in the middle ages.

It would be idle to attempt any abstract or abridgement of this part of Mr Hallam's book. We shall content ourselves with a few critical remarks, and some extracts, to show the spirit and principles of the work.

Mr Hallam is inclined, with Carte, to doubt the story told by Mathew Paris of the election of John to the Crown of England, after the death of his brother Richard. The speech put in the mouth of Archbishop Hubert by the historian, is certainly 'in a strain beyond the constitution;' but there is a circumstance, unnoticed by historians, that gives some probability to his account of a more formal election than ordinary. It has been usual for the Kings of England to date their accession to the throne from the death of their predecessor. But it will be found in Rymer, that John, in his public instruments, dates the commencement of his reign, not from the death of his brother, but from his own coronation. Inattention to this peculiarity has led the modern editors of the *Fœdera* to misplace some of the most important documents of his reign; those, in particular, that relate to the occupation of London by the Barons.

Mr Hallam admires, with reason, that equality of civil rights enjoyed by all the Commons of England. It is a proud distinction; and, till the French revolution, we believe, peculiar to this island. But we apprehend he is mistaken in supposing,

that, 'from the reign of Henry III. at least, the legal equality of all ranks below the peerage was, to every essential purpose, as complete as at present.' He has surely forgotten the statute of Morton, which declares, that lords shall not marry those they have in ward to villeins or others, as *burgesses*, where they be disparaged. It is quite clear, that when this act was passed, *burgesses* were considered an inferior class to freeholders.

We agree, with Mr Hallam, that 'we read very little of private wars in England;' but we are not satisfied 'that they were never legal.' He quotes a passage from Glanvil, where that author expresses his doubts, whether a lord was entitled to demand an aid from his vassal *ad guerram suam manutendam*, but thinks this expression must relate to 'the military service due from the lord to his sovereign.' If such had been the meaning of Glanvil, he would not have expressed himself doubtfully; for there can be no question, that the military tenants of a tenant in chief were bound to assist him in performing his military service to the Crown, either by their personal attendance in the field, or by contributing, according to the extent of their fees, to the scutage imposed on him. But the following passage, from the same author, which seems to have escaped Mr Hallam, places beyond a doubt the right of private war in England; and, notwithstanding the dubious expressions in the former quotation, establishes the principle, that vassals were bound to assist their lords in their private quarrels. '*Si quis plura homagia pro diversis feodis suis fecerit diversis dominis, qui se invicem infestant, si capitalis dominus ejus ei preceperit, quod secum in propria persona sua eat contra alium dominum suum, oportet eum ejus precepto in hoc obtemperare, salvo tamen servitio alterius domini de feodo quod de eo tenet.*' \* If a vassal holds tenements of different lords, says Bracton, '*et si inter dominos suos capitales oriantur inimicitie, in propria persona semper stabit cum eo cui fecit ligeantiam, et per attornatum cum aliis.*' † 'The most prominent instance,' says Mr Hallam, 'of what may be deemed a private war in England, arose out of a contention between the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford, in the reign of Edward I., during which acts of extraordinary violence were perpetrated; but, far from its having passed for lawful, those powerful nobles were both committed to prison, and paid heavy fines.' This statement is not quite correct. These noblemen were not fined and imprisoned, because they made war simply, but because they made war after they had been prohibited by the king in Parliament. The punishment that attend-

\* Glanvil, lib. 9, c. 1.

† Bracton, lib. 2, c. 35, sect. 5.

ed them is a proof, not of the illegality of private war, but of the supremacy of Parliament, to which the King himself, as well as the proudest baron of the land, was bound to give obedience. Nor is this the only remarkable instance on record of a private war in England. Mr Hallam might have found in Madox a formal truce, or cessation of hostilities, between the Earl Marshall and the Earl of Gloucester, in the reign, probably, of Henry III. † He has himself, indeed, in a subsequent part of his book, related some acts of violence, 'amounting in effect to a private war.' § But he is mistaken in classing Eoukes de Breauté among the confederate barons at the accession of Henry III. That worthy partisan was a sturdy royalist, and steady adherent of John. His subsequent misfortunes arose from the error of supposing he might commit the same excesses, with impunity, under Hubert de Burgh, which he had successfully practised by the favour and example of his old master.

We were inclined to have entered into some discussion with Mr Hallam concerning the state of the English boroughs at the time ~~of the Conquest~~; but the subject is too extensive for our limits. We are apprehensive, that, notwithstanding his well-founded suspicions of Brady, he has confided too implicitly in that author's history of boroughs, the most imperfect and unfair of all his works. He is inclined, we perceive, to doubt the existence of municipal jurisdiction among the Saxons. He quotes indeed the charter of Lincoln, which 'refers to municipal privileges of jurisdiction enjoyed by the citizens under the Confessor;' but supposes, that as Lincoln was one of the five Danish towns, 'it might be in a more advantageous situation than the generality' of boroughs. If he had looked to the charter of Henry II. to the burgesses of Wallingford, published by Brady himself, he would have found a similar recognition of municipal jurisdiction under the Confessor, and, in particular, a confirmation of their mercantile gild, with all its laws and customs, as then enjoyed, among which was this privilege, *ne prepositus meus, vel aliqua justitia mea de gilda eorum se intromittat, nisi proprie aldermannus et minister eorum.*\* From a charter of Henry I. published by Madox, it appears, that the Cnihtengild of London had a soke or manor within the city, which they had enjoyed under the Confessor, and probably from the time of Edgar, with sac and soc and other privileges of Saxon jurisdiction. These privileges they transferred in the time of Henry I. to the priory of the Holy Trinity, in consequence of which the

† *Formulare Anglican.* p. 84.

\* *Fœdera*, I. 471.

§ p. 375. 377,

prior of that monastery became one of the aldermen of London, and continued to exercise that office till the suppression of convents in 1531. The ward governed so long in this extraordinary manner, is now called Portsoken ward. †

We are not in the least disposed to enter on the controversy concerning the origin of the House of Commons. We are inclined, in the main, to agree with Mr Hallam; but we cannot help remarking to him, that the *villani* mentioned in the 16 Henry III. were not villeins, but townsmen, as he will at once perceive, if he takes the trouble to peruse the writ. ‡ We are agreed also, that some of his Parliaments, after the 49 Henry III. must be rejected as spurious. The citizens and burgesses were not summoned to a Parliament in 1269, but to assist at a religious ceremony. The instance at the accession of Edward I. is a case more in point; but the chief object of the meeting was to swear fealty to the King.

But, without searching further for errors and omissions unavoidable in a work like this, we shall proceed to the more pleasing task of giving some extracts, as specimens of the ~~tone and~~ spirit of Mr Hallam's constitutional remarks. After relating the impeachment of Suffolk, and the appointment of a parliamentary commission for reform, in the tenth of Richard II., he makes the following observations.

‘ Those, who have written our history with more or less of a Tory bias, exclaim against this parliamentary commission as an unwarrantable violation of the King's sovereignty; and even impartial men are struck at first sight by a measure that seems to upset the natural balance of our constitution. But it would be unfair to blame either those concerned in this commission, some of whose names at least have been handed down with unquestioned respect, or those high-spirited representatives of the people, whose patriot firmness has been hitherto commanding all our sympathy and gratitude, unless we could distinctly pronounce by what gentler means they could restrain the excesses of government. Thirteen Parliaments had already met since the accession of Richard; in all, the same remonstrances had been repeated, and the same promises renewed. Subsidies, more frequent than in any former reign, had been granted for the supposed exigencies of the war; but this was no longer illuminated by those dazzling victories, which give to fortune the mien of wisdom. The coasts of England were perpetually ravaged, and her trade destroyed; while the administration incurred the suspicion of diverting to private uses that treasure which they so fully and unsuccessfully applied to the public service. No voice of his people, until it spoke in

† Firma Burgi, 23.—Stow's Survey of London, I. 348.

‡ Fœdera, I. 207.

thunder, would stop an intoxicated boy in the wasteful career of dissipation. He loved festivals and pageants, the prevailing folly of his time, with unusual frivolity; and his ordinary living is represented as beyond comparison more showy and sumptuous than even that of his magnificent and chivalrous predecessor. Acts of Parliament were no adequate barrier to his misgovernment. Of what avail are statutes, says Walsingham, since the king, with his privy council, is wont to abolish what Parliament has just enacted? The constant prayer of the Commons in every session, that former statutes might be kept in force, is no slight presumption that they were not secure of being regarded. It may be true that Edward III.'s government had been full as arbitrary, though not so unwise as his grandson's; but this is the stronger argument, that nothing less than an extraordinary remedy could preserve the still unstable liberties of England.

'The best plea that could be made for Richard was his inexperience, and the misguiding suggestions of favourites. This, however, made it more necessary to remove those false advisers, and to supply that inexperience. Unquestionably, the choice of ministers is reposed in the sovereign; a trust, like every other attribute of legitimate power, for the public good; not, what no legitimate power can ever be, the instrument of selfishness or caprice. There is something more sacred than the prerogative, or even than the constitution; the public weal, for which all powers are granted, and to which they must all be referred. For this public weal, it is confessed to be sometimes necessary to shake the possessor of the throne out of his seat: could it never be permitted to suspend, though but indirectly and for a time, the positive exercise of misapplied prerogatives? He has learned in a very different school from myself, who denies to Parliament, at the present day, a preventive as well as vindictive control over the administration of affairs; a right of resisting, by those means which lie within its sphere, the appointment of unfit ministers. These means are now indirect; they need not be the less effectual, and they are certainly more salutary on that account.'

After this opinion of the conduct and character of Richard, the reader of Mr Hallam will not be surprised to find him approving of his subsequent deposition, and of the elevation of Henry of Lancaster to the throne.

'His government, for nearly two years, was altogether tyrannical; and, upon the same principles that cost James II. his throne, it was unquestionably far more necessary, unless our fathers would have abandoned all thought of liberty, to expel Richard II. —' The revolution which elevated Henry IV. to the throne, was certainly so far accomplished by force, that the king was in captivity; and those who might still adhere to him, in no condition to support his authority. But the sincere concurrence, which most of the prelates and nobility, with the mass of the people, gave to changes that could not have

been otherwise effected by one so unprovided with foreign support as Henry, proves this revolution to have been, if not an indispensable, yet a national act, and should prevent our considering the Lancastrian Kings as usurpers of the throne. '—' The claim of Henry, as opposed to that of the Earl of March, was indeed ridiculous; but it is by no means evident, that, in such cases of extreme urgency, as leave no security for the common weal but the deposition of a reigning prince, there rests any positive obligation upon the Estates of the realm to fill his place with the nearest heir. A revolution of this kind seems rather to defeat and confound all prior titles, though in the new settlement it will commonly be prudent, as well as equitable, to treat them with some regard.'

In discussing the claim of the House of York, he does justice to the moderation and humanity of the excellent person who first brought forward that pretension; and remarks, that the sanguinary violence of Margaret left him not the choice of remaining a subject with impunity.

' But with us, who are to weigh these ancient factions in the balance of wisdom and justice, there should be no hesitation in deciding, that the House of Lancaster were lawful sovereigns of England. I am indeed astonished,' says Mr Hallam, ' that not only such historians as Carte, who wrote undisguisedly upon a Jacobite system; but even men of juster principles, have been inadvertent enough to mention the right of the house of York. If the original consent of the nation,—if three descents of the throne,—if repeated acts of parliament,—if oaths of allegiance from the whole kingdom, and more particularly from those who now advanced a contrary pretension,—if undisturbed, unquestioned possession during sixty years, could not secure the reigning family against a mere defect in their genealogy, when were the people to expect tranquillity? Sceptres were committed, and governments were instituted, for public protection and public happiness,—not certainly for the benefit of rulers, or for the security of particular destinies. No prejudice has less in its favour; and none has been more fatal to the peace of mankind, than that which regards a nation of subjects as a family's private inheritance. For, as this opinion induces reigning princes and their courtiers, to look on the people as made only to obey them; so, when the tide of events has swept them from their thrones, it begets a fond hope of restoration, a sense of injury and imprescriptible rights, which give the show of justice to fresh disturbances of public order, and rebellious against established authority.'

On the Regency question we have the misfortune to differ from Mr Hallam. The narrative on the Folls of Parliament, to which he refers, (p. 398), does not, in our opinion, prove, that, during the infancy or infirmity of the King, the ' right of deter-



which, the executive government shall be conducted in the King's name and behalf, devolves upon the great Council of Parliament,' understanding by that phrase the two houses of Parliament without the King, or some one to represent his person. Mr Hallam's mistake arises from his not adverting to the fact, that the Parliament which met at the accession of Henry VIth, was a full and complete Parliament, being held by the Duke of Gloucester, under a commission from the Great Seal.

Mr Hallam's last chapter contains a variety of miscellaneous information on the state of society in Europe in the middle ages. It is full of curious and entertaining matter, but obviously incapable of abridgement.

ART. VI. *Lyon en Mil Huit Cent Dix-Sept.* Par le COLONEL FABVIER, ayant fait les Fonctions de Chef de l'Etat Major du Lieutenant du Roi dans les 7me et 19me Divisions Militaires. Paris. Delaunay, 1818.

THIS little tract is full of interest to those who read for mere amusement; and it is calculated to convey much useful instruction to the government of every country, which either is, or, from sinister views, is represented to be, in a disturbed state. We regard it as teaching a most valuable lesson to those who are at the head of affairs in France:—and it is very melancholy to add, that it may not be thrown away upon the rulers of our own country, where no such excuses are to be found for rashly charging the people with disaffection, and treating them as traitors, because one set of men are alarmed at nothing, and another have an interest in pretending to be so.

It is well known, that, in the course of the last summer, serious discontents existed in the city of Lyons and its neighbourhood. These feelings broke out into acts of open violence. Many examples were made; the jails were filled with prisoners; the *cours prévôtales* were busily occupied; the publick functionaries were incessant in their pursuit of delinquents. All that transpired of the effects of these proceedings, was the increase of the evil—although the disturbed districts exhibited the imposing appearance of a most active and indefatigable government, bent upon investigation and punishment. The government having, for a considerable time, been misled by the usual false statements of the local authorities, and perceiving, at last, that there were gross errors committed somewhere, resolved, most judiciously, to send an officer of high rank to the spot, and arm him with the fullest powers. Equally happy was the selection

of Marshal Marmont, Duke of Ragusa—an officer who possessed the confidence of the king, and well merited that of both the army and the country. Colonel Fabvier accompanied him as chief of his staff. The result of his mission, was the almost immediate restoration of tranquillity; and, although the importance of this result would have amply justified the publication of an account of the measures by which it was brought about, it seems that our author has been still further called upon to describe them by the recent revival of the calumnies against the people of Lyons, with the addition of others equally gross against Marmont, under the sanction of a respectable authority in the French Legislature. He observes, that the Marshal is precluded, by his situation, from addressing the public upon this subject. We may add, that neither he, nor the questions discussed, have lost any thing by the task devolving upon Colonel Fabvier, who tells his story in plain and distinct language, and with an air of honesty calculated to make a deep impression on every reader. ‘*Pour moi, qui, dans cette mission, ai rempli près de lui les fonctions de chef d’état major, je crois faire une chose utile et honorable en cédant au désir que j’éprouve de repousser une attaque injuste. Je cède d’ailleurs au besoin, mille fois plus pressant encore pour un Français ami de son pays, d’empêcher que l’opinion ne s’égare sur les véritables causes de l’horrible tragédie qui a terrifié et ensanglanté une contrée toute entière; de dire à la France que cette population respectable et digne d’un si grand intérêt, que ces anciens militaires dénoncés à la justice nationale, n’ont mérité d’être signalés que par la résignation avec laquelle ils ont supporté les persécutions dont on les a accablés; que, si quelques-uns se sont laissé prendre aux pièges qui leur étaient tendus, l’immense majorité n’a pas cessé d’être patriote, amie de l’ordre et de la paix; je cède enfin à l’espérance que le tableau de ce qui s’est fait, en démasquant les artisans de nos malheurs, pourra les faire renoncer désormais à leurs coupables projets, ou empêcher du moins qu’ils ne trouvent encore une fois des dupes ou des victimes.*’

In order rightly to comprehend this history, it is necessary to recollect, that the disturbed district had been much divided by party. Buonaparte having always been extremely popular at Lyons, as soon as the restoration of the Bourbons brought back to office the Royalist, or rather Ultra-Royalist functionaries whom his return in 1815 had displaced, they found themselves engaged in administering the powers of a very unpopular government; and probably contracted no little dislike, in their turn, for the people over whom they were set. Part-

ly from a sincere desire to gratify this feeling, and partly from that love of activity and vigour which always distinguishes local magistrates, they never ceased to court all occasions of exerting their authority, and to represent their department as in a state of disaffection bordering upon actual rebellion. A very unimportant riot which happened on the 8th of June at Lyons, had been magnified by these calm observers into a horrible conspiracy, deeply planned, and powerfully armed with resources for overthrowing the government, and delivering up the country to massacre and pillage. The English reader will at once recognise the language of our own secret committees in the following passage, descriptive of the fabulous accounts transmitted by some of the most silly and hot-brained of mankind, the Ultra-Royalist Functionaries, to the French ministry. 'Numerous bodies' (they said) 'were organized in every direction; arms were distributed to them; considerable sums of money were provided and set apart for their pay; they had bold and enterprising leaders; and this was only one of the ramifications of an immense plan' (we believe Lord Sidmouth's word was *vast*) 'which embraced not merely the neighbouring departments, but the whole of France.' Here the Gallican reporters, we must confess, go a step beyond our own in the wildness of their imaginations, or the acumen of their sense for seeing plots, and tracing their mutual connexions. 'It seems,' they add, 'that these movements are combined with the conspiracy at Lisbon, and the revolution in the Brazils!' (p. 5.) In vain did the facts of the case bear irrefragable testimony to the utter falsehood of all these fables. No armed bodies of men were seen; twenty *Gensdarmes* and a few chasseurs, had sufficed to keep all quiet, and to restore tranquillity wherever it was interrupted for a moment; no movement had taken place; no member of the pretended directing committee been found; a few wretched peasants only had been seized in their villages, disposed to turbulence, but without chiefs, concert, or any determinate object. All this was unable to check the career of the magistrates and their creatures. Whoever chuses to say a plot exists, may persist in his assertion in spite of all negative evidence: For he has only to repeat that it is a plot, and of course a secret one; and though it has not yet been discovered, it is indubitably on the very point of explosion. Accordingly, with a single exception (a magistrate of tried and unquestioned loyalty), the whole of the constituted authorities maintained their statement, by daily adding new details of disaffection and conspiracy. Nor was their zeal for the public peace only shown in propagating perpetual stories of its being broken; they scoured the country in all directions

to arrest suspected persons; the *cours prévôtales* united their efforts, and multiplied executions without mercy; an inflamed soldiery was let loose upon the inhabitants of the country, treating each place like a town taken by storm; terror everywhere prevailed to the uttermost degree;—and there was at last reason to apprehend a real revolt, from the effects of such exasperating treatment upon the spirit of a peaceful but gallant people.

At this juncture, Marshal Marmont arrived in Lyons; and his first difficulty arose from the clouds of misrepresentation through which he was obliged to view every thing. For the statements of all persons in office, except one, agreed, with a marvellous uniformity, in painting the situation of the districts as next to rebellious; and they detailed a multitude of particular facts, scarcely possible to resist, in support of their accounts;—openly accusing of sinister views the only one of their number who differed from them, and offering apparently conclusive proofs of the charge. For a moment there seemed no possibility of doubting at least the general truth of their representations; and a minister at a distance, who only received such uniform accounts, and could not see with his own eyes, (or a secret committee who obtained information from the minister), would hardly have been justified in questioning their accuracy. But as soon as the Marshal went out of the circle of the constituted authorities, conversed with the most respectable individuals of all classes, examined himself every proceeding, especially of the Prevotal Courts, and saw plainly all that had been done by some and suffered by others, the facts appeared in their true colours; and the causes of the miserable state into which Lyons was plunged could no longer be concealed from his view. Let the English reader ponder well the following passage, in which the chief of those causes is described; and if it brings unpleasant reflexions to his mind—if, instead of renewing his indignation at the arts practised last year, it should smite him with a consciousness that he suffered himself to be deluded by the fabrications of our plot-mongers, and under that influence to join in wounding the liberties of his country, let him atone for his error by firmly resolving in future always to watch the ministers with redoubled jealousy when they set themselves about accusing the people of disaffection.

‘ La ville de Lyon et les communes qui l’entourent avaient vu renaître pour elles le régime de 1793. Comme alors, les hommes qui avaient le pouvoir proclamaient que la terreur seule pouvait le faire respecter, et n’agissaient que trop bien en conséquence de ce principe : comme alors, la haine avait pris la place de la justice, et tous les moyens paraissaient légitimes pour écraser ceux qu’on regardait

comme des ennemis. Dans ces derniers temps, on ne frappait les victimes qu'après les avoir trompées, et la violence n'était que le dernier terme des combinaisons les plus révoltantes.

Une foule d'agens parcourent la ville et les campagnes, s'introduisaient dans les cabarets et jusque dans les maisons particulières, y prenaient le rôle d'un mécontent, exhalaient les plaintes les plus vives contre l'autorité, annonçaient des changemens, des révolutions ; et s'ils arrachaient un signe d'approbation à de malheureux citoyens pressés par la misère, ou tourmentés par mille vexations, ils s'empressaient d'aller les dénoncer et recueillir le prix de leurs infâmes stratagèmes.

Les procédures de la cour prévôtale ont attesté l'emploi de ces moyens odieux, mais l'exès même avec lequel on s'y livrait les a bientôt rendus publics : chacune des autorités ayant ses moyens de police à part, à chaque instant ces vils instrumens se rencontraient sans se connaître, s'attaquaient avec une égale ardeur, et bientôt le moins diligent, dénoncé par l'autre, expiait un moment sous les verroux son infamie. Il fallait alors décliner sa mission : l'autorité intervenait pour réclamer son agent ; le prisonnier disparaissait, et allait ailleurs chercher une nouvelle proie, ou préparer un nouveau scandale.

A l'aide de ces nombreux délateurs, les prisons regorgeaient de victimes entassées avec un tel désordre, que la lecture seule des registres d'écrou prouvait à quel point était porté le mépris des lois et de l'humanité : indépendamment de celles que la procédure ordinaire plaçait sous la main de la cour prévôtale, on voyait encore dans les caves de l'hôtel de ville, des centaines de malheureux, victimes de vaines terreurs ou de funestes conseils ; et là, ces malheureux, privés de tous soins comme de tout secours, attendaient pendant des mois entiers la faveur d'être interrogés ; et tel, qui ne l'a été qu'au bout de quatre-vingt-deux jours, a fini par être acquitté : l'arbitraire était porté dans toutes les parties de l'administration. Les autorités municipales prenaient des arrêtés contraires aux lois, et condamnaient à l'emprisonnement pour des faits qu'aucune loi ne considère comme des délits. p. 8—10.

Thus far the cases of our own Home Department and that of France are nearly parallel ; but the local magistracy of Lyons, it must be confessed, carried their vigour a little further than our most active dealers in plot dared, with the rigours of parliamentary inquiry awaiting them.

Des colonnes mobiles parcouraient les campagnes, imposaient arbitrairement telle commune à leur fournir, non pas seulement des vivres qui ne leur étaient pas dus, mais des effets d'habillement.

Des détachemens chargés de protéger de cruelles exécutions ont ajouté à l'horreur de ce spectacle, en insultant, en maltraitant les femmes et les enfans que la terreur n'avaient pas fait fuir de leur domicile, l'épouse qu'on venait de rendre veuve, la mère dont on venait de frapper l'enfant.

Et lorsqu'un cri d'indignation générale a forcé de livrer les cou-

à la sévérité des lois, elles n'ont pu les atteindre, et c'est la  
ur même qu'ils avaient répandue qui a assuré leur impunité.

Se n'était pas seulement au milieu des campagnes que les lois,  
et l'humanité plus respectable encore, étaient foulées aux pieds par  
des hommes indignes de porter l'habit de soldat; au milieu même de  
la ville de Lyon, sous les yeux de leurs chefs, ils prodiguaient l'in-  
sulte et l'outrage.

Pendant notre séjour dans cette ville, un soldat, placé en senti-  
nelle près d'une prison, lâche son coup de fusil, à bout portant, sur  
un malheureux qui, à travers les barreaux de sa fenêtre, leur repro-  
chait les attentats de Saint-Genis-Laval. Au bruit de l'explosion,  
la garde accourt, et, sans attendre l'ordre de son chef, fait feu sur les  
infortunés qui s'empressaient autour de leur camarade mourant.  
Deux sont blessés à ses côtés: l'officier du poste, traduit devant un  
conseil de guerre avec les soldats, a invoqué pour leur défense *l'usage*  
*sui* jusqu'alors. *Jusqu'à présent*, disait-il, *on a tiré dans les prisons*  
*presque journellement*. Et cette horrible justification, qui n'eût dû  
servir qu'à livrer à la justice d'autres coupables, a suffi pour sauver  
ceux-ci. En vain les nombreuses irrégularités de ce jugement ont  
été dénoncées au conseil de révision: on n'en a retiré que la triste  
certitude que, dans l'état où se trouvaient les choses à Lyon, ce n'était  
plus la justice impartiale, mais l'aveugle et féroce esprit de parti qui  
départissait les peines et les absolutions, et nous verrons bientôt si  
les arrêts de la cour prévôtale étaient faits pour affaiblir cette con-  
viction.' p. 11, 12.

Such proceedings, we thank heaven, have not yet had any  
parallel in this country: But let not the interested advocates, or  
the easy dupes of our false alarms, congratulate themselves too  
surely upon the lesser degree of persecution which was practised  
in England upon a late occasion. All was done that the pur-  
poses of the deception required;—a clamour was raised; the  
constitution was suspended; many persons shut up for months in  
dungeons; some cruelly ironed and carried about the country  
in that state for selling a supposed libel; and, after all, an act  
of indemnity passed to screen the agents of the mischief, of  
whatever rank, from all legal inquiry. As yet, indeed, we have  
seen no military execution lay waste the country; no domicili-  
ary visits torment its peaceful inhabitants; no new courts of  
justice supersede the law of the land. But if the violent en-  
croachments already made had not been manfully resisted in  
Parliament; and if the country at the late elections had not  
loudly pronounced its disapprobation of them, who shall say  
that the next danger in which the ministers found themselves of  
losing their places, would not have been met by those more  
violent measures? Nay, are the advocates of last year's pro-

ceedings quite sure that they were not themselves prepared to go further? Can they sincerely say that they would then have received a proposition for suspending jury trial in cases of seditious and blasphemous libel, with the same abhorrence with which they now regard the institution of *Cours prévôtales*? Are they quite certain that they could have had nothing to say in behalf of a more free use of the military, and of measures for disarming the people, and of course searching for arms? Had those measures been adopted, and an indemnity asked, should we have heard nothing of the 'praiseworthy vigour' of ministers; their 'disinterested conduct in undertaking the responsibility;' the 'extraordinary aspect of the times,' the 'painful but paramount necessity of putting down so vast a conspiracy by all means'? But we devoutly trust that such times may never recur; and that the lesson taught the people of the dangers of credulity, will long remain deeply impressed upon their minds. We shall therefore pass on to what remains of the French story, resembling our own all along in many of its most remarkable features.

Before the movement of the 8th of June, several reports had prevailed of an approaching explosion; and at each time that it was announced, some government spy or agent was arrested as concerned. This happened in November and December. 'In February,' says Colonel Fabvier, 'the agitation of the public mind increased with the distress of the labouring classes, who were in a state to receive easily the impressions sought to be given to them. This was the period when secret enrolments of men were talked of.'—A person was now arrested as concerned in these enrolments; he did not deny his guilt—but he was found to be an agent of the military police, and as such set at liberty. In the month of May another agent was taken in the act of encouraging revolt; but being claimed by the police, he too escaped; and our author remarks, that each arrest of an emissary was followed by the restoration of perfect calm. At length came the 8th of June, answering exactly to our own 11th June of the same year; for it was described as the grand explosion of a conspiracy which embraced all France in its ramifications, and was to overthrow the government from its foundation.—Lyons was announced as its centre. Yet, certain it is, that nothing whatever happened there, not even the seizure of any one person in arms, except a labourer going out of the gate leading to a quarter never accused of being concerned in the sedition. Of all the communes in the neighbourhood said to be deeply engaged in the plot, only eleven sounded the *Tocsin*, and of these, four are so situated as to have no possible communica-

tion with the other. Not more than 250 men assembled in all; of these, only fifty had any arms, none of them any ammunition, and many of them thought they were called out to extinguish a fire! Even this trifling corps never assembled together, and only a very few from two of the communes, left their own neighbourhood to go to Lyons; in all the others the mob dispersed itself, after making some seditious outcries and some trifling riots, which did not cost a single life. Colonel Fabvier justly charges the local authorities with the blame of this riot, such as it was; for they did nothing to prevent it; and their own agents were among its most active instigators.

Even after the 8th of June, those pestiferous wretches continued their incessant activity; yet, to the infinite credit of the loyal and peaceable inhabitants, all their attempts to create insurrection failed. Again we beg the attention of the English reader to the account given of those attempts. He will thus perceive that human nature is everywhere the same, if, indeed it is not a libel upon our species so to term the nature of those miscreants. 'Le moyen le plus fréquemment employé, et le plus dangereux, sans doute, était d'indiquer des points de ralliement, de répandre le bruit d'une conspiration générale, de placer à sa tête des généraux renommés par leur bravoure, et par la haine qu'on leur suppose contre le gouvernement actuel.' Marshal Marmont happily arrived during the progress of these attempts, on the part of the magistrates, to carve out work for themselves, and to produce movements beneficial to their Ultra-Royalist patrons. He came without any troops; he never used a single threat of military execution; far less did he ever make the least show of force; and immediately every thing became quiet, and has continued so without interruption to the present day.

Our author gives some curious but melancholy particulars of the judicial proceedings, if the *Cours Prévôtales* can be deemed tribunals of justice, which arose out of the riots on the 8th of June. Two hundred and fifty persons in all had assembled, and sixty only were armed. Yet, of these, above 110 were condemned to various severe punishments, as the authors or ring-leaders of the sedition! Our author points out many instances of the most glaring illegality in these proceedings, and compares them to the condemnations *en masse* of the reign of terror.

The steps taken by Marshal Marmont for restoring tranquillity close this tract; and they cannot be too highly praised.

Les premiers soins du maréchal ont été de faire cesser l'arbitraire, et de rendre aux lois la force qu'elles avaient perdue, de faire tous ses efforts pour rapprocher ce qu'on avait affecté d'isoler, calmer



les esprits qu'on avait exaspérés, former des réunions faites pour représenter la ville et non une faction, rendre à tous une justice égale, tendre aux malheureux une main secourable.

Il a fallu ensuite inspirer aux persécuteurs une crainte utile, donner quelque satisfaction aux persécutés ; pour cela, huit maires ont été suspendus de leurs fonctions, et six officiers ont été renvoyés. Le gouvernement a sanctionné ces mesures. Les maires ont été définitivement révoqués, et les six officiers renvoyés dans leurs foyers.

Il n'en a pas coûté davantage pour rétablir le calme ; de nouvelles autorités le maintiennent, et se feront bénir par une population paisible. p. 28, 29.

It is only doing justice to add, that the King, as soon as he became acquainted with the truth, extended his royal mercy towards all the unfortunate persons whose sentences had not been already executed.

In the course of this article, we have taken occasion to remind the reader of the similar transactions which, about the same time, afflicted, though in an inferior degree, our own country. It is very painful to reflect upon those disgraceful scenes. Whoever feels for the honour of the nation, must look back upon them with a mingled sentiment of indignation and shame. It seemed as if we were a people so extremely ready to believe whatever was told in a mysterious way ; so apt to take fright at the first rumour of danger ; and so very careless of the invaluable Constitution which we are always eager enough to hold up as our proudest distinction, that the moment a riot broke out in a county town, and a few magistrates told the Secretary of State there was a plot hatching, we grew sick of law and liberty, and desired to seek for shelter from some uncertain danger, in the certain mischief and degradation of a despotic government. The most unworthy arguments were successfully used to quiet all scruples on this head. We were told that the absolute power entrusted to the ministers would, in all probability, not be abused ; and Englishmen were found degenerate enough to consent no longer to hold the liberty which is their birthright, during life or good behaviour, but *durante beneplacito* of the servants of the Crown. Upon this humiliating picture of national delusion, we shall make no further remarks ; for the country has long since completely recovered from it. But its origin deserves always to be held in remembrance, for the sake of example in after times, when similar devices may be resorted to. The ministers found themselves in jeopardy ; the aspect of the times was lowering ; and their own recorded imbecility had prepared, to all human appearance, their immediate downfall. The plot was invented to stay their fate ; and, for a

season, the stratagem succeeded. But they know full well that this trick cannot prevail a second time. The people of England are never to be gulled twice with the same story. They might as well attempt to raise again the cry of No-popery, as of Conspiracy. By that they got, and by this they have kept their places; but some new scheme must be invented to maintain them for the future. Let the country, wise by the experience of the past, be on its guard against any such attempt to perpetuate, at the expense of its liberties, the mismanagement of its affairs.

APP. VII. *Remarks on the recent State Trials, and the Rise and Progress of Disaffection in this Country.* By WILLIAM FRITH, Esq. Sergeant-at-Law. 8vo. London, 1818.

*A Bill of Rights and Liberty or an Act for a Constitutional Reform of Parliament.* MAJOR CARTWRIGHT. 8vo. London, 1818.

MANY remarkable circumstances concur in rendering the present moment peculiarly adapted to a calm and impartial survey of the state of political parties in this country. The change from war to peace has naturally altered the relations between certain classes of statesmen, by terminating several most important questions, and removing some of the most serious grounds of party hostility. The same transition has, in other points of view, raised new grounds of political distinction, or strengthened those which already existed. It has also materially varied the course of public opinion, and either opened the eyes of the people to the delusions under which they laboured, both with respect to their own interests and the views of their political leaders, or new-moulded those interests, and changed those views. Again, the progress of knowledge among all classes of the community has begun to produce its effects upon the aspect of publick affairs. In no period of our history has the good sense of the country been more tried by arbitrary measures on the one hand, and by extravagant violence on the other:—and at no time has a more rational conduct been observed, in spite of all efforts to mislead. Every one may now be satisfied, that popular confidence can only be gained by such a line of conduct as clearly shows that the true interests of the nation are its ruling object. The scrambles for power among a few great families are no longer to be dignified with the title of party differences; whoever would attain pre-eminence, must take the high ground of publick principle; the

voice of the community must be heard—its sense consulted; and statesmen must mingle with their party discussions a perpetual appeal to the undeniable interests and strong feelings of a well informed and inquiring nation. The events of the last two or three months, but especially the evidence of sound popular sentiments evinced during the late General Election, may be stated as another and a most decisive reason for pausing at the present moment, to observe and to note the situation of the country, with reference to the parties that divide its inhabitants. But as no subject has been productive of more erroneous and ignorant assertion than the use and object of party connexions, we shall first endeavour to clear the way, principle of such unions.

When a number of men associate themselves from a general agreement in political opinion, and pursue in one body a certain course of measures, it is extremely common to hear them accused of various crimes. If they attack the government of the day, they are by its friends stigmatized as disloyal; by aid of the established sophism which confounds the sovereign with his councillors,—the constitution with the ministry of the day. By the people, they are apt to be regarded as prosecuting their own interests; and by desirous of changing the present servants of the Crown, to take their places. Even the more thinking classes of the community, unconnected with government, are apt to see something factious in a systematic opposition; it seems as if men, and not measures, were the criterion of praise or blame; as if the same persons would approve the same propositions, which they now most loudly condemn, were they but made by their own chiefs. The common question is, Are the ministers always in the wrong? And an inference is thus drawn by those who say they retain the unbiassed exercise of their own judgment, that there is almost as great a sacrifice of conscience in always agreeing with an opposition, as in constantly supporting a minister. It is the interest, and the never-failing practice of the government, to encourage such notions;—the minister has no better friends than those who rail at all party as an interested and factious league of place-hunters or zealots—nor any more useful resources than in the number of well-meaning and not very clearsighted persons, who, from tender consciences, or perhaps from the vanity of always thinking for themselves, keep aloof from party connexion as unprincipled and degrading.

Another charge against party, arises out of the coalitions which, from time to time, are framed between men of different political connexions, who have once been opposed to each other. No more fruitful source can be assigned of the prejudices which have been conceived against various parties, and of

the general disposition, which for a long while has existed, to question the purity of publick men generally. As superficial observers cannot comprehend the principle which unites individuals together in political cooperation, or conceive how a man may, to promote a just cause, overlook slighter differences of opinion, and act with those of whom he does not in every particular approve—so the same reasoners find it still more difficult to understand on what grounds persons, long inveterately hostile, can unite when circumstances are changed: And as party union is deemed a combination for power or place, and party hostility a factious scramble—so a coalition of parties is deemed a profigate abandonment of publick principle for private advantage. The two most celebrated measures of this kind, in more modern times, have given rise to an infinity of such feelings in the public mind.

The last cause we shall here state, of the odium that has lately fallen upon party, is the conduct almost inevitably pursued by every opposition, upon its accession to power, and the disappointment arising from thence, both to the publick and to individuals. How sparing soever an opposition may be of their promises to the country, far more will always be expected of them than any man can perform. Whatever has been done amiss by the former ministry, they are called upon to rectify, and instantly—for delay is held equal to non-performance. At all events, they are not suffered to continue for one moment in the steps which they had blamed their predecessors for pursuing; although it may be perfectly consistent in those who inveighed against a measure, to persevere in it, when once adopted, as the lesser evil; or, if resolved upon abandoning it, to do this cautiously and slowly. The heedless multitude however cry out, that the new men are just as bad as the old, and would always have acted like them, had they been in their place. And hence a new topic for those whose clamour is, that all publick men are alike. In the mean time, the impossibility of satisfying the private claims of those who follow the party for the sake of its patronage, fills the ranks of the discontented; and the loss of power having disarmed the popular indignation against the fallen ministry, publick censure is almost exclusively reserved for their successors. These, too, are for a long time regarded rather as an opposition, inexpertly converted into ministers, than as regular placemen; and the dislikes excited by whatever they do, or leave undone, tinge the publick opinion respecting opposition parties in general. These appear to us the principal sources of the unpopularity into which regular party has fallen.

We are very far indeed from denying, that there have been,

in all times, abuses of the principle which justifies party union—or that most parties, in their turn, have had errors and crimes to answer for, which afford some colour to the charges indiscriminately made against them all. We may even admit, that, unless strictly watched, and controlled by the great check of public opinion, party association is apt to degenerate and produce serious evils, by its perversion to purposes of a private nature. Nevertheless, we conceive, that the plan of acting in parties, has its foundation in the necessity of the case, and that it affords the only safe and practical means of carrying on the business of a free country—not, as ignorant men imagine, by a collusion between different juntos of men, but by a mode at once peaceful and effectual, of giving them full influence to different principles. Let us then attend to the ground upon which alone such associations are to be defended.

As long as men are ambitious, corrupt, and servile, every man will strive to extend his power; he will easily find instruments wherewith to carry on this bad work; if unresisted, his encroachments will go on with an accelerated swiftness, each furnishing additional confidence to attempt another stride, and, in the end, the necessity of strictly watching every administration at all times. But if any given set of ministers has adopted a system of government grossly erroneous, or corrupt, or unconstitutional, a necessity arises for taking every lawful means to displace them, and prevent further mischief. The question is, how can they be most effectually watched in the one case, and opposed in the other? Now, we must consider the means of supporting themselves, which all ministers have, and the power which is thus afforded them of eluding the vigilance and overcoming the resistance of insulated individuals. Every ministry is necessarily a league—a party—a party, too, regularly marshalled, and kept together in one solid body,—as much more compact than the best organized opposition, as a standing army is better disciplined than a corps of volunteers. The ministers have all the force and all the influence of the Government at their disposal. The fears of some, the hopes of others, range around them a vast host of persons whom they can dispose of at pleasure, without ever consulting their wishes. It is enough for those multitudes that the Government wills any thing; and straightway they feel themselves bound strenuously to promote it. Add to this, the strength derived from the good will, and often the cooperation, of a great and even respectable class, who give themselves little trouble to inquire into the merits of measures, but are re-

solved to believe, that whatever the minister for the time being say or does, is right. When persons of little reflection or no candour cry out against an opposition as factious; inveigh against party spirit; and ask how any honest man can give up the guidance of his conscience, and follow implicitly the steps of his political leaders,—how comes it that they forget the far more implicit obedience rendered to the minister of the day, by the whole host of Government dependants? *They* are indeed knit together by an inseparable bond—their common interest; theirs is an unscrupulous, an uninquiring, an unthinking compliance with all that their chief prescribes. If the charges of unconscientious agreement in opinion, or blind submission to other men, applies to any class, it clearly is to those whom the power of the Government commands, or its patronage influences. If the opposers of the Government must be accused of violence and rancour, its supporters are equally open to the charge of tyranny and persecution. Nor will it avail the enemies of all party, to say that they blame both sides, and would have no regular discipline in either. By the nature of the case, there *must* be a party, regularly disciplined and paid, for the minister of the day. As long as self-interest has any influence over men's minds at least, this party must, of necessity, exist at all times. The question therefore is not, whether we shall do without any such unions; but whether we shall suffer them all to be on one side, and shall not have recourse to something of the same system and combination for watching and for opposing the ministerial party, which that party always uses for retaining its power, and almost always for augmenting the power of the Crown, and increasing the burthens of the people.

Now, it seems very manifest, that, without some systematic cooperation, no ministry can be either watched or opposed effectually. The argument applies, in different degrees, both to the vigilance which all administrations require, and the opposition which should be given to councils radically vicious; and as it is of course strongest in the latter case, we shall principally direct our attention to that. Compare, then, the chance of success which a ministry and an opposition, composed of insulated individuals, would have. All the adherents of the minister act in concert, and each sacrifices his own opinions and views, where they clash with the common object of defending their leader's place. If he proposes a measure which many of them disapprove, still they support him; because the loss of it would endanger his official existence. But if his opponents only attack him when they are all agreed upon the measure, they must, for the same reason, make the attack in the manner which

all approve; that is to say, only those who agree in disapproving of the measure can join the attack; and of those, only such as concur in the way of expressing their dissent. It is not merely that one man may be influenced by one reason, and another by another, to join in the same vote:—this would lead to no material defalcation of strength. But there will be found very few votes in which all are precisely agreed; and if each man must follow his own judgment for conscience sake, even a small difference of sentiment must prevent a concurrence in the vote. Thus it will happen, that the whole body who disapprove of the measures of government as a system, and conscientiously deem a change necessary, are prevented from ever expressing that opinion at all. There might even be a clear majority against the government, and yet no change could be effected.

Let the nature of the cooperation which party requires be only considered fairly, and it will appear in no respect to involve sacrifices beyond what the most scrupulous ought to make. A number of individuals agree in holding many strong opinions upon the most important subjects. Unless there exists this general communion of sentiments, the party ought not to be formed. They all agree in holding a change of system necessary for the salvation of the country:—for if they only unite to bring about a change of men, we are liable to be a mere scramble for power. Agreeing generally, and on important points, each man has differences of opinion as to the details; but the corner stone of the whole fabric being the unanimous concurrence in thinking that a change of system is necessary, and the adoption of some one line of opposition being essentially to accomplish this end, it is no sacrifice of individual opinions, but only acting in conformity with the most important opinion to sacrifice the less important; and, to act otherwise, would in reality be a much greater sacrifice of individual opinion. In truth, this is the way in which every man carries on his private affairs; and it is precisely the principle on which all communities depend for their existence. The power of the majority to bind the whole rests upon no other foundation. Does any man deem it unconscientious to submit to a bad law after it is passed, though he resisted its introduction? Unless, in extreme cases, when all government is at an end, it is the duty of every man to yield obedience, and to cooperate in carrying into effect measures which, while under discussion, he had opposed, because a still greater evil would ensue from his continued opposition, namely, the dissolution of society. So, in a party, it is a man's duty to cooperate with the whole body after his peculiar views have been overruled, because otherwise a still greater evil would re-

suit, namely, the establishment for ever of the bad system which all agree ought to be changed. Extreme cases may arise here, as in the community at large; questions of paramount importance may interfere, upon which the differences of opinion are too great to be overcome; and a total or partial destruction of the union may be the result. But, in ordinary cases, the yielding in small matters for the sake of greater ones, is not only no abandonment of private opinion, but is the only way in which that opinion can be effectually pronounced and pursued.

It is thus essentially necessary to regard every measure, whether proposed by the government or their opponents, not merely on its own merits, but in connexion with the men who bring it forward, and the system of which it forms a part. Some questions, indeed, are of such paramount importance, and rest upon grounds so plain, that no compromise can be admitted in respect to them. But by far the greater number of those which come into discussion must be viewed in the relations just now mentioned. Suppose a measure, in itself good, is propounded by a set of ministers whose whole conduct is at variance with its principles, whose good faith in executing it cannot be trusted, and who may, independent of bad intentions, have no power to do its merits full justice—a man may just conscientiously resist the proposition; and he is not in charge of factious conduct, or of inconsistency, if he object to it in the hands of one class of statesmen, and afterwards approve of it in those of another and better description. It is rational and just to distinguish between different classes of ministers, and approve or disapprove of their systems; to grant the one our confidence, while we distrust the other. Let us only take a few instances, in order to demonstrate how senseless the clamour is which we see raised against party, upon the ground that measures only, and not men, should be the subject of deliberation and of choice.

There are some powers so hostile to liberty, and some resources so tempting to human weakness, that no ministers whatever ought to be entrusted with them. Thus, a large standing army, an Income Tax, or the suspension of the constitution even for a short time, though far more dangerous under rulers of arbitrary principles, lovers of war, and despisers of economy, can never be safely resorted to, whoever may be entrusted with the management of public affairs. But many lesser resources may be conceived which a politician might reasonably and honestly be afraid of confiding to men whose avowed principles would lead to the abuse of the grant, and yet might not be prepared to refuse to a more constitutional and economical government. In like manner, a measure for completing the aboli-



tion of the Slave Trade, must be supported by men of all parties who agree in disapproving of that traffic, without regard to the quarter from whence the proposition comes; but an honest and rational abolitionist must feel very suspicious of whatever is done in this cause by men who were always the great patrons of the trade, and who clung to its last remains, with the eagerness of African merchants, at the moment when the voice of the whole people was raised to put it down. The same law becomes a very different thing, if its execution is left in the hands of an enemy to its principles and spirit; and almost every branch of public policy is connected with proceedings which must of necessity be entrusted to the servants of the executive government, and with events for which no legislative arrangement can provide. Thus, some very worthy, but mistaken abolitionists, who had flattered themselves that the law being once made, no ministers would dare to show any slackness in executing it, have been somewhat surprised always to find in the Colony Department, an avowed advocate of the West Indian body, and frequently to see in the colonies most exposed to slave trading, official men not very hostile to the traffic; nor were they much edified to find the interests of the abolition wholly overlooked in the first peace with France, though the loud and unanimous reprobation of the country, so enforced the subject upon the attention of ministers, once the avowed patrons, and now the zealous enemies of the traffic. The state of Ireland affords another illustration. The injudicious supporters of the Catholic claims often rank themselves with the promoters of the outcry against party connexion. Yet who can deny that the Catholic question itself, if carried, would confer fewer advantages on Ireland, nay fewer immunities or benefits on the Catholic body, than the establishment of a ministry honestly and anxiously disposed to allay all sectarian animosities, and to give the Catholics the whole advantage of the law as it at present stands? While the professed enemies of that sect bear sway, and while one of the grounds of the preference shown to them by the Crown, is their inveterate hostility to the Catholic claims, it is manifest that emancipation itself, if carried, would amend the situation of the sister kingdom in little more than the name. A wise ministry, friendly to that body, was endeavouring in 1806 and 1807 to improve their condition by all practical favours which, under the existing laws could be shown to them, and to pave the way by gradual relaxations, for the complete repeal of the penal code. Like the Abolitionists, the violent Catholics cried out, '*Measures, not men;*' and, joining in the attack which their worst enemies made upon their best friends, they have had

eleven or twelve years of oppression to warn them how they suffer themselves again to be blindly leagued against their own interests. The great subject of Economical Reform affords another illustration of the same doctrine. The extreme necessities of the country, and the loud cry which has gone forth from the whole people for retrenchment, has compelled the ministry to make some show of reformation in this particular. But as they are the known enemies of every such change; as their principle is to extend rather than diminish the Royal patronage; as their practice has been the indulgence of unexampled profusion in every branch of the public expenditure, no man of common sense could expect to see the cause of Economy thrive in their hands; and none but an idiot can have been disappointed at seeing how little has been effected by them in producing a saving of expense. Whatever relief the people have obtained from their burthens, is due to their own vehement determination to shake them off; and has been wrung from the hands of their rulers in spite of the strongest efforts which could be made to retain the load upon the people's back. Generally speaking, a ministry favourable to the country, friendly to rational reforms, and despising patronage, would have carried through a variety of improvements which none but a minister can accomplish; and would have seized every practicable opportunity of retrenchment which the circumstances of the times afforded, independent of legislative enactments.

We trust that enough has been said to show, how honestly, and how rationally, a publick man may withhold his support systematically from one class of statesmen, and cooperate generally with another. Hitherto we have only spoken of the principle of party union, as liable to be questioned by persons of tender consciences, or guided by original views of policy. But two other classes also take a part in such associations, whose cooperation is not to be rejected, although the motives of the one, and the faculties of the other, may be less respectable. Self-interest, which leagues so many with the Government, may rank some too with its opponents; and a number of persons, who have sense and information enough to see which side they should, upon the whole, prefer, may be very far from possessing the power to form an enlightened opinion upon each measure that is discussed. There is no reason whatever, why the aid of both these classes should not be received; nor is it the slightest imputation, either upon the chiefs or their cause, to seek such cooperation. The ministry can only be effectually resisted by such means; the ministry, round whom such hosts are rallied by all the basest propensities of our nature, and

whose cause is supported too by the ignorance, the weakness, and the servility of multitudes. One of the great advantages of party union is, that it arrays in strength against bad rulers, numberless individuals who, if left alone, are too weak to produce any effect; and that it brings good out of evil, by turning the weaknesses, and even the vices of mankind, to the account of the country's cause. When we see by what means, and by what persons, the worst of ministers is always sure to be backed—can there be a more deplorable infatuation than theirs, who would fain see him displaced for the salvation of the State, and yet scruple to obtain assistance in the just warfare waged against him, from every feeling and motive and principle, that can induce any one to join in the struggle? Always reflecting on the fearful odds against the people, who can seriously maintain, that we ought nicely to investigate the grounds of each support who is willing to take our part? Who so silly

person is encouraged by his hopes—another by his vanity—a third by his love of action—or to criticise this movement of the public mind, as tinged with enthusiasm, and that as somewhat extravagant? While men are men, these frailties must show themselves in all they do: And the wisacres or puritans, by joining to a party for availing itself of every support, without asking to what it may be owing, only contend in reality that the whole of those frailties should be marshalled on one side. This is, in truth, the perpetual error into which the enemies of party fall. The interested declaimers against its principles know it full well; and the wellmeaning purist, unintentionally lends himself to the artifice. In a word, as every ministry is sure of all the benefits of party union at all times, he who cries out against faction, only means that there shall be one faction unopposed. He commits the same error with the very amicable, but not very practical sect, who deny the right of self-defence; and forget, that unless all men were converted into Friends, their doctrine would end in the extirpation of half the human race.

We have said enough, and perhaps more than enough, on this subject.—Yet we cannot resist the temptation of transcribing a few lines from an author, whose genius entitles him to the highest regard from readers of every description, and whose political partialities may probably recommend him still more strongly to those who might be disposed to distrust our ratiocinations. Mr Burke, in the most temperate, elaborate, and deeply weighed of all his political publications, has the following admirable remarks on the subject of which we are now treating.

'That connexion and faction are equivalent terms, is an opinion which has been carefully inculcated at all times by unconstitutional Statesmen. The reason is evident. Whilst men are linked together, they easily and speedily communicate the alarm of any evil design. They are enabled to fathom it with common counsel, and to oppose it with united strength. Whereas, when they lie dispersed, without concert, order, or discipline, communication is uncertain, counsel difficult, and resistance impracticable. Where men are not acquainted with each other's principles nor experienced in each other's talents, nor at all practised in their mutual habitudes and dispositions by joint efforts in business—no personal confidence, no friendship, no common interest subsisting among them; it is evidently impossible that they can act a public part with uniformity, perseverance, or efficacy. In a connexion, the most inconsiderable man, by adding to the weight of the whole, has his value and his use; out of it, the greatest talents are wholly unserviceable to the public. No man, who is not inflamed by vainglory into enthusiasm, can flatter himself that his single, unsupported, desultory, unsystematic endeavors are of power to defeat the subtle designs and united cabals of ambitious citizens. When bad men combine, the good must associate; else they will fall, one by one, an unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle.—When the public man omits to put himself in a situation, of doing his duty with effect, it is an omission that frustrates the purposes of his trust almost as much as if he had formally betrayed it. It is surely no very rational account of a man's life, that he has always acted right; but has taken special care, to act in such a manner that his endeavours could not possibly be productive of any consequence.'

'Every profession, not excepting the glorious one of a soldier, or the sacred one of a priest, is liable to its own particular vices; which, however, form no argument against those ways of life; nor are the vices themselves inevitable to every individual in those professions. Of such a nature are connexions in politics; essentially necessary for the full performance of our public duty, accidentally liable to degenerate into faction. Commonwealths are made of families, free commonwealths of parties also; and we may as well affirm, that our natural regards and ties of blood tend inevitably to make men bad citizens, as that the bonds of our party weaken those by which we are held to our country.—Some legislators went so far as to make neutrality in party a crime against the state. I do not know whether this might not have been rather to overstrain the principle. Certain it is, the best patriots in the greatest commonwealths have always commended and promoted such connexions. *Idem sentire de republica*, was with them a principal ground of friendship and attachment; nor do I know any other capable of forming firmer, dearer, more pleasing, more honourable, and more virtuous habitudes.'

Near akin to the last topick on which we have touched, is the benefit derived to the cause of sound and liberal principles

by aristocratical influence being enlisted in the ranks of party. The power of great families is indeed a most necessary part of the array to which the people must look for their security against misgovernment. It is in vain to stigmatize this cooperation as the influence of a domineering aristocracy; to assert that the whole is a contention of grandees; and to pretend that the power of one is better than that of an oligarchy. Such are the clamours cunningly raised by the minions of arbitrary power; scarcely with less wickedness echoed by the wild fury of demagogues; and senselessly listened to by the unthinking rabble. But this description of persons is daily lessening in number, as the education of the poor advances: The delusion is therefore losing its influence, and the undue power of the Crown must soon be deprived of its best allies, the mob and their leaders. Every man of sense has long been convinced, that no two things can be more widely different, than the wholesome and natural influence of the aristocracy in a political party, and the vicious form of national government, which is known by the same name. That influence can only be exerted by the freewill of the party, and the people whose leaders and advocates those great families are. As soon as the common operations of the party have raised them to power, they are subject to all the checks and controls which the frame of our constitution has provided, and which renders all danger from aristocratic influence wholly chimerical. But, in connexion with the party whose principles they share, and whose confidence they enjoy, those families exercise a large and a salutary influence. They afford a counterpoise from their wealth, rank and station, to the resources of force and corruption at the Crown's disposal: they are a rallying point to the scattered strength of the inferior partisans, and a more permanent mass in which the common principles may be embodied and preserved among the vicissitudes of fortune; and, in the lapse of time, so apt to have a fatal effect among the more fickle and more numerous orders of society, they are eminently useful in tempering the zeal, as well as in fixing the unsteadiness of popular opinion,—and thus give regulation and direction, as well as efficacy, to the voice and the strength of the people.

We are very far from wishing to deny, that the principle of party association has ever been abused; and the perversion of it has most frequently been, in the combinations of great families, united by no distinguishing opinions, and opposing the government upon no very intelligible grounds. The object, in these cases, seems rather to have been, the distribution of patronage; and the point of difference with the ministry was sometimes

nothing more important to the community, than the particular channels in which Royal favour should flow. In such times as those, Swift might well be allowed to rail and to laugh at party, and to term it the 'madness of many for the gain of a few.' But in the present times, such a perversion of the principle is quite impossible. The powerful families are aware, that they can only retain their influence in the country, by acting upon high public grounds. The charge, indeed, to which they have been most exposed, is that of standing on too lofty ground, and refusing office when it was within their reach, because they could not obtain it with a recognition of their own opinions upon certain important questions of state. Certain it is, that a hankering after place never was so little the failing of an opposition as in our times.

As aristocratical influence has sometimes been abused, so it is impossible to deny that coalitions of parties have been formed repugnant to the universal feelings of the country; and, however justifiable upon principle, yet reprehensible in point of prudence—for this reason, that the general sense of the people could not be reconciled to them. The union of Mr Fox and Lord North, at the close of the American war, was a measure of this description; and its effects in alienating the public mind from these political leaders, were very unfortunate. Yet, that coalitions may be formed most honestly, and that the public good may frequently require them, is abundantly manifest. They are recommended by the same views which prescribe the formation of any one party, namely, the necessity of uniting together all who agree on certain highly important questions, and of sacrificing minor differences in order to secure some grand point for the country. If two parties have been long opposed, and the grounds of their difference were removed by the course of events, there can be no reason whatever for their not forming a junction in order to oppose effectually some third party, the success of which is deemed by them both to be pernicious to the common weal. The coalition, in such a case, is only a sacrifice of private animosities to the public good. No doubt, unions of this description may very probably lead to a great embarrassment, when their primary object is gained; for it is possible that the two parties may agree in little more than in the necessity of a change; so that when they come to act together in office, the views of each may hamper the other, and a feeble government of concessions and compromises and half measures may be established. But this is only a reason for carefully examining the grounds of the coalition, and coming, in the first

instance, to a full understanding upon all other views of policy : it is no argument against coalitions generally ; and most certainly it affords no ground of invective against party in the abstract.

There is just as little reason for such invectives, furnished by the inevitable consequences of a successful opposition, namely, the accession to power of those engaged in it. This event was the avowed object of their operations ; not for the sake of the emoluments and patronage connected with office, but for the sake of the principles which they professed, and which could only be carried into effect by the change of ministry. To rescue the country from the hands of men who were misgoverning and ruining it, and to place its affairs in the hands of men whose integrity was greater, and whose views of policy were sounder—this was the avowed object of the party. In pursuing this object, much good service may indeed have been rendered to the State incidentally—many useful measures forced upon the ministers—~~many pernicious attempts defeated~~—many bad schemes prevented from being even tried : All these successes would have been of great and lasting benefit to the country, even if the main object had failed, and the change of government had never been effected ; and all these advantages to the State would have been the legitimate fruits of party in the strictest sense of the word. But a more extensive and permanent corrective to misrule was wanting ; the country was to be saved from men whose principles were hurtful to its best interests, in order to be ruled by those who could safely be trusted with them. Can any clamour, then, be more vulgar or senseless than theirs who abuse, as place-hunters, the men who have been raised to power by the triumph of their own principles ? Can any thing be more absurd than to oppose a ministry, and seek its downfall, for the mere sake of destroying it, without putting any other in its place ? The formation of a ministry on purer principles, composed of more trustworthy men, is the only legitimate object of all constitutional opposition. Whoever takes office on this ground, acts a truly patriotic part. He only can be charged with hunting after place, who assumes, for factious purposes, principles that do not belong to him ; or abandons those which he had professed, when the avenues to office are within his view. Here, again, we must avail ourselves of the just and dignified expressions of Burke.

'Party,' he observes, 'is a body of men united, for promoting, by their joint endeavours, the national interest, upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed. For my part, I find it impossible to conceive, that any one believes in his own politics, or

thinks them to be of any weight, who refuses to adopt the means of having them reduced into practice. It is the business of the speculative philosopher to mark the proper ends of government. It is the business of the politician, who is the philosopher in action, to find out proper means towards those ends, and to employ them with effect. Therefore every honourable connexion will avow it is their first purpose, to pursue every just method to put the men who hold their opinions into such a condition as may enable them to carry their common plans into execution, with all the power and authority of the state. As this power is attached to certain situations, it is their duty to contend for these situations. Without a proscription of others, they are bound to give to their own party the preference in all things; and by no means, for private considerations, to accept any offers of power in which the whole body is not included; nor to suffer themselves to be led, or to be controlled, or to be over-balanced, in office or in council, by those who contradict the very fundamental principles on which their party is formed, and even those upon which every fair connexion must stand. Such a generous contention for power, on such manly and honourable maxims, will easily be distinguished from the mean and interested struggle for place and emolument. The very style of such persons will serve to discriminate them from those numberless impostors, who have deluded the ignorant with professions incompatible with human practice, and have afterwards incensed them by practices below the level of vulgar rectitude.

Of the imputations cast upon party men for deserting their followers or their principles when they take office, it is the less necessary to speak at large; because, as soon as they have the government in their hands, they ought to be closely watched, and are pretty sure to be so, by those whom they have displaced. Nor would there fail, in these times, to arise a third party for the interests of the people, if their present defenders were to forget themselves when in office, and to league with the advocates of unconstitutional measures. The risk would be considerable of the new opposition rather encouraging than checking such a dereliction of duty: They followed this course during the year 1806, when the country had not the benefit of a constitutional opposition. But the immediate formation of a third party, out of doors, would, in this case, be irresistible, and it would speedily find itself represented in Parliament, or would push its representatives into that assembly. The more imminent hazard is of an opposite description. Too much, and in too short a time, is expected to be performed by the new and popular ministers. Sufficient time is not allowed them to redeem their pledges. If they do not at once attempt all they promised, they are apt to be deserted by many well-meaning, but



weak adherents; and they are thus disarmed of the power to do much of the good service they might render the public, by its impatience for objects unattainable, or only to be achieved in the course of time. Nothing is so true as Adam Smith's remark, that one of the worst consequences of the Mercantile System in political economy is, its creating an unnatural state of things, which makes it impossible to correct the errors committed, without, for a while, occasioning greater evil than that which you seek to remedy. The same observation is equally applicable to every other species of maladministration; and it points out the unreasonableness of those who will give no time to a new government to retrace the false steps of their predecessors; but, mistaking a prudent and necessary caution for reluctance, launch at them the charge of deserting their principles, and accuse them, of intending to do nothing, because they cannot perform miracles, and wish not to work mischief.

The short administration of 1806, was most unjustly treated in this respect. They were about a year in office, with the King, and the whole Court strongly against them; sometimes openly opposing their measures; always secretly undermining them in the very unequal warfare of stratagem and intrigue. From the motley composition of that cabinet, several errors were committed, and some opportunities of doing good may have been thrown away. But where is the ministry that ever did so much for the country in so short a space of time? They introduced, upon sound and enlightened principles, a new military system; they raised the revenue to meet the extravagant demands occasioned by the improvident schemes of their predecessors, until they could retrace their steps, and relieve the people by economy and by peace; they began those inquiries into public expenditure, which have since, in spite of their successors, produced a material saving to the country, and which, had they continued in power, would, ere now, have effectually relieved its burthens; they laid the foundations of peace with America, and of tranquillity in Ireland; finally, they abolished the Slave Trade, which had grown up to a horrible maturity under the force of all Mr Pitt's eloquent invectives, and which he, in the plenitude of his authority, had never ventured even to abridge. Can any thing be more unjust than to account all this as nothing, when we reflect that it was crowded into the short space of one year, and that the first year of a change, when the blunders of the former ministry were still producing their most noxious effects in new wars abroad, and failures at home, and when the men recently

advanced to power had to contend with a hostile Court, a suspicious and unfriendly Parliament, and a jealous, discontented and burthened people? The history of that short period, while it may prove in many particulars useful as a lesson of errors to be in future avoided, ought also to console the country by the evidence it affords of how much real service might be rendered to its best interests by honest and able ministers enjoying the confidence of the people.

There is one ground of invective against party, to which we have not yet adverted, because we believe it to be the least solid of any. Some timid persons are wont to apprehend violence and turbulence from what they term factious proceedings.—There seems to be a great mistake in this view of the matter.—The fuel of popular discontent exists independent of all party, in the ignorance of the multitude, the distresses of the times, and the misconduct of the Government. The formation of a regular and respectable party to maintain the cause of the people, instead of blowing up the flame, and causing an explosion, is rather likely to moderate its violence, and give it a safe vent. Besides, there exists, at all events, a regular party for the Government; and if it is not opposed by a similar force, it will either destroy publick liberty, or go on encroaching on the people's rights, until a popular commotion, under no regulation or control, disturbs the publick peace, and perhaps subverts the Government.

These remarks upon the uses of party union, have prepared the way for the few observations which we are to offer upon the present aspect of politicks in this country; and they have anticipated not a few of the strictures which we had to make on the conduct and views of the present Opposition: For the greater part of the attacks to which that party has been exposed, are those to which it is liable as a party, in common with every other body of this description.

It is certain, that at no period of the English History was there ever embodied so formidable an association in behalf of the principles of civil and religious liberty, and, in general, of liberal, enlightened and patriotic policy, as the great body of the Whigs now are. Whether we regard the high rank and ample possessions of many members, the commanding talents and acquirements of others, or the mere amount of their numerical force, such a party union never was before witnessed. Last Session saw an event completed, which had been expected to diminish their forces, the separation of the Grenvilles.—But, although the loss of Lord Grenville, and one or two other eminent individuals as regular coadjutors, is deeply to be regretted,

ted, the defalcation either of weight or of numbers, that has arisen from this secession, is too trifling to be felt; and this change needs be dwelt upon no longer.

The ministers, on the other hand, are, beyond all comparison, the most contemptible in pretensions of any that have ever governed a great nation. With one or two exceptions, they are men of whom their own steadiest supporters are daily ashamed; and the same men who give them their votes, for fear of disturbing the peace of the community, by destroying one government before they know who shall succeed, leave their places in Parliament, to express in private, openly and strongly, their sense of the humiliation to which they are constantly reduced. How does it happen, that such a Ministry can stand against such an Opposition? We think nearly the whole difficulty will be resolved, by attending to the delusions which have been practised upon the publick by a third class of persons, insignificant in numbers, and still more contemptible in weight, either by talent or station, who have stood forward as the champions of the people, and set themselves regularly to defame the regular Opposition, until they had well nigh succeeded in undermining their credit with the country. We allude to the faction of the Cobbets and Hunts, whom the Opposition too long allowed to triumph, by treating them with an ill-judged contempt. These men, whatever were their designs, whether to gratify a preposterous love of distinction, or for merely mercenary purposes, or from worse love of mischief, have long been persuading the people, that no publick man is to be trusted—that all political leaders are engaged in a scramble for place—and that they alone are their friends. Of late years, they have only succeeded with the lowest and most ignorant parts of the community. But, by constant misrepresentation, weekly repeated by some, and daily and industriously echoed by the hirelings of the Government, they at one time were too successful in making many, who had no trust in them as political guides, believe all they said against the Whigs. The force of undaunted, never-ceasing falsehood, in damaging the fairest reputations, is well known, especially if no pains are taken to expose it. To give any specimen of the arts thus used against the Whigs, would be quite endless. But the last which strikes us, is Mr Cobbet's hardy assertion, that they urged the ministers to suspend the Habeas Corpus act; and, with a few exceptions, voted for the measure! We think that the Whigs acted unwisely in not taking more decisive steps to defend their characters, thus wantonly and unremittingly invaded;—we think that their supporters in the department of the daily press, showed a most culpable slowness to expose the vile

falsehoods propagated concerning them, probably from an unworthy dread of being personally attacked by those who spared neither high nor low, the illustrious nor the obscure. But, at all events, time has come surely, if tardily, to their aid; and has, among other calumnies, completely refuted the often urged charge of a fondness for office. Never, certainly, was there a set of men whose whole conduct bears so little the marks of any such propensity.

Although the permanent influence of the men we have been describing has been confined to the lowest rabble, another class, far more respectable, very numerous, and, generally speaking, of honest principles, having suffered themselves to be led away by false theories of government, in which the Whig party never could concur, were disposed to view that body with suspicion, and to incline towards the tales propagated against its members. Major Cartwright, at one time, had great influence with this part of the community; and his unwearied zeal, and unabating perseverance in the cause of Reform, merited much consideration, however erroneous his views might be. This sect laid it down as an incontestable principle, that only one measure was of any value—*Parliamentary Reform*;—and that only one reform deserved the name—the introduction of *Universal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments*, to which, at Mr Bentham's suggestion, they have lately added, *voting by ballot*. This being their creed, they held every one who differed with them, even by the smallest shade, as utterly ignorant of the true nature of the constitution; and they generally questioned his honesty also. With regard to their own sincerity, we have nothing to say; but their great apostle has recently given us some reason to doubt the extent of their learning, by citing the title of Mr Prynne's book on *Parliamentary Writs*, *Brevia Parliamentaria Rediviva*, as signifying—' *Short Parliaments Restored* ;'—an indication, too, that this pure class of politicians sometimes brag of an acquaintance with works which it is morally impossible they could ever have seen.\*

\* The worthy Major has since defended himself by saying, that he 'has been too much engaged in studying English liberty, to pay attention to Roman language.' The fact, however, is, that the barbarous Latin in question is only worth learning, because it assists the study of English liberty. And the Major assumes to himself an almost exclusive knowledge of our constitutional history, which no man, so ignorant as he now admits himself to be, can have well studied. The error was committed in a letter addressed to Lord Holland, in consequence of his accusing the Major of 'elaborate blun-

That Parliamentary Reform is a subject of singular importance, no man will deny. But that it is the only subject worthy of engaging the attention of statesmen, no one will assert, but an enthusiast blinded by zeal for a favourite speculation. And that all other points should be neglected for this; that, until it be carried, the ministry of the day should be suffered to do as they list; that victories gained for the people, without reform, are even to be lamented, as diminishing the criminality of an unreformed Parliament, and the necessity for a change,—is a doctrine, of which the absurdity is so monstrous, as almost to prevent its mischief. Yet this doctrine has prevailed among many well-meaning, and even well-informed classes of the community, whose heated imaginations, engrossed by a favourite object, could rest upon no other view, and regarded all who differed or doubted as enemies. The kind of reform, too, which alone would satisfy them, was immediate, sweeping, radical, unsparing. No time must be given for trying the safety of projects confessedly new; all must be done at once by a single bill. No compromise must be endured with the faults of the present system; the whole must be swept away, and a new one substituted, by creation, in its place. They chose to say Annual Parliament; and therefore no man must whisper a word of Triennial. They said every male of 21 (Mr Hunt says, or rather swears in an affidavit, 18) should vote: and therefore no honest man could presume to confine the franchise to inhabitants or householders. It was in vain to ask for the foundation of all this dogmatical theory, or to demand why the period of one year was chosen, and the extension of suffrage to all males, rather than to all females, according to the most learned of the reformers, Mr Bentham. Attempts to trace the history of Parliament gave them no assistance; for though of old a year was the common duration, or rather a few days, and each session was a new Parliament, the circumstances were so entirely different, that there was no possibility of applying the precedent; while instances were frequent, of two and three Parliaments sitting in a year;—and as to universal suffrage, there was no more evidence of all males ever having voted, than of all females. But these limits had been assumed; and the arbitrary doctrine, thus laid down, became the *Shibboleth* of the party. Greater dogmatism; more gra-

*ders* on constitutional questions. He complained bitterly of this charge, and gave the above marvellous confirmation of it. The burthen of his song was Lord Holland's ignorance of the authors who treat of the constitution—such as Prynne!

tuitous assumptions; more intolerance towards other sects;—never marked the doctrines or the proceedings of any religious party or establishment. And in this respect they resembled those bigots who have at different times filled the world with confusion. No terms short of entire submission would ever satisfy them; and they regarded with far more inveterate hostility him who came near their own faith, without exactly adopting it, than him who abjured them and their tenets altogether.

Many reasons concurred to render this class of persons extremely jealous of the Whig party. It formed a part of their fanciful doctrine of the Constitution, that, in a renovated Parliament, the Crown was to have no ministers, but only certain government orators, who might explain measures without a deliberative voice. The whole business of the State was to be conducted by the ministers, without any control in Parliament, unless when they merited impeachment; the public affairs were not, as now, to be transacted under the eye, and in the presence of the Great Council of the nation; its functions were to be confined within the narrowest limits of voting supplies, while the Crown was restored to its ancient prerogative of ruling unchecked till matter of impeachment should be found, or the season of actual resistance arrived.

Of course, the patrons of this very practical scheme of government, abhorred the idea of a regular party:—in their Utopia it could find no place. But the Whigs had other crimes to answer for, beside that of being a party. Some of them were conscientiously, and, upon long reflection, averse to all parliamentary reform whatever; none of them were advocates of Universal Suffrage; and the great majority of them, though sincerely attached to a moderate and rational system of reform, refused to regard that, or any one other question, as alone deserving of attention, and to sacrifice to its promotion all other measures. A few of the party had, in the course of time, so far altered their opinions upon the subject, not so far as to oppose reform, but only to consider it as less vitally important than they had once deemed it. Nothing more was wanting to raise against them, and their coadjutors and followers, the cry of desertion; they were viewed with distrust as false friends, or openly attacked as the worst enemies of the cause. Moderate reform, being held quite synonymous with mock reform, was even deprecated, in comparison with a continuance of the present system; and the only class of statesmen who could possibly hope to succeed in carrying any measures for the improvement of our Parliamentary Constitution, were de-

cried as the supporters of all its existing abuses and imperfections.

The leaders of this third party, and those who composed it in the country, were, it may safely be asserted, influenced by very different views, and possessed of very unequal degrees of information. The former had formed the design of establishing a popular interest, and guiding its operations themselves. They saw that no chance of succeeding in this project was left to them, as long as the Whig party retained the confidence of the people. They therefore set themselves about undermining that favour which the party had so long enjoyed; and, availing themselves of the unreasonable disappointment produced by their conduct while in office, and of some unfortunate coldness towards the popular cause displayed after their retreat from power, they succeeded in persuading a great body of the community that the Whigs had deserted them; that place only was their object; and, in fine, that all public men are alike—all the enemies of the people, whose only chance of salvation must be sought in throwing off every party connexion, thinking for themselves, and taking into their own hands the management of their affairs; in other words, blindly following these new guides through a course of mere turbulent discontent, without any plan, or any prospect of effecting a single one of the objects represented as necessary to save the country. Having thus, in a great measure, succeeded in shaking the people's confidence in their natural leaders, and in branding rank, station, long services and liberal accomplishments as tokens of hostility to the cause of liberty, and warnings to put the country on their guard against their possessors; they had only themselves to recommend instead of the leaders and advocates whom they were endeavouring to set aside; and their own crude, visionary schemes to propose, in place of the sober, rational, and practicable plans of improvement patronized by the great popular party whom they supplanted.

A little leisure was now afforded for observing the conduct of these men of high and exclusive pretensions to patriotism. And first of all, it was found that they excelled far more in railing at others, than in bringing forward themselves any useful measures for the relief of the country. They talked as if they were possessed of some nostrums for removing all evils; and effectually resisting the pernicious councils of the Government. But, in the mean time, the force of the people being divided, and the energies of opposition cramped, the Government went on more triumphantly than ever, and, for some time, met with no check to its encroachments. Then it was observed, that

these new leaders of the publick opinion ran, in a short period of time, the whole round of inconsistent and opposite opinions. Almost every week they had a new doctrine to promulge—a new *Shibboleth* to propose. As each lost its novelty, another was invented. Every topic they brached, too, was in its turn the one thing needful—the grand and paramount interest—the only matter worthy of the publick attention. Now it was Lord Wellington's campaigns and pensions; then the Duke of York and Mrs Clarke; this day the privileges of the House of Commons; the next Walcheren; and, on the morrow, parliamentary reform, or tythes, or taxes, or the learned languages, or the aristocracy and its vicious accomplishments. All their motions in either House of Parliament, which only one or two members could be found to support—all the plans which, by their extravagance, revolted men of sober judgment—and all the publick men who, from accidental circumstances, or through their own conduct, were deprived of intercourse with the more polished and enlightened classes of society, were held up to the admiration of the multitude. As any creed of reform gained converts among persons of a superior cast, new articles were added to stagger them, and leave the profession of it to the pure reformers alone. As soon as any candidate for popular favour was found to associate with the upper classes of society, he was denounced as an object of distrust. To have quarrelled past all chance of reconciliation with those hated orders, was deemed the surest road to publick confidence, next to that of never having belonged to, or kept any terms with them. And thus new patriots easily arose to the height of popularity, and as suddenly sunk, never more to be heard of, leaving the people unprotected, and the ministry unopposed, except by the regular Whig party, whom all these tricks and follies had crippled, but not destroyed.

This party, on the contrary, went on holding its even and steady course, except that it wisely lent itself more and more to popular measures, and cultivated more assiduously the esteem of the respectable portion of the community. While the new candidates for publick favour were doing nothing for the country, but railing at every measure of reform, in proportion to its real value and its practicability, the Whigs were resolutely opposing every dangerous stretch of power and unnecessary expenditure of the revenue—defending the cause of liberty and of national independence abroad—reducing the standing army at home—compelling the ministers to adopt measures beneficial to trade, and to relinquish an enormous amount of taxes the most burthensome and oppressive. All these real services were ren-



dered to the State, without the most remote appearance of an undue thirst for place or power. On the contrary, their reluctance to accept office was made the ground of charging them with a factious and obstinate opposition.

The people of this country, although they may for a season be misled, are sure in the end to think for themselves, and to recover from the blindness of temporary delusions, either of attachment to unworthy favourites, or of prejudice against old and tried friends. The evidence of facts in the end has its weight; the merit of continued honest and useful conduct never pleads with them in vain. They began to acknowledge the unfairness of the attacks made upon the popular party in Parliament, and to doubt the wisdom of the new guides who preached Universal Suffrage as the sovereign panacea for all ills. Their eyes would have been opened much sooner, had the Whigs not committed the error on the one hand, of refraining from openly attacking and exposing the follies of that doctrine; and of being too slow, on the other, to lay down distinctly their own views of reform. Of late they have done so, and with perfect success. The recent Elections plainly show that the people are no longer under the guidance of shallow pretenders to constitutional learning, or base dealers in vulgar sedition; and that even the more respectable zealots of reform have failed to estrange them from their natural leaders. To those leaders they have evinced their willingness to return; and there cannot be a doubt that this disposition will, as it ought, be met by corresponding kindness.

The question here naturally arises, what are the principles of government adopted by the present ministers, and what the ground of the constitutional opposition to their remaining in office? A single glance at this subject will at once show how deeply the country is interested in the regular conflicts of the two parties, and how false the assertions have been of those who try to inculcate a feeling of indifference upon this momentous affair. The present ministry are in their hearts and in their whole conduct the enemies of every reform, and of none more than of retrenchment. They will yield nothing of the patronage of the Crown; and, until forced, they will lessen none of the people's burthens. They are friendly to large military establishments; patrons of arbitrary power abroad; and ready to make arrangements with foreign courts which may lead to war for merely foreign objects. At home, they undervalue the rights of the people, and carelessly treat the most sacred parts of the Constitution. Hostile to every improvement, they despise the voice of those who call for a revision of our commercial system, that it may be adapted to the circumstances of the

times; and they shrink back from amending any part of our jurisprudence, whether criminal or economical, though the universal experience of mankind, the plainest principles of justice and humanity, combined with the most obvious dictates of common sense, may imperiously demand it. In one word, abuse of every description finds in them protection and palliation. But the state of the country—the progress of the age—the intelligence of the people—require a set of rulers who will strenuously set themselves to investigate, expose, and correct all abuses, by whomsoever committed, and by whatever length of practice sanctioned. This ought to be the only pledge demanded by the country from a new ministry. The details must, in fairness and in prudence, also be left to themselves. If they can carry the Catholic Question, and effect a moderate and wholesome Reform of Parliament, the country will gain so much the more. But no such point should ever be thought of as a condition *sine qua non*; retrenchment and reformation of abuses, at home and abroad, ought alone to be reckoned the master-principle of the party.

On the other hand, the termination of the war, and the removal of all apprehensions that any respectable party in the country entertained designs hostile to the established Government, have deprived the Court of its principal argument against the Whigs. No man will now seriously maintain that the independence of the Empire or the stability of the Throne would be endangered by their accession to power. They are known to be jealous of their country's honour with regard to foreign powers, and as hostile to the mad or wicked designs of traitors at home, as those courtiers themselves who so long contrived to keep their places by propagating the most scandalous calumnies against the popular party. But there is this remarkable difference between them:—The Whigs would bring to any contest, for the honour of the Crown, in which the country might unfortunately be engaged, an united and zealous people; and they would oppose the schemes of disaffection by a real and constitutional vigour, which would first destroy half its force by removing its causes or pretexts, and then combat what remained by the strong arm of the law in its utmost purity.

We have offered these strictures to all the parties which divide the country at this period, and especially to the people at large, whose interest as well as duty it is to chuse, and to support the one most likely to serve their cause. Before concluding, we must address a few words to the popular leaders of the party to which we look for restoring the prosperity of the State, and effecting the improvements in its condition, which the re-

turn of peace gives us a right to expect. Let them continue to make head against the pernicious and extravagant doctrines which have of late been propagated to distract the community; but let them beware of relaxing, on account of those follies, in their endeavours to promote a rational amendment in those branches of the Constitution which time has impaired. Above all, let them cordially unite with the sounder parts of the publick, forgetting the differences which, for a time, have separated them; and, by mutual forbearance and concessions, that most desirable end will be attained, of reestablishing a powerful party in the Senate, to maintain the cause of the country against corruption and oppression—a party which, through the honest and zealous support of the people, must speedily triumph. \*

ART. VIII. *Anecdotes of the Life of Richard Watson, Bishop of Landaff; written by Himself at different intervals, and revised in 1814.* Published by his Son, RICHARD WATSON, LL. B. Prebendary of Landaff and Wells. 4to. pp. 551. London. Cadell, 1817.

FEW works have, of late years, excited greater attention than the one now before us. The high academical reputation of Bishop Watson, sustained by his valuable literary performances, extended by the firm and manly independence of his character as a politician, and his liberal and tolerant principles as a churchman, naturally fixed the eyes of the publick upon any thing from his pen in the shape of Memoirs of himself, and of his own times. If the perusal of this volume should disappoint the curiosity of those who chiefly prize such books for the secret history which they develop, or the particulars which they detail of private life and conversation, the philosopher will nevertheless be deeply interested in tracing the progress to well-earned fame and eminence, of a man who won every honour by

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\* There were in the last Parliament about 150 members of the regular Opposition; and of this number 130 were at one time in London, and able to attend. But from accidental circumstances, and chiefly from the want of an acknowledged leader, they never attended in any thing like this force. Nearly thirty have, by the General Election, been added to this number—forming a party which, under proper management, and with the support out of doors which it may expect to receive, will assuredly render the continuance of the present system of abuse and imbecility a matter of some difficulty.

the force of his own talents and industry, and never suffered himself for a moment to be spoilt by his advancement, or to relax in his endeavours to instruct and improve mankind, long after those exertions had ceased to be subservient to his own interests. But men of enlightened minds will prize this work still more highly, because it abounds with lessons of liberality and tolerance—because it exhibits a picture, too rare we fear in these times, of a dignitary of the Church despising the road to preferment which lies through sycophancy and servility to courts—because it displays the progress of a powerful mind, among all the temptations fatal to so many virtues, yet unseduced, through a long life, from the steady course of constitutional principles first pointed out by reason and sober reflection. We lament to add, that these are the very reasons why, from one part of the community, this publication has called forth the most extravagant vituperation. It has been bitterly attacked, and the character of its venerable author shamelessly traduced by the venal pens of those whom the government of the day patronizes, and probably employs in other than the literary parts of the public service. An outcry has been raised against Bishop Watson, as violent as if the most enlightened defender of the national religion had been an infidel prelate. The courteous allies of Talleyrand have shown far less regard for the brightest ornament of the English Episcopal bench, than they probably would have displayed had he abjured his faith, and joined in persecuting Catholics and Dissenters. The narrow-minded politicians, who suffered Paley to descend unnoticed to the grave, and pretended to forget all his mighty services to the cause of Religion, natural and revealed, as soon as they descried a prejudice against him in a certain quarter, consistently enough allowed all favours to pass by the Champion of the Gospel, who had triumphantly defended it against Gibbon and Paine. Still hating him whom they had feared, and unable to forgive him for their own injustice, they now vent their malice against his memory; and seek, in lessening a reputation far above their spiteful attempts, to gain some pitiful extenuation of their conduct, in neglecting to strengthen, by its accession, the cause they affect to serve. We gladly turn from such ephemeral topics to the man himself, and his book.

Richard Watson was born at Heversham, a village in Westmoreland, in the year 1737, and was the son of a respectable schoolmaster, whose family had long been settled at Shap, in the same county. They were of the class usually known in those parts by the name of *Statesmen*, that is, small proprietors, who cultivate their own land, and lead, *ut prisca gens mortalium*,

a frugal and industrious life among their children and husbandry servants, if indeed their estate should be considerable enough to require any hands in addition to their own. In the north of England this race of honest yeomanry is exceedingly numerous; and as they are well educated, independent in their circumstances, and simple in their habits, the vices attendant upon luxury in other parts of the country, have not yet tainted their character, which is that of resolute and uncorrupted freemen. The elder Watson had the honour of educating Ephraim Chambers, the author of the *Encyclopædia*, but he had been compelled, by declining health, to abandon the useful and honourable profession of a schoolmaster before his son was born; and as an inferior teacher succeeded him, the latter complained that he never was thoroughly grounded in the art of prosody, by the habit of making verses—an exercise which he speaks of with very great good sense, allowing its usefulness, but without the exaggerated estimate of its value, which our English neighbours are apt to form.

In 1754, he was sent to Cambridge, and admitted a Sizar of Trinity College. He now began that life of hard labour, which he persisted in as long as his health permitted, and long after its decline had seemed to demand relaxation. Unlike the young men of the present day, who either confine their exertions to the University term, or even to those who, though willing to work, yet disdain residing at the place best adapted to their studies, and move off in all directions, to read at the greatest distance from *alma mater*, as if there were something incompatible with intellectual labour in her atmosphere; he began by a residence of two years and seven months, during which period he had never been out of College for one whole day. Having thus purchased a right to some relaxation, he went down to Westmoreland, to pass his third long vacation; but he tired of this idle plan long before the summer was over, and returned to College early in September, to resume his academical habits. With hard work he mingled the pleasures of society, for which he always had a keen relish. The following interesting passage conveys some idea of the life which he led.

‘When I used to be returning to my room at one or two in the morning, after spending a jolly evening, I often observed a light in the chamber of one of the same standing with myself; this never failed to excite my jealousy, and the next day was always a day of hard study. I have gone without my dinner a hundred times on such occasions. I thought I never entirely understood a proposition in any part of mathematics or natural philosophy, till I was able in a solitary walk, *obstipo capite atque exporrecto labello*, to draw the

scheme in my head, and go through every step of the demonstration without book or pen and paper. I found this was a very difficult task, especially in some of the perplexed schemes and long demonstrations of the Twelfth Book of *Euclid*, and in *L'Hopital's* Conic Sections, and in *Newton's Principia*. My walks for this purpose were so frequent, that my tutor, not knowing what I was about, once reproached me for being a loungeur. I never gave up a difficult point in a demonstration till I had made it out *proprio Marte*; I have been stopped at a single step for three days. This perseverance in accomplishing whatever I undertook, was, during the whole of my active life, a striking feature in my character, so much so that Dr Powell, the Master of St John's College, said to a young man, a pupil of mine, for whom I was prosecuting an appeal which I had lodged with the visitor against the College,—“Take my advice, sir, and go back to your curacy, for your tutor is a man of perseverance, not to say obstinacy.” After a perseverance however of nearly three years, the appeal was determined against the College; the young man (Mr Russel) was put in possession of the Furness Fell Fellowship, which I had claimed for him, as a propriety-fellowship; and the College was fined 50*l.* for having elected another into it. It would be for the public good if all propriety-fellowships, in both Universities, were laid open; and Dr Powell (for whose memory I have great veneration) was, I doubt not, influenced by the same opinion, when he attempted to set aside this propriety; Dr Kipling, whom he had elected into it, being in ability far superior to Mr Russel: But the Legislature alone is competent to make such a change; and till it is made by proper authority, the will of every founder ought to be attended to. p. 11, 12.

It is impossible to contemplate this picture of academical habits, without observing how great and how pure are the gratifications of intellectual appetites. A life of study is, of all others, the least chequered with reverses of fortune, and least stamped with satiety, or any of the other attendants upon excess. Nor are its pleasures confined to the stage when we have gained the summit, and can freely exert ourselves in enlarging the bounds of human knowledge. The ascent is as grateful, from the pleasurable nature of the efforts which it requires, and the new views to which it leads at each step, as the enjoyment of the level and lofty eminence itself, with all its more extensive range of prospect, and the greater ease in which it is possessed. These are truths never to be lost sight of, and which ought perpetually to be kept in the recollection of youth, who are too apt to regard all the efforts required of them as beyond the necessity of the occasion, and to ally them with feelings of pain rather than gratification. The irksomeness is but at the beginning. We will venture to affirm, that at no pe-

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riod of his life,—when defending the religion he sincerely believed and prized above every consideration, or inculcating the pure doctrines of civil liberty, next to religion, his chief care, or extending the bounds of useful science, did Bishop Watson lead a life of more unmixed pleasure than after he had broken himself in at Trinity College to habits of unremitting application, and begun to climb the steep ascent with all the hard labour designated in the passage we have just quoted.

We have not read far in these Memoirs before we perceive the strong and uniform tendency of his mind to support the best principles of constitutional liberty. 'I every week' (he observes) 'imposed upon myself a task of composing a theme or a declamation in Latin or English. I had great pleasure in lately finding among my papers, two of these declamations, one in English, the other Latin; there is nothing excellent in either of them, yet I cannot help valuing them, as they are not only the first of my compositions of which I have any memorial remaining, but as they show that a long commerce in the public world has only tended to confirm that political bent of my mind in favour of civil liberty, which was formed in it before I knew of what selfish and low-minded materials the public world was made. The subject of the English declamation is, "Let tribunes be granted to the Roman people;" that of the Latin, "*Sociis Italicis detur civitas*:" Both of them were suggested to my mind from the perusal of *Vertot's Roman Revolutions*, a book which accidentally fell into my hands. Were such kind of books put into the hands of kings during their boyhood, and Tory trash at no age recommended to them, kings in their manhood would scorn to aim at arbitrary power through corrupted Parliaments.' Lord Bolingbroke has somewhere remarked, that in his times, the prevalence of what were formerly termed *Tory* principles, such as divine and indefeasable right, was impossible among any people above the rank of the Samoyedes or Hottentots. A century has elapsed since he said so; and during that period, the family has been extinguished which signalized and sacrificed itself by being foremost among the patrons of those doctrines.—And yet, strange to tell, in our own times, if not the divine right, certainly the indefeasable hereditary title to govern by mere course of descent, independent of all other pretensions, and liable to no forfeiture for any misdemeanour, has found a cloud of supporters among the freest and most enlightened nations in Europe. Nay, the foundations of our own excellent Constitution being laid in the very opposite principles, we seem, or rather some of our rulers seem anxious to extinguish everywhere

else all traces of such doctrines; as if they would retain the possession of power on grounds the very opposite of those on which it was first gotten, or were jealous of any other people in the world enjoying a taste of rational and regular liberty.

When our author was Moderator for the first time, the celebrated Paley took his degree and was senior wrangler; one of the theses which he proposed to take for disceptation, and brought to Watson, was, '*Æternitas pœnarum contradicit Divinis attributis.*' The Moderator made no objection; but a few days afterwards, the young logician came to him greatly alarmed, on finding that the master of his College (a dignitary of higher order in the church, and, consequently, more under the influence of panic terror), had sent to insist on his not mooting such a question, at least in that shape. Our author readily permitted Paley to change the proposition, by inserting the powerful word *non* before *contradicit*, which removed the very reverend the Dean's objections; who was little aware that the celebrated Tillotson had handled the same subject many years before. This is an amusing anecdote sufficiently characteristic of all these parties. We see the rudiments of Paley's natural boldness, restrained by his habitual prudence and discretion; the unqualified and unbending hardihood of Watson, tempered only by good humour, or consideration for other men's interests; and the ignorant and inconsistent bigotry of the great dignitary and head of the house, interposing obstacles, and raising difficulties about sounds rather than things, and appeased by changes which removed nothing really objectionable. Our author subjoins to the passage an observation not marked by his usual acuteness. He is stating the difficulties of the question itself: And, trying to reconcile the eternity of punishments with the perfect benevolence of the Deity, he asks, 'How is it proved that the everlasting punishment of the wicked may not answer a benevolent end; may it not be the mean of keeping the righteous in everlasting holiness and obedience? How is it proved that it may not answer, in some way unknown to us, a benevolent end in promoting God's moral government of the universe?' Now, this question, if answered in the affirmative, in no way gets rid of the difficulty. We have here, in another shape, the great question of the origin of evil, and its incompatibility with the goodness of the Deity. They who assert that incompatibility, deny that the working a good end, by means of misery inflicted on the creature, is a mode of government consistent with perfect wisdom and benevolence; they assert that it is an imperfect contrivance, arguing either deficiency of skill or of goodness; inas-



much as a being wholly perfect in both attributes could and would have attained the same end, without the misery involved in the means. Dr Watson shuts his eyes to this difficulty. We do not say it is insuperable; but only that he has left it where he found it, and has not even removed it a step.

In the year 1760, our author was elected a Fellow of Trinity, and soon after became assistant tutor and professor of Chemistry, a science with which he was at this time wholly unacquainted, having hitherto devoted himself entirely to the abstract sciences and natural philosophy. His ambitious industry, as usual, bore him through all difficulties. 'I sent,' he says, 'immediately after my election, for an operator to Paris; I buried myself as it were in my laboratory, at least as much as my other avocations would permit; and in fourteen months from my election, I read a course of chemical lectures to a very full audience, consisting of persons of all ages and degrees, in the University. I read another course in November, 1766, and was made Moderator, for the fourth time, in October, 1765.

'In January every year, when the Bachelors of Arts take their degrees, one of the two Moderators makes a sort of speech in Latin to the Senate; I made this speech three times: the last was in 1766. I had, in a former speech, taken the liberty to mention, with great freedom, some defects in the University education, especially with respect to Noblemen and Fellow-Commoners: and, without hinting the abolition of the orders, strongly insisted on the propriety of obliging them to keep exercises in the schools, as the other candidates for degrees did. In this last speech I recommended the instituting public annual examinations, in prescribed books, of all the orders of students in the University.' After seven years of most brilliant success in this chair, he was chosen Professor of Divinity, whereof, he fairly says he then possessed but a '*curta supellex*.' But he speedily set himself about mastering this subject with his wonted eagerness and success. His liberality and good sense had now full play in a very delicate situation; and the following passage may show how steadily he followed those lights, wise by his experience of their use in the walks of other sciences.

'I reduced the study of divinity into as narrow a compass as I could, for I determined to study nothing but my Bible, being much unconcerned about the opinions of councils, fathers, churches, bishops, and other men, as little inspired as myself. This mode of proceeding being opposite to the general one, and especially to that of the Master of Peterhouse, who was a great reader, he used to call me *errand-man*, the self-taught divine.—The Professor of Divinity had been nick-named *Malleus Hæreticorum*; it was thought to be his

duty to demolish every opinion which militated against what is called the orthodoxy of the Church of England. Now my mind was wholly unbiassed; I had no prejudice against, no predilection for the Church of England; but a sincere regard for the *Church of Christ*, and an insuperable objection to every degree of dogmatical intolerance. I never troubled myself with answering any arguments which the opponents in the divinity-schools brought against the articles of the church, nor ever admitted their authority as decisive of a difficulty; but I used on such occasions to say to them, holding the New Testament in my hand, *En sacrum codicem!* Here is the fountain of truth, why do you follow the streams derived from it by the sophistry, or polluted by the passions of man? If you can bring proofs against any thing delivered in this book, I shall think it my duty to reply to you. Articles of churches are not of divine authority; have done with them; for they may be true, they may be false; and appeal to the book itself. This mode of disputing gained me no credit with the hierarchy; but I thought it an honest one, and it produced a liberal spirit in the University.' p. 39.

Of the same liberal stamp were the doctrines delivered by him upon National Establishments and Subscription.

'Whether the majority of the members of any civil community have a right to compel all the members of it to *pay* towards the maintenance of a set of teachers appointed by the majority, to preach a particular system of doctrines, is a question which might admit a serious discussion. I was once of opinion, that the majority had this right in *all* cases, and I am still of opinion that they have it in *many*. But I am staggered when I consider that a case may happen, in which the established religion may be the religion of a minority of the people, that minority, at the same time, possessing a majority of the property, out of which the ministers of the establishment are to be paid.' p. 43.

He held, on Subscription, that no Christian church ought to require a confession of faith, upon principles of human invention, or any thing beyond a declaration of belief in the scriptures, as containing a revelation of the will of God. And, speaking of two tracts, in which he maintains these and other principles of an equally liberal cast, both on religious and civil topics, he notes their coincidence with the sentiments of Bishop Hoadley, and honestly glories in following that illustrious prelate's example, notwithstanding the abuse which he suffered in his own times, and the sneers of Horsey, who has, in ours, called him a *republican bishop*. In the same admirable, and to us most edifying, spirit, is his remark upon his friend the late Duke of Grafton's Unitarian principles. 'I never,' says he, 'at- tempted either to encourage or to discourage his profession of them; for I was happy to see a person of rank professing, with

‘ with intelligence and with sincerity, Christian principles. If any one thinks that an Unitarian is not a Christian, I plainly say, without being myself an Unitarian, that I think otherwise.’ We believe that these passages comprize the greater part of the matter which has caused so great a ferment in the minds of bigotted High-church men and violent fanatics, since this volume was published. Interested and timeserving politicians, who care nothing for either religion or the church, except as they may help to bolster up their temporal power, and afford handles of abuse against their adversaries, have not failed to turn the ferment to their own account. But the good sense of the community has not been wanting upon the occasion; and all the efforts, whether of his deluded, or his hypocritical revilers, have failed to shake the publick opinion of his wisdom and piety.

The pure constitutional principles which Dr Watson cherished himself, he naturally impressed upon the minds of his pupils. Among these, the Marquis of Granby, son of the Duke of Rutland, was one, upon whose education he had bestowed, at all times, unwearied pains. How far he succeeded, may be learnt from the following letter which that nobleman wrote to him in 1775.

“ If the Whigs will not now unite themselves in opposition to such a Tory principle, which has established the present unconstitutional system, this country will be plunged into perdition beyond redemption. I never can thank you too much for making me study Locke: While I exist, those tenets, which are so attentive to the natural rights of mankind, shall ever be the guide and direction of my actions.—I live at Chevley; I hope often to see you; you may, and I am sure you will, still assist me in my studies. Though I have formed a Tory connexion, Whig principles are too firmly rivetted in me ever to be removed. Best compliments to Mrs Watson, and reserve to yourself the assurance of my being most affectionately and sincerely yours.” p. 49.

This amicable and honest letter, was written soon after his entrance into publick life. A few years appear to have shaken a little those ‘ principles so firmly rivetted,’ and to have obscured the recollection of ‘ tenets ever to be the guide and direction of his actions.’ When Lord Shelburne and the Whigs separated, Lord Granby, now become Duke of Rutland, adhered to the former, and to office. Had he waited for a few weeks, until the coalition had astonished and disgusted the country, and rendered the Whigs universally unpopular, there would have been less cause to lament the noble eleve of Bishop Watson having left them. But he took his resolution, while they had all the right, and all the popular favour on their side;

weary, perhaps, of the long opposition in which he had been engaged, and unable to bear the event which dashed the cup of power from his lips, just as they first touched it. Let us, however, be just to the memory of this nobleman. He made the change upon something like grounds of principle. He gave his support to Lord Shelburne's administration, upon 'the most positive assurances, that the independency of America was to be acknowledged, and the wishes of the people, relative to Parliamentary Reform, granted.' p. 93. He supported, too, in joining Lord Shelburne, an intimate personal friend; the late Mr Pitt then entering upon his brilliant career, in a high, though a subordinate situation of the ministry. How different such grounds of adhering to the Court, from those upon which many men of exalted rank in our times condescend to abandon their independence, sink themselves among the mob of base sycophants, and support every measure, and every man, that the Palace party may be pleased to patronize! Surely there was something in the talents and the name of such a man as Mr Pitt, calculated to varnish over the conduct of those who clung to him while he dispensed the favours of the Crown, and to make their motives defensible, until they quitted him upon his dismissal, and gave the same support to his feeble successor. But what shall be said of those high-born grandees, filling the rank of princes, and revelling in wealth which the lords of principalities may envy, who yet abdicate all the noblest functions of such exalted station, and, alike regardless of measures, and careless of personal merit, make themselves the regular and almost hereditary minions of every vile and contemptible tool whom the Crown may find it suited to views of selfish policy to employ? The successors of Mr Pitt, with his name ever on their lips to shed a false lustre over their own insignificance, and bind their supporters to the degradation of following such leaders, are notoriously the enemies of his strongest political opinions. When the Duke of Rutland took office with him, it was upon assurance that Parliamentary reform was to be a primary object of his administration. He saw him twice, and in appearance sincerely, attempt this measure; and he died before his conduct changed. But, to which of Mr Pitt's principles do those noble persons lend their aid, who are now deluded by his name into a support of his pretended successors? It would be reckoned too ridiculous in any man to affect personal deference towards the leading members of such cabinets as we have lately seen. The names of Jenkinsonian and Addingtonian, are hardly more barbarous and uncouth, than the nature of such beings would be ridiculous,

if they could be figured to have a real existence. Aware of this, the ministers of the passing day have contrived to borrow Mr Pitt's name,—so that whoever finds it convenient to support them, may conceal his humiliation from himself by calling that celebrated man his leader. Yet how perfectly flimsy is the disguise ! Acting in his name, our consistent ministers so vehemently oppose the very principles to which he actually sacrificed his place, that his most sincere personal friends are unable to attend the Pitt clubs, which, preferring the favour of the living to the memory of the departed minister, make hostility and the cause of Religious Liberty the shibboleth of their union, and yearly meet to celebrate his birthday, by proscribing his most fixed opinions !

In 1776, Dr Watson preached the Restoration and Accession Sermons before the University, and published the former under the title of '*The Principles of the Revolution Vindicated.*' It was cautiously but boldly written ; and cried down by the Tories as treasonable. But Judge Wilson, a friend and fellow countryman of our author's, anxious for his safety, having asked Mr Dunning his opinion of it, he replied, 'It is just such treason as ought to be preached once a month at St James's.' The Court, however, was of another mind in the article of sermons and their preachers ; and never forgave this Whig discourse. The cry of *Republican*, (to which the word *Jacobin* has in our day succeeded), was raised by them against the author ; the venal writers were let loose upon him ; and Mr Cumberland, little to his honour, led the attack, in some sorry pamphlets, which few could read and fewer could admire. Bishop Hoadley, our author's celebrated predecessor in principles and persecution, defined 'men of Republican principles' to be 'a sort of dangerous men who have of late taken heart, and defended the Revolution that saved us.' The description is quite as applicable in our times as in those of the two prelates ; for now the Revolution is attacked by two classes of declaimers, the hirelings of the Court, and the tools of the mob party. Dr Watson sets against the abuse to which his sermon exposed him, the applause of Mr Fox which it gained ; and adds, 'I always looked upon Mr Fox to be one of the most constitutional reasoners, and one of the most argumentative orators in either House of Parliament. I was, at the time this compliment was paid me, and am still, much gratified by it. The approbation of such men ever has been, and ever will be, dearer to me than the most dignified and lucrative stations in the church.'

It is painful to find the highest personages in the state so tainted with vulgar prejudice, or so forgetful of the tenure by which

they hold their exalted station, as to reckon the man their enemy, and the enemy of the Constitution, who preached the very principles upon which alone they were sent for, and placed over this great and free country.

‘ Though levee-conversations are but silly things in themselves, and the silliest of all possible things when repeated, yet I must mention what happened to myself at the King’s levee, in November, 1787. I was standing next to a Venetian nobleman; the King was conversing with him about the republic of Venice, and hastily turning to me said, “ There, now, you hear what he says of a republic.” My answer was, “ Sir, I look upon a republic to be one of the worst forms of government.” The King gave me, as he thought, another blow about a republic. I answered, that I could not live under a republic. His Majesty still pursued the subject; I thought myself insulted, and firmly said, “ Sir, I look upon the tyranny of any one man to be an intolerable evil, and upon the tyranny of an hundred to be an hundred times as bad.” The King went off. His Majesty, I doubt not, had given credit to the calumnies which the court-insects had buzzed into his ears, of my being a favourer of republican principles, because I was known to be a supporter of revolution principles, and had a pleasure in letting me see what he thought of me. This was not quite fair in the King, especially as there is not a word in any of my writings in favour of a republic, and as I had desired Lord Shelburne, before I accepted the bishopric, to assure His Majesty of my supreme veneration for the Constitution. If he thought that, in giving such assurance, I stooped to tell a lie for the sake of a bishopric, His Majesty formed an erroneous opinion of my principles. But the reign of George the Third was the triumph of Toryism. The Whigs had power for a moment, they quarrelled amongst themselves, and thereby lost the King’s confidence, lost the people’s confidence, and lost their power for ever; or, to speak more philosophically, there was neither *Whiggism* nor *Toryism* left; excess of riches, and excess of taxes, combined with excess of luxury, had introduced universal *Selfism*.’ p. 193, 194.

‘ I had long suspected that I was, from I know not what just cause, obnoxious to the Court; but I did not, till after the archbishopric of York had been given to the Bishop of Carlisle, *know* that I had been proscribed many years before. By a letter from a noble friend, the Duke of Grafton, dated 10th December, 1807, I was informed that one of the most respectable earls in the kingdom, who had long known my manner of life, on a vacancy of the mastership of Trinity College, had gone of his own accord (and without his ever mentioning the circumstance to me) to Mr Pitt, stating what just pretensions I had to the offer of it; that Mr Pitt concurred with him, but said that a certain person would not hear of it. Ought I to question the veracity of Mr Pitt? No, I cannot do it. What then ought I to say of a certain person who had repeatedly signified to me his high

approbation of my publications, and had been repeatedly heard to say to *others*, that the Bishop of Landaff had done more in support of religion than any bishop on the bench? I ought to say with St Paul, *Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people.*

Notwithstanding this anecdote, I cannot bring myself to believe that the King was either the first projector or the principal actor in the sorry farce of neglecting a man whom they could not dishonour, of distressing a man whom they could not dispirit, which has been playing at Court for near twenty-six years.

But be the *dramatis personæ* whom they may, the curtain which will close the scene is fast falling both on them and me; and I hope so to attemper my feelings of the wrong they have not wilfully, perhaps, but unadvisedly done me, as to be able at the opening of the next act to embrace them with Christian charity and unfeigned good will; for the detestable maxim, *Qui nescit dissimulare nescit regnare*, will not be heard of in heaven. The knowledge, that the neglect I had suffered was rather owing to the will of the monarch than to the ill will of the minister, gave me pleasure. It removed in a degree from my mind a suspicion which I had long reluctantly entertained, that Mr Pitt had always been my enemy. I did not expect, indeed, that any minister would be very zealous in promoting a man who professed and practised parliamentary and personal independence; but Mr Pitt had been under obligations to me, and he knew that I had always been the warm friend of his warm friend the Duke of Rutland: and I was unwilling to suppose him capable of forgetting either obligations or connexions in the pursuit of his ambition.

As to the King's dislike of me, unless his education had made him more of a Whig, it was natural enough. My declared opposition to the increased and increasing influence of the Crown had made a great impression on His Majesty's mind; for on the day I did homage, he asked the Duke of Rutland if his friend the Bishop of Landaff was not a great enemy to the influence of the Crown; saying, at the same time, that he wished he had not a place of two hundred a-year to give away.

I presume not to question the truth of this declaration of His Majesty, but I speak with some certainty of the truth of the Duke of Rutland's reply,—“That the Bishop of Landaff was an enemy to the increase of the influence of the crown, from an apprehension that it would undermine the constitution.” This apprehension was not then unfounded, nor has it since then been lessened, but greatly augmented, especially by the enormous augmentation of the national debt.—  
p. 478—480.

Of the Monarch of these realms, we are heartily disposed to speak with all the respect and tenderness due to his exalted rank, and his unhappy situation. But he is now as far removed from the tumults of earthly affairs as if the grave had closed upon his venerable age—and the stern impartiality of history already

awaits his actions. Among his good qualities, was a steadfast attachment to the Church; and it was in part founded upon, and warmed by feelings of real piety towards Religion itself. Is it then conceivable that one so zealous for Christianity should have overlooked the vast services which such men as Paley and Watson had rendered to the Gospel cause? Its most subtle and effectual enemy Mr Gibbon, had been permitted to hold office under our pious sovereign; yet the men whose best powers of reason and eloquence had been most successfully employed in restoring it to the confidence of reasoning men, shaken by Gibbon's attacks, were objects of jealousy, distrust, neglect and aversion, through the whole of his long reign. Even when Mr Pitt would have placed them in the stations which they merited, and which the real interests of religion and the establishment required them to fill, this pious prince interposed; and, to the still greater discredit of the minister, his *veto* was found all powerful. Was his Majesty insensible to their high deserts? Unless we doubt his own words above cited, we cannot imagine it. Was he insincere in his religious zeal? No man will suspect it who has an accurate idea of his character. Was his affection for the ecclesiastical establishment of the country false and hollow? The obvious harmony between that attachment and his principles of civil government, forbid the supposition. What, then, shall we say? He knew the merits of Paley and Watson—he acknowledged their services to the Church and the Gospel—he was a sincere friend of both Gospel and Church—But he was a temporal monarch, reigning by Tory principles, and he hated Whiggism in all its forms. This feeling absorbed every other; and a patron of liberal policy in vain served the cause of religion and its establishments. His sins were counted against him—his services availed him not—the religious Head of the Church was lost in the Royal Head of the Tories.

But though this may account for such conduct by assigning its motives, does it afford any justification of it—we will not say in the eye of conscience, or of an enlarged reason—but in point of common worldly prudence? When the religion of the State was exposed to imminent peril, especially during the period of the French revolution; when the cause of the Church and the State were more particularly identified, by the common danger to which all establishments then seemed exposed; when the alliance, reprobated by the best Christians as well as the soundest statesmen, between the Government and the Hierarchy, for secular and party ends, was thought most indispensable by the High-Church Tory faction—surely policy would have loudly, even if justice and gratitude were silent, called for the elevation, to conspicuous stations in the national establishment, of the two



most eminent divines who united the character of philosophers and theologians. To fortify the outworks of the system, by conferring eminent posts of trust and command on those who had evinced themselves best qualified to defend the citadel; nay, to augment its dignity in the eyes of men, by the accession of two such brilliant ornaments as Paley and Watson; would have been only the course of conduct prescribed by the ordinary rules of worldly wisdom. To keep them in comparative obscurity in order to gratify a personal feeling of dislike, while the most ordinary of the priestly kind, timeserving courtiers, empty relatives of titled servility, or tutors to young men of borough influence, were raised daily over their heads, surely argues a want of even the moderate qualities of practical skill in governing men and warding off danger, in which the art of King-craft has been observed so often to consist. We pass from the subject with feelings of much less respect for the talents of the Sovereign and the honesty of his ministers, than we had, before reading the present work, been led to entertain.

We have alluded to the controversy with Gibbon. Our author was never forgiven by the zealots for having treated that celebrated writer with common civility. Bishop Hurd said insolently and maliciously of the *Apology*, (a work composed in one month, and which neither he nor his patron Warburton could have equalled in a lifetime), that 'it was well enough, if the author was in earnest.' As if a Christian polemic could not evince sincerity without losing his temper, and abandoning the charity which the Gospel most especially teaches. Here, again, his present Majesty was unhappily found to take the wrong and bigotted side. Of the book he said, we are afraid a little ignorantly, that it was misnamed—for the Bible wanted no *Apology*. And of the following letter to Gibbon, he was pleased to express disapprobation at the levee to the author himself; calling it '*an odd letter*.' We differ with Dr. Watson in thinking the remark applied to the observations upon a future state. His Majesty must surely have meant to speak of the courtesy with which Gibbon is treated in it; this at least was the tone taken by all the zealots of the Church.

"Sir—It will give me the greatest pleasure to have an opportunity of becoming better acquainted with Mr Gibbon; I beg he would accept my sincere thanks for the too favourable manner in which he has spoken of a performance which derives its chief merit from the elegance and importance of the work it attempts to oppose.

"I have no hope of a future existence except that which is grounded on the truth of Christianity; I wish not to be deprived of this hope; but I should be an apostate from the mild principles of the religion I profess, if I could be actuated with the least animosity against those

who do not think with me, upon this of all others the most important subject. I beg your pardon, for this declaration of my belief: But my temper is naturally open; and it ought, assuredly, to be without disguise to a man whom I wish no longer to look upon as an antagonist, but a friend.—I am, &c.

R. WATSON."

Upon the folly of those who think an infidel cannot be sincerely or effectually opposed, without the language of invective and abhorrence, we need hardly make any comment. If the infidel is sincere, he is indeed an object of the deepest compassion, for he has sacrificed to his reason the most delightful and permanent gratification of his hopes; but surely anger is the last feeling that he ought to excite in a true Christian's mind. To attack by ribaldry, or with virulence, or before the multitude, what millions of our fellow creatures believe and hold sacred, as well as dear, is, beyond all question, a serious offence;—and the law punishes it as such. But to investigate religious questions as philosophers, calmly and seriously, with the anxiety which their high importance and the diffidence which their intricacy prescribes, is not only allowable but meritorious; and if the conscientious inquirer is led by the light of his understanding to a conclusion differing from that of the community, he may still, we should think in many cases, promulgate it to the philosophical world: the cause of religion will only gain by the free discussion of the question, and the unfettered publication of the result. To affect infidelity, and espouse its cause insincerely, for spiteful, or factious, or immoral purposes, is a grave crime; but not much worse than theirs who affect religion to serve similar ends. Charity is as much the duty of the one side as of the other, towards honest adversaries; but surely, if it is incumbent in a peculiar manner on either, it is upon those who defend and profess the gospel of peace and universal good-will. Does any sober-minded man now think that Christianity gained more by the furious intolerance, the repulsive dogmatism, of Warburton and Priestley, than by the truly benevolent and liberal manner of discussion adopted by Watson and Paley; or that the base and foul-mouthed followers of the former, who in our times run down Watson as insincere, because he was moderate, are better friends to the cause they affect for interested purposes to have so much at heart, than the venerable Bishop Bathurst, and the other ornaments of the Church, whose exemplary spirit of tolerance bears a true and natural proportion to their profound learning, and pure unaffected piety?

We have already seen several instances of Mr Pitt's coincidence with the worst of the errors which we have been exposing. In this, as in all other matters where the loss of power

was involved, it is melancholy to see how prone he was to bend before the Court, and how unwillingly he ever could be induced to risk a contest with the immediate dispensers of place. At first he stood on higher ground, and obtained his office through the voice of the country, the ultimate and substantial dispenser of power. But soon the scene changed, and we never find him hazarding any quarrel with the Crown,—or with those whom his father described as behind the Throne, and greater than itself. Other traits of this disposition are to be found in the work before us.

‘About a month before the death of the bishop of Carlisle, a relation of Sir James Lowther had preached the Commencement-sermon at Cambridge. Mr Pitt happened to sit next to me at church, and asked me the name of the preacher, not much approving his performance. I told him, report said that he was to be the future Bishop of Carlisle; and I begged him to have some respect to the dignity of the Bench whenever a vacancy happened. He assured me that he knew nothing of any such arrangement. Within two months after this, Sir James Lowther applied to Mr Pitt for the bishoprick of Carlisle for the gentleman whom he had heard preach, and Mr Pitt, without the least hesitation, promised it. This was one of the many transactions that gave me an unfavourable opinion of Mr Pitt; I saw that he was ready to sacrifice things the most sacred to the furtherance of his ambition. The gentleman, much to his honour, declined the acceptance of the bishoprick, which Mr Pitt, with true ministerial policy, had offered him.’ p. 189.

His conduct towards our author was of a piece with this. He entertained no distrust of Dr Watson's principles; he knew his sincerity,—and the soundness of his theology never gave him a moment's disquiet. Yet his most partial friends cannot avoid openly blaming him for yielding his reason to the prejudices of others, and making himself the tool whereby those unjust prepossessions worked against a man whom he admired. Mr Wilberforce thus mentions it in a letter to Dr Watson, upon one of the many occasions of his being overlooked. “I was in hopes of ere now being able to congratulate Your Lordship on a change of situation, which in *public justice* ought to have taken place. It is a subject of painful reflection to me, and I will say no more on it; but as I am writing to Your Lordship you will excuse my saying thus much. I will only add, that the event at once surprised and vexed me.” Lord Camden's opinion upon the same subject, is thus cited by a near relation of his own. “What I think of your *public merits* can be of no consequence to you; but what Lord Camden thought (in which I perfectly coincided with him) would perhaps gratify you to know. He never changed; but always told Pitt, that

“ it was a shame for him and the Church that you had not the  
 “ most exalted station upon the bench, as due to the unrivalled  
 “ superiority of your talents and services.”

Dr Watson's views of Church preferment, and of the proper measures to be taken for securing at once the dignity, independence and purity of the establishment, are frequently given in this volume, and they form an appropriate sequel to the remarks which we have just felt compelled to make.

‘ My temper could never brook submission to the ordinary means of ingratiating myself with great men ; and hence Dr Hallifax, (afterwards Bishop of St Asaph), whose temper was different, called me one of the *Diaboli* ; and he was right enough in the denomination . I was determined to be advanced in my profession by force of desert, or not at all. It has been said, (I believe by D'Alembert), that the highest offices in church and state, resemble a pyramid, whose top is accessible to only two sorts of animals, eagles and reptiles. My pinnions were not strong enough to pounce upon its top, and I scorned, by creeping, to ascend its summit. Not that a bishoprick was then or ever an object of my ambition ; for I considered the acquisition of it as no proof of personal merit, inasmuch as bishopricks are as often given to the flattering dependants, or to the unlearned younger branches of noble families, as to men of the greatest erudition ; and I considered the profession of it as a frequent occasion of personal demerit ; for I saw the generality of the Bishops bartering their independence and the dignity of their order for the chance of a translation, and polluting Gospel-humility by the pride of prelacy. I used then to say, and I say so still, render the office of a bishop respectable by giving some civil distinction to its possessor, in order that his example may have more weight with both the laity and clergy. Annex to each bishoprick some portion of the royal ecclesiastical patronage which is now prostituted by the Chancellor and the Minister of the day to the purpose of parliamentary corruption, that every Bishop may have means sufficient to reward all the deserving clergy of his diocese.

‘ Give every Bishop income enough, not for display of wordly pomp and fashionable luxury, but to enable him to maintain works of charity, and to make a decent provision for his family ; but having done these things for him, take from him all hopes of a translation by equalizing the bishopricks. Oblige him to a longer residence in his diocese than is usually practised, that he may do the proper work of a Bishop ; that he may direct and inspect the flock of Christ ; that by his exhortations he may confirm the unstable,—by his admonitions reclaim the reprobate,—and by the purity of his life render religion amiable and interesting to all.’ p. 71, 72.

Upon Lord Shelburne's accession to office in 1782, he cultivated our author's friendship with the assiduity which he showed in attaching eminently gifted men to him, whether in politi-

cal or scientific pursuits. He said, that having Dunning to assist him in matters of law, and Barrè in military questions, he desired to have Dr Watson as his clerical monitor. How far his honest and liberal views of Church affairs qualified him to fill this important office, the following paper may prove, which he gave in to the minister, almost immediately after his promotion to the see of Landaff—offering at the same time to introduce a bill founded on the same principles into the House of Lords.

“ There are several circumstances respecting the *Doctrine*, the *Jurisdiction*, and the *Revenue* of the Church of England, which would probably admit a temperate reform. If it should be thought right to attempt making a change in any of them, it seems most expedient to begin with the revenue.

“ The two following hints on that subject may not be undeserving Your Lordship's consideration:—First, a bill to render the bishoprics more equal to each other, both with respect to income and patronage; by annexing, as the richer bishoprics become vacant, a part of their revenues, and a part of their patronage, to the poorer. By a bill of this kind, the bishops would be freed from the necessity of holding ecclesiastical preferments *in commendam*,—a practice which bears hard on the rights of the inferior clergy. Another probable consequence of such a bill would be, a longer residence of the bishops in their several dioceses; from which the best consequences, both to religion, the morality of the people, and to the true credit of the Church, might be expected; for the two great inducements, to wish for translations, and consequently to reside in London, namely, superiority of income, and excellency of patronage, would in a great measure be removed.

“ Second, a bill for appropriating, as they become vacant, an half, or a third part, of the income of every deanery, prebend, or canonry, of the churches of Westminster, Windsor, Canterbury, Christ Church, Worcester, Durham, Ely, Norwich, &c. to the same purposes, *mutatis mutandis*, as the first fruits and tenths were appropriated by Queen Anne. By a bill of this kind, a decent provision would be made for the inferior clergy, in a third or fourth part of the time which Queen Anne's bounty alone will require to effect. A decent provision being once made for every officiating minister in the Church, the residence of the clergy on their cures might more reasonably be required, than it can be at present, and the license of holding more livings than one, be restricted.” p. 96, 97.

‘ During the interval ’ (he says afterwards) ‘ between Lord Shelburne's resignation and the appointment of the Duke of Portland to the head of the Treasury, I published my Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. I sent a copy to every Bishop; and, of them all, the Bishop of Chester alone (Porteus) had the good manners so much as to acknowledge the receipt of it. I had foreseen this timidity of the

bench, and I had foreseen also that he must be a great-minded minister indeed, who would bring forward a measure depriving him of his parliamentary influence over the spiritual lords: but I believed that what was right would take place at last, and I thought that, by publishing the plan, it would stand a chance of being thoroughly discussed. Men's prejudices, I was sensible, could only be lessened by degrees; and I was firmly of opinion that *no change ought ever to be made in quiet times, till the utility of the change was generally acknowledged.*

'Mr Cumberland published a pamphlet against me on this occasion; but he knew nothing of the subject, and misrepresented my design. He laid himself so open in every page of his performance, that, could I have condescended to answer him, I should have made him sick of writing pamphlets for the rest of his life. Some other things were published by silly people, who would needs suppose that I was in heart a republican, and meant harm to the Church establishment. Dr Cooke, Provost of King's College, was one of those few who saw the business in its proper light: he thanked me for having strengthened the Church for at least, he said, an hundred years by my proposal.' p. 107, 108.

Nor was it only to secure the independence of the Episcopal bench, and thereby promote the political purity of the Church at large, that his efforts were directed. He was anxious to restore the doctrinal purity of the national faith, or at least of those observances in which it is embodied. A tract had been published by the Duke of Grafton, a most sincere christian, and pious man, to whose publick character infinite injustice has been done, by the sarcastic virulence of Junius, but who deserves the high praise of having been a warm friend of civil and religious liberty, and enjoyed the useful and enviable distinction of transmitting the same principles unimpaired to his family. In this work, his Grace earnestly recommended a revision of the Liturgy. He was, of course, bitterly attacked by bigots and hypocrites. Our author wrote a pamphlet in his defence, but so liberal, that the Duke most candidly and kindly begged him not to publish it, saying, he never would be forgiven for it. The Bishop, with his accustomed honesty and boldness, after thanking his friend for this considerate advice, declared, that no view of interest could deter him from doing his duty. 'How' (said he) 'shall I answer this at the tribunal of Christ? You saw the corruption of my church—you had some ability to attempt a reform; but secular considerations checked your integrity.' Accordingly, the pamphlet was published, under the title of 'Considerations on the expediency of revising the Liturgy and Articles of the Church of Eng-  
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‘land—by a Constant Protestant.’ One of his principal improvements, was the omission of the Athanasian Creed; and he had concerted a bill for this purpose with the Duke, when the effects of the French Revolution put off, for a long period, all such measures. He had intended to submit the plan to the King, as well as the Archbishops, in the first instance. The King was deemed favourable to such a reform, from the anecdote related by Dr Heberden, of what happened one Sunday in Windsor Chapel. ‘The clergyman,’ says our author, ‘on a day when the Athanasian Creed was to be read, began with *Whosoever will be saved*, &c.; the King, who usually responded with a loud voice, was silent; the minister repeated, in an higher tone, his *Whosoever*; the King continued silent; at length the Apostle’s Creed was repeated by the minister,\* and the King followed him throughout with a distinct and audible voice.’

It is pretty certain, that if such a proposition had been made by Bishop Watson, or any Whig in either House of Parliament, the Court, and its devoted servant the minister of the day, would have met it triumphantly, with an outcry of innovation,\* and danger to the Church and the Religion of the country. This would have been the fate of whatever measure came from the wrong side of the question. Yet few more daring innovators have ever been employed by a Court, than Mr Pitt himself. Witness not only his early projects of Parliamentary Reform, but his Irish Union, his Sale of the Land Tax, and indeed most of his commercial and financial schemes. Not even the sacred precincts of the Church were safe from his rash intrusion, as should seem from the following anecdote, which evinces a great readiness in Mr Pitt to begin ecclesiastical changes, when he thought there was a prospect of helping ‘the credit of the country’—that is, raising the three per cents., and keeping his beloved monied interest in good humour. A more crude, impolitic and unjust plan, than the one sketched in this passage, was, we will venture to say, never proposed by any reformer. It has every fault that a project of the kind can have; and we are truly sorry to see, that it met our author’s approbation for a moment.

‘In January 1799, I received from the Archbishop of Canterbury

\* The remark on innovation and alarm of the Venerable Grotius—no rash, ignorant, impracticable theorist, but the writer of all others most addicted to reverence for the authority of ancient wisdom, merits attention. ‘*Politici qui saepe dogmata vera a falsis, salubria a nocivis, non noscunt distinguere, omnia nova suspecta habent.*’

a paper which had been sent to him by Mr Pitt, and was desired to deliver my opinion on the subject. The paper contained a plan for the sale of the tithe of the country, on the same principle that the land-tax had been offered for sale in the preceding session of Parliament. It was proposed, that the money arising from the sale of the tithe should be vested in the funds in aid of public credit, and the clergy were to receive their income from the funds; the income, however, was not to be a fixed income which could never be augmented, but was to be so adjusted as, at different periods, to admit an increase according to the advance in the price of grain. This plan was not introduced into Parliament; it met, I believe, with private opposition from the bishops, though I own it had my approbation; but that approbation was founded on very different principles from that of aiding public credit; I did not indeed clearly see how, if the full value was given for the tithe, that credit would be assisted thereby. I remember having said to Mr Arthur Young on the occasion, that I for one never would give my consent, and that I thought the Houses of Parliament never would give theirs to the sale of the tithe, unless its full value was paid for it. "Then," said he, "there is an end of the whole business; for unless the people in the west, who are now most clamorous against tithe, are allowed to purchase at the price they now pay by composition, they will on their knees beg Mr Pitt to let things continue as they are." p. 306, 307.

The share which Bishop Watson, in common with the best friends of their country, and the soundest constitutional lawyers, bore in the Regency Question, is well known. It did not fail to draw down upon him the indignation of the Court and the Ministry, whose trick it was upon this, as upon all occasions of importance, to mix themselves up with the Constitution, and to represent every opposition to their measures, or attempt to deprive them of power, as an act of disaffection to the King, and a direct invasion of the existing form of government. The following passage on this subject, is among the number of those which have given peculiar offence in the present publication, probably because it speaks serious and undeniable truths. We will add, that no individual connected with any party was more the object of foul and undeserved abuse on the occasion in question, than the illustrious personage whose rights were then so unconstitutionally violated, and who, after a similar attempt to give him an elective and new-moulded crown, after an interval of twenty years, has since held the place of Regent. The calumnies of more recent times sink into nothing, when compared with those which the Ministerial press poured forth against the Prince of Wales in those days, under the immediate patronage of Mr Pitt, and for the purposes of his ministry.

The restoration of the King's health soon followed. It was the artifice of the minister to represent all those who had opposed his



measures, as enemies to the King: and the Queen lost, in the opinion of many, the character which she had hitherto maintained in the country, by falling in with the designs of the minister. She imprudently distinguished by different degrees of courtesy on the one hand, and by meditated affronts on the other, those who had voted with, and those who had voted against the minister, insomuch that the Duke of Northumberland one day said to me, "So, My Lord, you and I also are become traitors."

'She received me at the drawing-room, which was held on the King's recovery, with a degree of coldness, which would have appeared to herself ridiculous and ill placed, could she have imagined how little a mind such as mine regarded, in its honourable proceedings, the displeasure of a woman, though that woman happened to be a Queen.

'The Prince of Wales, who was standing near her, then asked me to dine with him, and on my making some objection to dining at Carlton House, he turned to Sir Thomas Dundas, and desired him to give us a dinner, at his house, on the following Saturday. Before we sat down to dinner on that day, the Prince took me aside, explained to me the principle on which he had acted during the whole of the King's illness, and spoke to me, with an afflicted feeling, of the manner in which the Queen had treated himself. I must do him the justice to say, that he spoke, in this conference, in as sensible a manner as could possibly have been expected from an heir apparent to the throne, and from a son of the best principles towards both his parents. I advised him to persevere in dutifully bearing with his mother's ill humour, till time and her own good sense should disentangle her from the web which ministerial cunning had thrown around her.

'Having thought well of the Queen, I was willing to attribute her conduct, during the agitation of the Regency question, to her apprehensions of the King's safety, to the misrepresentations of the King's minister, to any thing rather than to a fondness for power.

'Before we rose from table at Sir Thomas Dundas's, where the Duke of York and a large company were assembled, the conversation turning on parties, I happened to say that I was sick of parties, and should retire from all public concerns—"No," said the Prince, "and mind who it is that tells you so, you shall never retire; a man of your talents shall never be lost to the public." I have now lived many years in retirement, and, in my seventy-fifth year, I feel no wish to live otherwise.' p. 225—227.

When the French Revolution had swept away, at one mighty blow, all the abuses of feudal tyranny, and seemed to promise certain liberty and prosperity to twenty-four millions of people, Bishop Watson, as may well be imagined, hailed the triumph of his favourite principles with generous enthusiasm. He was of the number of those who were led away by this feeling, and induced to shut their eyes to dangers which might certainly have

been foreseen from a very early stage of its progress. It is unnecessary to add, that those sanguine views which he at the beginning indulged, soon gave way to the mournful realities that followed; and that no man more nobly opposed the torrent of revolutionary phrenzy. But we extract part of a letter to the Duke of Grafton on this subject, as it does him infinite credit.

“ I have not heard from you since the Birmingham riots. At the time they happened I sat down to write to Your Grace, and to say, that even my littleness would stretch itself to an hundred pounds subscription, if the friends of Dr Priestley should think of consoling him, in that way, for the loss he had sustained, and the chagrin any mind less elevated than his own must have experienced from such harsh and unmerited treatment. On second thoughts I put the letter I had written into the fire, lest such a proposal, coming from a bishop, should have tended to inflame matters, by increasing the unchristian choler of High-church men, which has already produced much mischief.

“ We live in singular times. No history, ancient or modern, furnishes an example similar to what has happened in France; an example of a whole people (the exceptions are not worthy of notice) divesting themselves of the prejudices of birth and education, in civil and religious concerns, and adopting the principles of philosophy and good sense.

“ I speak only of the general outline of their constitution; piddling objections may be made to particular parts, and experience will point out the necessity of reconsidering many things. But notwithstanding all the ridicule which apostate Whigs have attempted to throw on the rights of man, such rights are founded in nature; they exist antecedent to and independent of civil society; and the French constitution is the only one in the world which has deliberately asserted these rights, and supported them in their full extent.

“ In England we want not a fundamental revolution, but we certainly want a reform both in the civil and ecclesiastical part of our constitution: men's minds, however, I think, are not yet generally prepared for admitting its necessity. A reformer of Luther's temper and talents would, in five years, persuade the people to compel the parliament to abolish tithes, to extinguish pluralities, to enforce residence, to confine Episcopacy to the overseeing of dioceses, to expunge the Athanasian Creed from our Liturgy, to free Dissenters from test acts, and the ministers of the Establishment from subscription to human articles of faith.—These, and other matters respecting the Church, ought to be done. I want not courage to attempt doing what I think ought to be done, and I am not held back by considerations of personal interest; but my temper is peaceable, I dislike contention, and trust that the still voice of reason will at length be heard.

“ As to the civil state, it cannot continue long as it is. One

minister, in subserviency to the will of his master, doubles the national debt and dismembers the empire, and is instantly taken into the confidence of those who threatened to take his head. Another expends millions on measures grounded on his own ambition, insolence, or temerity, and finds means of inducing a great majority in both Houses of Parliament to place confidence in his wisdom."—*pp.* 255—257.

It is not the design of this article to follow minutely the details of Bishop Watson's life, either political or literary. The scientific reader is well acquainted with those admirable Tracts, which, even after all the vast changes effected in chemistry by recent discoveries, continue to hold a high place in the estimation of every natural philosopher: And hardly any reader can be ignorant of the eloquent and judicious works upon religious subjects, to which we have already more than once referred. From 1782 till his death in 1816, he remained unnoticed by any of the successive ministers who distributed, during that long period, the patronage of the Church, although all, in their turn, were ready enough to avow their admiration of him, and to profit, when they could, by *his services*. We have already seen some traits of this unjust partiality; and he also informs us, that when Dr Stuart was promoted to the Primacy of Ireland, '*want of orthodoxy*' was the vague and hollow pretext for passing him over. '*What,*' he exclaims, '*is this thing called Orthodoxy, which mars the fortunes of honest men, misleads the judgment of princes, and occasionally endangers the stability of thrones?*' In the true meaning of the term, it is a sacred thing to which every denomination of Christians lays an arrogant and exclusive claim, but to which no man, no assembly of men, since the apostolic age, can prove a title. It is frequently amongst individuals of the same sect nothing better than self-sufficiency of opinion, and pharisaical pride, by which each man esteems himself more righteous than his neighbours. It may, perhaps, be useful in cementing what is called the *alliance* between Church and State: But if such an alliance obstructs candid discussions; if it invades the right of private judgment, if it generates bigotry in churchmen or intolerance in statesmen, it not only becomes inconsistent with the general principles of Protestantism, but it impedes the progress of the kingdom of Christ, which we all know is not of this world.' Even the accession of better and more liberal-minded men to power in 1806, availed him nothing, as they had not time to accomplish their wishes in his favour. The following passage contains his honest sentiments on their dismissal; the more valuable as a testimony of their merits, because the Bishop never was a party

man, and had, ever since the coalition in 1784, estranged himself particularly from the Whigs as a body of statesmen, though he retained his attachment to their principles.

‘ The ostensible reason of their dismissal was, the King’s dislike of a measure which they had brought forward in parliament respecting the Irish Catholic officers. The ministers were wisely moved, by a liberal and prospective policy, to endeavour to consolidate as much as possible the strength of the empire, by opening to Catholic officers in the army and navy the same road to honour and emolument which had always been open to Protestants. They were sensible that almost every Gazette which announced the success of our enterprises, made distinguished mention of the gallantry of the inferior Catholic officers; and they wished to confirm the loyalty, and to stimulate the ambition, of such men, by putting them on a level with their fellows in arms.

‘ Unfortunately the King did not see this measure in the same light that his Whig ministers did, and he required them to give him a pledge that they would never more bring forward the question of granting further indulgence to the Irish Catholics. This requisition was not only unprecedented in the annals of the house of Brunswick since its accession to the throne of Great Britain, but it was considered by many as of a tendency dangerous to the constitution; and to me it appeared to be, not in words but in fact, a declaration of *as sic volo*. Had His Majesty dismissed his ministers because he disliked their measures, no one would have denied such an exertion of his prerogative to have been perfectly constitutional, (how much soever he might have individually questioned the discretion of using it in such a crisis); but to require from privy councillors, and much more to require from confidential servants of the Crown, that they would at any time cease to advise His Majesty for what they esteemed the public good, was to brand them as unprincipled slaves to the royal will, and traitors to the country. The ministers refused to cover themselves with the infamy which would justly have attended their submission to such a demand: they refused, and were dismissed: such sort of ministers would have lost their heads at Constantinople; at London, they, *as yet*, only lose their places. Whilst there remained a competitor of the Stuart family to the throne of Great Britain, the kings of the house of Brunswick were perhaps afraid of the competition; and were satisfied with having been elevated, from an arbitrary dominion over a petty principality in Germany, to the possession of a limited monarchy, over the most enlightened and the most commercial nation in the world. That competition being now extinguished, it could not be thought unnatural were they to indulge a desire of emancipating themselves from the restraints of Parliament: but there is no way of effecting this, so secret, safe, and obvious, as by corrupting it. When Rome possessed the empire of the world, its emperor had ample means of corrupting the integrity of the whole

senate, and it soon became subservient to his will : public liberty was swallowed up by private profligacy. The first Lord Chatham was a Cato when he declared that Hanover was a millstone about the neck of Great Britain ; but he became a supple courtier when he boasted of having conquered America in Germany ; and he forfeited the esteem of good men when he attempted to adorn the sepulchre of his patriotism by a pension and a peerage. Since his time, for one Cato, one Rockingham, one Saville, one Chatham (in his honourable days), we have had, and have, and probably always shall have (as long as we remain an opulent and luxurious nation) hundreds resembling him in the decline of his political virtue.' p. 459—461.

Our general opinion of the value of this work may be gathered from the foregoing pages. As a mere literary performance, it ranks very high, from the excellence of the language. It is good, pure, elegant English ; free from affectation of every sort, and always adapted to the subject. To the specimens which we have already given, may now be added a letter to Mr Hayley, on a variety of topics, of a miscellaneous nature, and written with peculiar ease and gracefulness.

I sit down to account to you for a long seeming neglect, and to beg you to accept the narration as an excuse for it. When your letter (I am ashamed to look at the date) of June the 23d arrived at Calgarth Park, I was visiting my diocese ; after my return, a good deal of business, and an incessant flux of *Lakers* (such is the denomination by which we distinguish those who come to see our country, intimating thereby not only that they are persons of taste, who wish to view our lakes, but idle persons who love *laking*—the old Saxon word to lake, or play, being of common use among school-boys in these parts), left me for several weeks no time to think of any thing but hospitality ; and your letter lay hidden among a mass of papers which overspread my table. When I discovered it about a month ago, I was labouring with hands and knees to get rid of the gout which had seized both—another guest, you will suppose, of my hospitality. This is the first fit that I have had ; it has not yet quite left me. I am not conscious of having deserved it by any intemperance, yet I blush for having introduced so great a malady into my family.

I think Cowper's works are his best monument, and most of the subscribers will probably be of the same opinion. But as you desire me to speak frankly, I must say, that I think many of them will not be pleased with your change of purpose. Your intention of doing something for Mr Rose's family is highly laudable, and of a piece with your general philanthropy ; but a subscriber may justly say, If my subscription is to go in charity, I myself have many objects as deserving, and more connected with me than any godson of Mr Cowper. As to my own subscription, I beg it may go, should you print no part of Milton, to the orphans you so kindly protect.

‘ I return my best thanks for the present of your Ballads; the subjects are well chosen, and the tales are sweetly told. On one of our highest mountains (Helvellyn) a man was lost last year: two months after his disappearance his body was found, and his faithful dog sitting by it; a part of the body was eaten, but whether hunger had compelled the dog to the deed is not known.’ I remember the late Duke of Northumberland having told me, that a young antelope of his had by accident been killed by a fall from the top of his house at Sion, to which it had ascended by a trap-door being left open at the head of a staircase, and that its mother, which was feeding in the pasture, refusing to quit the body, died of grief and hunger.

‘ A book concerning the habitudes of animals, by Mr Bindley, was lately advertised: I have not yet seen it. The subject is curious, but difficult: it requires long and patient attention to come to any certain conclusion respecting the manners and perhaps the *nascent* morals of animals; for a well-trained pointer, and other domesticated and well-educated animals, seem to have a knowledge of what may be called their duty to their master. I leave this hint to your philosophy concerning the gradation of beings.

‘ I do not know of any book giving an account of institutions for the support of orphans: you probably may meet with something to your purpose in Justinian's Institutes, or in some of the Roman writers after the empire became Christian; for it is to Christianity, principally, that the world is indebted for charitable institutions. Widows indeed, and orphans, were at an early period of the Roman history exempted from taxation, to which all other persons were subjected: this curious fact is mentioned by Plutarch in his life of Publicola.

‘ Persius (Sat. iv. lib. 3.) calls Alcibiades the pupil of Pericles; but whether the term *pupillus* always means an orphan, I am not certain: perhaps the time of the death of his father Clinius, may be mentioned by Plutarch or Nepos. Coriolanus's father died when he was an infant. Alcibiades and Coriolanus would, with Demosthenes, make as noble a trio of orphans as all antiquity could furnish. If you wish for a *partie quarre*, and have no objection to the man, Mahomet is at your service.

‘ The ophthalmia, I hope, has left you. Without doubt this complaint has been occasioned in yourself from the too great use you have made of your eyes; but a similar one, which afflicted our troops in Egypt, proceeded, I think, from a too great glare of light. My reason for this conjecture is founded on what happens to sheep: When our mountains continue for a long time covered with snow, a great many sheep become blind, and gradually receive their sight on the melting of the snow.’ p. 439-442.

We see, on the other hand, very little to reprove or complain of in this publication, if it be not that, perhaps, too querulous a strain is indulged in, upon the subject of the injustice he experienced. We may also regret a plan which he pursues of

giving very few letters written to himself, by the many eminent persons with whom he was in correspondence. Almost all the letters are his own. We should have expected, too, a good many more striking anecdotes of the remarkable men whom he associated with; and a greater portion of information touching the history of the times, from so many of the chief actors in it, whose conversation he enjoyed. Of this there is very little indeed in the work. But, of that little, we must not pass over a curious fact, rather staggering from its import, and from the high nature of the evidence by which it is supported.—‘On the day,’ says Bishop Watson, speaking of Lord Shelburne, ‘in which the peace was to be debated in the two Houses of Parliament, I happened to stand next him in the House of Lords, and asked him, whether he was to be turned out by the disapprobation of the Commons; he replied, that he could not certainly tell what would be the temper of that House, but he could say that he had not expended a shilling of the public money to procure its approbation, though he well knew that above sixty thousand pounds had been expended in procuring an approbation of the peace in 1763.’

ART. FX. *Women; or Pour et Contre: A Tale.* By the Author of *Bertram*, &c. Edinburgh and London, 1818.

THE author of a successful tragedy has, in the general decay of the dramatic art which marks our age, a good right to assume that distinction in his title-page, and claim the attention due to superior and acknowledged talent. The faults of *Bertram* are those of an ardent and inexperienced author; but its beauties are undeniably of an high order; and the dramatist who has been successful in exciting pity and terror in audiences assembled to gaze and stare at shows and processions, rather than to weep or tremble at the convulsions of human passion, has a title to the early and respectful attention of the critic.

Mr Maturin, the acknowledged author of *Bertram*, is a clergyman on the Irish establishment, employed chiefly, if we mistake not, in the honourable task of assisting young persons during their classical studies at Trinity College, Dublin. He has been already a wanderer in the field of fiction, and is the author of the *House of Montorio*, a romance in the style of Mrs Ratcliffe, the *Wild Irish Boy*, and other tales. The present work is framed upon a different and more interesting model, pre-

tending to the merit of describing the emotions of the human heart, rather than that of astonishing the reader by the accumulation of imaginary horrors, or the singular combinations of marvellous and perilous adventures. Accordingly, we think we can perceive marks of greater care than Mr Maturin has taken the trouble to bestow upon his former works of fiction; and that which is a favourite with the author himself, is certainly most likely to become so with the public and with the critic. Upon his former works, the author has, in his preface, passed the following severe sentence.

‘None of my former prose works have been popular. The strongest proof of which is, none of them arrived at a second edition; nor could I dispose of the copyright of any but of the “Milesian,” which was sold to Mr Colburn for 80*l*. in the year 1811.

“Montorio” (misnamed by the bookseller “The Fatal Revenge,” a very book-selling appellation) had some share of popularity, but it was only the popularity of circulating libraries: it deserved no better; the date of that style of writing was out when I was a boy, and I had not powers to revive it. When I look over those books now, I am not at all surprised at their failure; for, independent of their want of external interest, (the strongest interest that books can have, even in this reading age), they seem to me to want *reality*, *vraisemblance*; the characters, situations, and language, are drawn merely from imagination; my limited acquaintance with life denied me any other resource. In the Tale which I now offer to the public, perhaps there may be recognised some characters which experience will not disown. Some resemblance to common life may be traced in them. On this I rest for the most part the interest of the narrative. The paucity of characters and incidents (the absence of all that constitutes the interest of fictitious biography in general) excludes the hope of this work possessing any other interest.

The preface concludes with an assurance, that the author will never trespass again in this kind;—a promise or threat which is as often made and as often broken as lovers’ vows, and which the reader has no reason to desire should in the present case be more scrupulously adhered to, than by other authors of ancient and modern celebrity. Let us only see, what the work really deserves, a favourable reception from the public; and we trust Mr Maturin may be moved once more to resume a species of composition so easy to a writer of rich fancy and ready powers, so delightful to the numerous class of readers, who have Gray’s authority for supposing it no bad emblem of paradise to lie all day on a couch and read new novels.

In analyzing ‘Women,’ we are tempted to hesitate which end of the tale we should begin with. It is the business of the author to wrap up his narrative in mystery during its progress,



to withdraw the veil from his mystery with caution, and inch as it were by inch, and to protract as long as possible the trying crisis when 'any reader of common sagacity may foresee the inevitable conclusion;' a period, after which, neither interest of dialogue nor splendour of description, neither marriage dresses, nor settlement of estates, can protract the attention of the thoroughbred novel-reader. The critic has an interest the very reverse of this. It is his business to make all things brief and plain to the most ordinary comprehension. He is a matter-of-fact sort of person, who, studious only to be brief and intelligible, commences with the commencement, according to the instructions of the giant Moulineau, '*que tous ces recits qui commencent par le milieu ne font qu'embrouiller l'imagination.*' It is very true, that, in thus exercising our privilege, the author has something to complain of. We turn his wit the seamy side without, explain all his machinery, and the principles on which it moves before he causes it to play; and, like the persecution which the petty jealousy of his great neighbours at Hagley exercised on poor Shenstone, it seems as if we perversely conducted our readers to inconvenient points of view, and introduced them at the wrong end of a walk to detect a deception. Of such injuries, according to Johnstone, the bard of the Leasowes was wont to complain heavily; and perhaps Mr Maturin may be equally offended with us for placing the conclusion of his book at the beginning of our recital. But 'let the stricken deer go weep;'—the cook would have more than enough to do, who thought it necessary to consult the eel at which extremity he would like the flaying to begin.

There was then once upon a time, in a remote province of Ireland, a certain man of wealth and wickedness, who combined the theory of infidelity with the practice of the most unbounded libertinism. By one of his mistresses, a female of a wild and enthusiastic character, who, though she had sacrificed her virtue, retained the most bigotted attachment to the Catholic religion, this person had a beautiful and gifted daughter. The unfortunate mother, sensible of the dangers which the child must incur under the paternal roof, was detected in an attempt to remove it elsewhere, and driven by violence from the house of her paramour; not, however, before she had poured upon him and his innocent offspring, a curse the most solemn, bitter and wild that ever passed the lips of an human being. The daughter was bred up in the midst of luxury, and sedulously instructed in all that could improve an excellent understanding, by teachers of every language, and masters of every art. At the early age of fifteen, her chief instructor was an artful and

accomplished Italian, who abused his trust, and seduced his pupil into a private marriage. A female child was the consequence of this union, and occasioned its being discovered. The father was inexorable, and drove the daughter from his presence; while the sordid husband, disappointed in his avaricious views, tore the child from the mother, returned it upon the hands of his relentless patron, carried off his wife to Italy; and turned to profit her brilliant talents of every kind, as an actress upon the public stage, where she became the most distinguished performer by whom it had ever been trod. The selfish husband, or rather tyrant, by whose instructions she had been taught to attain this eminence, died at length, when she had obtained the zenith of her reputation, and left Zaira under the assumed title of Madame Dalmatiani, mistress of her own destiny.

About this period her daughter had attained the age of fifteen years. The infidel grandfather had put her, while an infant, under the charge of an excellent woman, the wife of a wealthy banker. Both professed evangelical doctrines, or what is technically called Calvinistic Methodism. Eva was bred up in the same tenets, shared their religious, gloomy and sequestered life, and passed for the niece of Mr and Mrs Wentworth. The grandfather made large remittances, which reconciled the banker to this adoption; the heart of his more amiable wife was won by the beauty and engaging disposition of her youthful ward.

A danger, however, hovered over Eva, from the superstitious and frantic obstinacy of her grandmother, who, as Zaira was beyond her reach, had transferred to Eva the anxious and unhesitating zeal with which she laboured to make acquisition of the souls of her descendants for the benefit of the Catholic Church. Reduced by choice more than necessity to the situation of a wandering beggar, this woman retained, it seems, amid her insanity, the power of laying schemes of violence; and, amongst her rags, possessed the means of carrying them into execution. She contrived forcibly to carry off her granddaughter Eva, and to place her in a carriage, which was to transport her to an obscure hut in the vicinity of Dublin.

These events compose the underground or basement story of the narrative, to which the author introduces his company last of all, although we have thought proper to show its secret recesses, and the machinery which they contain, before examining the superstructure.

Without a metaphor the novel thus commences. De Courcy, a youth of large property, of talents and of virtue, fair and graceful in person, and cultivated in taste and understanding,

but of a disposition at once fickle and susceptible, appears as the hero of the tale. In his seventeenth year, he is about to enter himself a student in Christ-Church College. The breaking down of a carriage had rendered him a pedestrian ; and as he made his approach to the capital of Ireland through the shades of a delightful summer night, the chaise passes him, in which ruffians, hired as we have seen by no desperate admirer as is usual on such occasions, but by her old frantic grandmother, are in the act of transporting Eva into the power of that person. To hear the cry of a female in distress, and to pursue the ravisher, although upon foot, was one and the same thing. An interesting and animated account of the chase is given, rendered more true by the knowledge of the localities exhibited by the author. De Courcy, losing and recovering the object of his pursuit as the carriage outstrips him in speed or is delayed by accident, follows them through the Phoenix park, and along the road to Chapel-Izod. Here, in a miserable cottage, he lights at last upon the object of his pursuit, in the keeping of the old hag by whose accomplices she had been carried off, and who, while they were absent about the necessary repairs of some damage sustained by the carriage, awaited their return to carry her to some place of greater security. She is thus forcibly described.

‘ Charles, who knew not what to answer, advanced ; a woman then started forward from a dark corner, and stood wildly before him, as if wishing to oppose him, she knew not how. She was a frightful and almost supernatural object ; her figure was low, and she was evidently very old ; but her muscular strength and activity were so great, that, combined with the fantastic wildness of her motions, it gave them the appearance of the gambols of a hideous fairy. She was in rags ; yet their arrangement had something of a picturesque effect. Her short tattered petticoats, of all colours and of various lengths, depending in angular shreds, her red cloak hanging on her back, and displaying her bare bony arms, with hands whose veins were like ropes, and fingers like talons ; her naked feet, with which, when she moved, she stamped, jumped, and beat the earth like an Indian squaw in a war dance ; her face tattooed with the deepest indentings of time, want, wretchedness, and evil passions ; her wrinkles, that looked like channels of streams long flowed away ; the eager motion with which she shook back her long matted hair, that looked like strings of the grey bark of the ash tree, while eyes flashed through them whose light seemed the posthumous offspring of deceased humanity,—her whole appearance, gestures, voice and dress, made De Courcy’s blood run cold within him. They gazed on each other for some time, as if trying to make out each other’s purpose, from faces dimly seen, till the woman, whose features seemed kindling by the red light into a fiend-like glare, appeared to discover that he was not the

person whom she expected, and cried, in a voice at once shrill and hollow, like a spent blast, "What is it brought you here?"—and, before he could answer, rushing forward, stood with her back against a door, (which but for this motion he would not have observed), and waving her lean nervous arms, exclaimed fiercely—"Come no farther at your peril!" I. 15—17.

The threats of this demoniacal personage were insufficient to deter De Courcy from forcing his way to the interior of the hut, where he beheld a beautiful, but almost inanimate form, lie stretched on a wretched pallet. Upon De Courcy's attempt to remove her, the frantic guardian again breaks into a transport of rage, which, however, does not prevent him from accomplishing his purpose amid the dire curses which she heaped upon him, and which are expressed in a tone of energy which marks the dialogue of this author.

'Take her, take her from me if you will, but take my curse with you; it will be heavier on your heart than her weight is on your arm. I never cursed the grass but it withered, or the sky but it grew dark, or the living creatures but they pined and wasted away. Now you bear her away like a corpse in your arms; and I see you following her corpse to the churchyard, and the white ribbons tying her shroud; her maiden name on her tomb-stone; no child to cry for her, and you that sent her to her grave wishing it was dug for you.' I. p. 24.

Unappalled by these denunciations of future vengeance, De Courcy conveyed Eva in his arms to a place of safety, and found the means of restoring her to her guardians the Wentworths. The seeds of a fever which had lurked in his constitution had been called into action by De Courcy's exertions upon this memorable night. On his recovery, a friend and fellow student, himself something of a Methodist, conducts him to a place of worship frequented by those who held that persuasion, when he finds himself unexpectedly seated close to that lovely vision which he had seen but briefly on the night when he released her, and which had nevertheless haunted, ever since, not merely the delirious dreams of his fever, but the more sober moments of his convalescence. He is invited to the house of her guardians, where the society and conversation is described with the pencil of a master. The various effect of the peculiar doctrines which they professed, is described as they affected Mrs Wentworth, a woman of strong sense, rigid rectitude, and a natural warmth of temper which religion had subdued; her husband a cold-hearted Pharisee, whose head was so full of theology that his heart had no room for Christian charity or human feeling; and Mr MacOwen a preacher of the sect, a sensual hypocrite, whose disgusting attributes are something too forcibly described. The conversation of such a society was limited to

evangelical subjects ; or, whatever appeared to diverge from the only tolerated topic, was brought back to it by main force, according to the manner in which the preachers of the seventeenth century spiritualized all temporal incidents and occupations, or rather degraded doctrines of the highest and most reverend import, by the base comparisons and associations with which they dared to interweave them.

‘ One man talked incessantly of the “ election of grace ; ” his mind literally seemed not to have room for another idea ; every sentence, if it did not begin, ended with the same phrase, and every subject only furnished matter for its introduction. Dr Thorpe’s last sermon at Bethesda was spoken of in terms of high and merited panegyric.—“ Very true,” said he ; “ but—a—a—Did you think there was enough of election in it ? ” A late work of the same author (his clever pamphlet on the Catholic petition) was mentioned.—“ But does he say any thing of election in it ? ”—“ There was no opportunity,” said Mr Wentworth.—“ Then he should have made one—Ah, I would give very little for a book that did not assert the election of grace ! ” Once seated in his election-saddle, he posted on with alarming speed, and ended with declaring, that Elisha Coles on God’s Sovereignty, was worth all the divinity that ever was written. “ I have a large collection of the works of godly writers,” said he, turning to De Courcy, “ but not one work that ever was, would I resign for that of Elisha Coles.”—“ Won’t you except the Bible ? ” said De Courcy, smiling.—“ Oh, yes—the Bible—ay, to be sure, the Bible,” said the discomfited champion of election ; “ but still, you know”—and he continued to mutter something about Elisha Coles on God’s Sovereignty.

‘ Another, who never stopped talking, appeared to De Courcy a complete evangelical *time-keeper* ;—the same ceaseless ticking sound ;—the same vacillating motion of the head and body ; and his whole conversation turning on the various lengths of the sermons he had heard, of which, it appeared, he was in the habit of listening to four every Sunday. “ Mr Matthias preached exactly forty-eight minutes. I was at Mr Cooper’s exhortation at Plunket-street in the evening, and it was precisely fifty-three minutes.”—“ And how many seconds ? ” said Mrs Wentworth, smiling,—for she felt the ridicule of this.

‘ Close to De Courcy were two very young men, who were comparing the respective progress they had made in the conversion of some of their relations. They spoke on this subject with a familiarity that certainly made De Courcy start.—“ My aunt is almost entirely converted,” said one. “ She never goes to church now, though she never missed early prayers at St Thomas’s for forty years before. Now,” with a strange sort of triumph, “ now, is your sister converted as much as that ? ”—“ Yes—yes—she is,” answered the other, eagerly ; “ for she burned her week’s preparation yesterday, and my mother’s too along with it.” I. 64–67.

De Courcy in vain attempted to assimilate his conversation to that of the party, by quoting such religious works as were known to him. The chilling words ' Arminian ' or ' heterodox ' were applied to those popular preachers whose sermons he ventured to quote ; and even Coelebs was appealed to without effect, as he was given to understand that Hannah More, however apostolical in the eyes of Lord Orford, was held light in the estimation of the present system. Thus repulsed from the society of the gentlemen—

' When he arrived in the drawing room, the same monotonous and repulsive stillness ; the same dry circle (in whose verge no spirit could be raised) reduced him to the same petrifying medium with all around. The females were collected round the tea-table ; the conversation was carried on in pensive whispers ; a large table near them was spread with evangelical tracts, &c. The room was hung with dark-brown paper ; and the four unsnuffed candles burning dimly (the light of two of them almost absorbed in the dark bays that covered the table on which they stood), gave just the light that Young might have written by, when the Duke of Grafton sent him a human skull, with a taper in it, as an appropriate candelabrum for his tragedy writing-desk. The ladies sometimes took up these tracts, shook a head of deep conviction over their contents, laid them down, and the same stillness recurred. The very hissing of the tea-urn, and the crackling of the coals, was a relief to De Courcy's ears.' l. 69, 70.

Notwithstanding the gloom and spiritual pride in which she had been educated, the beauty and sweet disposition of Eva burned with pure and pale splendour, like a lamp in a sepulchre ; and De Courcy nourished for her that desperate attachment with which youths of seventeen resign themselves to the first impression of the tender passion. He becomes in love—to pining, to sickness, almost to death ; and at length prevails upon his worthy and affectionate guardian to make proposals for him to the guardians of Eva. Mr and Mrs Wentworth both urge the utter impropriety of their countenancing a connexion between young persons so opposite in religious opinions ; but are gradually compelled to give ground,—the former by consideration of De Courcy's worldly wealth, to which his religious opinions had not rendered him indifferent,—and his more amiable wife, by her compassion for the state of the young Eva, and her discovering that he had awakened sentiments in the breast of Eva corresponding to his own.

De Courcy is therefore received, on the footing of an acknowledged lover, into the house of the Wentworths, exposed however to the persecutions of the father and many of his visitors, who were resolved at all rates to achieve his conversion.

' Charles at first yielded from timidity, or answered from com-

plaisance, but at length found himself, by the pertinacity of the disputants, inextricably involved in the mazes of controversy. Every hour he was called on to discuss or to decide on points above human comprehension ; he was pressed with importunities about his spiritual state, which was represented to depend on his adopting the separate creed of every individual speaker, with all its divisions and subdivisions, and shades of difference, that seemed to him to give to airy nothing " a local habitation and a name." p. 117.

Even when he turned from this persecution to Eva, he did not at all times find the relief which he expected. Her purity, her inexperience, her tumidity, and the absolute subjection of her mind to religious feeling exclusively, prevented her from understanding or returning the warmth of affection with which her lover regarded her. She was cold and constrained ; blamed herself for the slightest deviation into worldly passion and human feeling—in short, the person in the world least qualified to return the affection of an enthusiastic young Irishman. Her accomplishments were upon the same narrow and constrained scale as her feelings. She could discourse exquisite music, but not one earthly song ; and the warm expressions of human passion which occurred in her evangelical hymns, were only addressed to the Deity with an amorous pastoral feeling, which seemed to her lover equally unsuitable and nonsensical. Again, Eva, in her little sphere of enjoyments, cultivated drawing ; but it was only that of flowers,—objects as pure, as fair, and as inanimate, we had almost said, as herself. To feelings of imagination and passion, she was equally averse and impassive ; and such appeared to be the tranquil purity of her still and orderly existence, that De Courcy felt it almost criminal to strive to awaken her imagination, ' to delude her with the visions of fancy ; ' and that it resembled the attempt of the fallen angels in Milton to ' mingle strange fire ' with the lights of heaven. He did his best, however, and called in the aid of antient and modern bards to enable him to dispute the too-exclusive empire of heaven in her bosom.

" Why are you so silent, Eva ? " he said, as they returned from the conventicle which the Wentworths frequented.—" I was thinking of that fine text."—" What was it ? "—" What was it ? " said Eva, almost relinquishing his arm, from a feeling stronger and more unpleasant than surprise, for she had no idea of any one forgetting the text so soon.—" I have a bad memory—or a bad headach," said De Courcy, trying to smile away her amazement—" or, perhaps, I would rather hear it from your lips than those of that dark-browed sailow man."—" It is little matter," said Eva, " from what lips we hear the truth. The text was, ' God is Love.' "—" Oh, Eva ! " said De Courcy, under an impulse he could not re-

sist, "do we require any thing more than this dark-blue sky, this balmy air, those lovely stars that glitter like islands of light in an immeasurable ocean, and point out our destination and its bright and boundless infinity, to tell us that 'God is Love?' Why must we learn it in the close and heated air of a conventicle, with all its repulsive accompaniments of gloomy looks, sombre habit, dim lights, nasal hymns? Are these the interpreters the Deity employs as the intimations of his love?"—"They are," said Eva, awakened to an answer, but never thus awakened for more than a moment—"they are. For to the poor the gospel is preached, and they seldom feel any thing of the atmosphere but its inclemency,—to the sick, and they cannot encounter it,—to the unhappy, and they cannot enjoy it." p. 142—144.

It was scarce possible that this conflict should have long continued, without the lover becoming colder, and more sensible to the various disagreeable points of his situation, or the beloved condescending to descend a few steps towards earth from the point of quietism which she occupied. De Courcy began to relax. Ball-rooms, billiard-tables, and theatres disputed the charms even of Eva's society, since he could only enjoy it in the gloomy conventicle, or scarce less gloomy mansion of the Wentworths; and then, alternately repulsed by her coldness, and exasperated by the officious zeal of Wentworth, or the more studied insults of Macowen, who looked upon his addresses to Eva as an interference with his own views. At the moment when the irreconcilable difference between his sentiments and habits, and those of all in Dominic Street, became less capable of disguise, and just as the good man Wentworth was triumphing in an approaching controversy, in which a Socinian, a Catholic, an Arian, and an Arminian were, in knightly phrase, to keep the barriers against twelve resolute Catholics, De Courcy discovers in the papers the arrival of Madame Dalmatiani, the first singer, as well as the first tragic actress in Europe. This lady was pronounced, by the general report of Europe, to be a Siddons, a Catalani, a La Tiranna, with all the terrible Medea graces, all the Muses in short, and all the Graces embodied in the form of a female of exquisite beauty. To De Courcy's ill-timed eulogium on this celebrated performer, Wentworth answered in a strain of triumph, 'Every histriomatrix, from Tertullian down to Frynne and Collier, might have been raised from the dead with joy. He cursed stages, stage-plays, stage-players, frequenters and abettors, from Thespis down to Mr Harris and the committee of Drury-Lane, lamp-lighters, scene-shifters, and candle-muffers inclusive, not forgetting a by-blow at De Courcy for visiting those tents of Kedar.' The votary of the drama and its abominator parted



in mutual wrath, and De Courcy had an additional motive, besides those of curiosity and interest, to go to the theatre: he desired to show his independence, and his sense of Wentworth's illiberal prejudices.

To the theatre, accordingly, he went, and the appearance and effect produced by this celebrated actress, is thus vividly described.

'A brilliant audience, lights, music, and the murmur of delighted expectation, prepared Charles for a far different object from Eva. What a contrast, in the very introduction, between the dark habits, pale lights, solemn music, and awful language of a conventicle, and the gaiety and splendour of a theatre! He felt already disposed to look with delight on one who was so brightly habingered, though it was amid a scene so different his first impressions of passion had been received and felt. The curtain rose; and, in a few moments after, Madame Dalmatiani entered. She rushed so rapidly on the stage, and burst with such an overwhelming cataract of sound on the ear, in a bravura that seemed composed apparently not to task, but to defy the human voice, that all eyes were dazzled, and all ears stunned; and several minutes elapsed before a thunder of applause testified the astonishment from which the audience appeared scarcely then to respire. She was in the character of a princess, alternately reproaching and supplicating a tyrant for the fate of her lover; and such was her perfect self-possession, or rather the force with which she entered into the character, that she no more noticed the applauses that thundered round her, than if she had been the individual she represented; and such was the illusion of her figure, her costume, her voice, and her attitudes, that in a few moments the inspiration with which she was agitated was communicated to every spectator. The sublime and sculpture-like perfection of her form,—the classical, yet unstudied undulation of her attitudes, almost conveying the idea of a sybil or a prophetess under the force of ancient inspiration,—the resplendent and almost overpowering lustre of her beauty, her sun-like eyes, her snowy arms, her drapery blazing with diamonds, yet falling round her figure in folds as light as if the zephyrs had flung it there, and delighted to sport among its wavings; her imperial loveliness, at once attractive and commanding, and her voice developing all that nature could give, or art could teach, maddening the ignorant with the discovery of a new sense, and daring the scientific beyond the bounds of expectation or of experience, mocking their amazement, and leaving the ear breathless.—All these burst at once on Charles, whose heart, and senses, and mind, reeled in intoxication, and felt pleasure annihilated by its own excess.'

'It was for the last scene she had reserved her powers,—those astonishing powers that could blend the most exquisite tones of melody with the fiercest agitations of passion, that could delight the ear, while they shook the soul. She came forward, after having

stabbed the tyrant to avenge the fate of her lover. Her dress was deranged,—her long black hair floated on her shoulders,—the flowers and diamonds that bound it were flung back,—and her bare arms, her dark fixed eyes, the unconscious look with which she grasped the dagger, and the unfelt motion with which from time to time she raised her hand to wipe off the trace of blood from her pale forehead, made the spectators almost tremble for the next victim of one who seemed armed with the beauty, the passions, and the terrors of an avenging goddess. Applauses that shook the house had marked every scene but the last. When the curtain dropt, a dead silence pervaded the whole theatre, and a deep sigh proclaimed relief from oppression no longer supportable.' I. p. 160—164.

It cannot have escaped the intelligent reader, that this superb Queen of terror and sorrow, this mistress of all the movements of the human heart, is the highly accomplished, brilliant, and fascinating Zaira, the mother of the simple, retired, and evangelical Eva; and it can as little escape his penetration, that she is about to become the unconscious rival of her unfortunate child, in the affections of the fickle De Courcy. The death of her wretched husband had left Zaira possessed of the wealth which her talents had acquired, and she was now come to Ireland, with the hope of obtaining from her father, some lights concerning the destiny of her infant child. By his stern injunction, she retained her borrowed name and public character.

De Courcy had a nominal guardian, a silly man of fortune, called Sir Richard Longwood, whose silly wife had presented him with two daughters, whom we must pronounce rather too silly for the rank which they are represented as holding in good society. At the house and the parties of Lady Longwood, De Courcy is thrown into the society of Zaira, rendered doubly dangerous by her various talents and extent of cultivation, as well as her brilliancy of taste, feeling, mind, and manners, forming so strong a contrast with the uniform simplicity and limited character of poor Eva. Yet it was Eva whom he visited after the first evening spent in the fascinating society of Zaira, ere yet he paid his respects to the siren whose image had begun to eclipse her in his bosom.

'Eva and her aunt were at work; the room was large; the dark-brown paper, two candles dimly burning on the work-table, the silent quiet figures that sat beside it, the shelves loaded with volumes of divinity, the still sombrous air of every thing; no musical instrument, no flowers, no paintings; what a contrast to the scene he had last witnessed, and to the scene he was hastening to!' p. 199.

Here he asked for books, and had his choice of Sandeman's Letters, Boston's Fourfold State, Gill on Isaiah, or Owen on the Hebrews. Milton was the only author of genius permitted to

hold a place on these well-purged shelves. Milton De Courcy began to read, but was soon silenced by Mrs Wentworth's severe remarks on the lapse of that great poet into the tenets of Baxterianism. The dulness of the party was disturbed, not enlivened by the arrival of old Wentworth, full primed for controversy, and his pockets stuffed with evangelical pamphlets. His violence and prejudices again hurry the fickle lover to the house of Madame Dalmatiani, where all was light and music, garlands and colours, beauty and genius. The mistress passed through apartments filled with groupes of the gay and the learned, where speech was without effort, and silence without ennui; where rare volumes, rich ornaments, classical statues and pictures, as well as the number of the attendants and splendour of the establishment, showed that the proprietor was the favourite of fortune, as well as of nature. But her own presence was the principal charm. Her beauty, her musical talents, her taste, were alternately taxed for their share of the festival. She conversed with the various professors of the arts of poetry and of general literature, in a style various, as suited their different pursuits, like Cleopatra, giving audience to each ambassador at her court in his own native language.

A friend, by name Montgomery, the same who first conducted De Courcy to a methodist meeting-house, and who himself nourished a hopeless, but most generous passion for Eva, saw with alarm, that De Courcy preferred the dangerous mansion of Madame Dalmatiani, and endeavoured, more zealously than wisely, to reclaim the wanderer. What had Dominic Street to present, that could be opposed to Zaira's palace of enchanted enjoyments? At one time a fierce controversy betwixt Macowen and one of his pupils, a 'babe in grace' as his spiritual guide termed him, 'to be fed with milk.'

'He was a man turned of fifty, six feet two inches high, broad and bulky in proportion, with an atrabilious complexion, a voice of thunder, and a tread that shook the room.' The contrast was unspeakably ridiculous. "Babe!" murmured De Courcy; "Babe!" echoed Montgomery, and both had some difficulty in subduing their rebellious muscles to the placid stagnation that overspread the faces around them.—But the calm was of short continuance.—This Quibus Flestra, this man-mountain of a catechumen, came, not to sit with lowly docility at the feet of his teachers, but to prove that he was able to teach them. If he was a babe, as De Courcy said, "tetchy and wayward was his infancy;" no ill-nursed, ill-tempered, capricious, squalling brat, was ever a greater terror and torment in the nursery. He resisted, he retorted, he evaded, he parried, he contradicted, carped, and "cavilled on the ninth part of a hair."

'Macowen lost his ground; then he lost his breath; then he lost

his temper; scintillating eyes, quivering lips, and streaks of stormy red marking their brown cheeks, gave signal of fierce debate. All the weapons of fleshly warfare were soon drawn in the combat, and certain words that would have led to a different termination of the dispute among men of this world, passed quick and high between them. Struck with shame, they paused—a dreary pause of sullen anger and reluctant shame.—“Now, shan’t we have a word of prayer,” said Mr Wentworth, who had been watching them with as much deliberate enjoyment as an ancient Roman would a spectacle of gladiators.’ p. 239—241.

A more edifying scene was that of Eva herself engaged in teaching a school of little orphans, whom she maintained out of her allowance, and educated from her own lips. Yet, even amid this most laudable employment, could the fantastic delicacy of De Courcy, rendered more punctilious by the society of Zaira, find matter of offence. The dulness of the children, their blunders, their mingled brogues, their dirt, and all else that was unpleasing to the sense and the imagination, rendered the task even of clothing the naked, and instructing the ignorant and fatherless, disgusting in the eyes of a delicate and somewhat selfish lover of the fine arts.

These and similar scenes of contrast succeed to each other with great effect; and the feeble and vacillating mind of De Courcy is alternately agitated by returning affection for Eva, aided by compassion and by a sense of the cruelty and dishonour of deserting her, and by the superior force of character of her more accomplished rival. It becomes daily more and more plain, that the weaker feeling must give way to that which was more strong and energetic, especially when Zaira, after one or two trying interviews, agrees to banish the name of love from their intimacy, and to term it only an intimate friendship, resolves herself to adopt the task of preceptress to the bride of De Courcy, and transfer to her those accomplishments which too visibly enchanted the heart of her susceptible friend. This specious arrangement is well ridiculed by Zaira’s correspondent, a French lady of fashion, having all the frivolity, the good nature, the tact and perception of character proper to one who filled a high place in the Parisian beau monde; and Zaira’s eyes became opened to the real state of her affections. Meanwhile, the continued operation of contrast alienates De Courcy still further from the gentle Eva, and attaches him more firmly to her brilliant rival. A thunder-storm frightens Eva into a state of insensibility. Another thunder-storm surprising a party of pleasure, amid the romantic region of the Wicklow mountains, gives Zaira the opportunity of exhibiting courage at once heroic and philosophical. All circumstances combine to show

that De Courcy's hastily formed engagement with Eva will not and cannot come to a good issue. The fiendish hag from whose power De Courcy had delivered her, appears upon the scene, again and again crossing the stage like an evil-presaging apparition. One of the most frightful of these appearances takes place during a great fire in Dublin, to the progress of which Zaira and De Courcy are witnesses. The scene is described with much terrible grandeur.

' All was life, though it was the hour of repose ; and all was light, terrible light, though the sky was as dark as December midnight. They attempted to ascend Cork-hill ; that was rendered impossible by the crowd ; and winding another way through lanes, of which the reader may be spared the names, they got into Fishamble Street. Many fearful intimations of the danger struck them there.—The hollow rolling of the fire-engines, so distinct in their sound ;—the cries of " clear the way," from the crowd, who opened their dense tumultuous mass for the passage, and instantly closed again ;—the trampling of the cavalry on the wet pavement, threatening, backing, facing among the crowd ;—the terrible hollow knocking on the pavement, to break open the pipes for water, which was but imperfectly supplied ;—the bells of all the neighbouring churches, St John's, St Werburgh's, St Bride's, and the deep tremendous toll of Christ-church, mingled with, but heard above all, as if it summoned the sufferers to prepare, not for life but for death, and poured a kind of defiance on the very efforts it was rung to invite them to. All this came at once on them, as they entered Fishamble Street, from a wretched lane through which they had been feeling their way. They emerged from it ; and when they did, the horrors of the conflagration burst on them at once. The fire, confined in the sphere of its action, amidst warehouses thickly enclosed, burst in terrible volumes above the tops of the houses, and seemed like a volcano, of which no one could see the crater.

' On the steps of St John's Church, a number were collected. They had snatched the furniture from their miserable lodgings ; piled it up in the street, where the guard were watching it, and now sat patiently in the open air to see their habitations reduced to ashes, unknowing where they were to rest their heads that night.

' All the buildings in the neighbourhood were strongly illuminated by the fire, and still more strongly (though partially from time to time) by lights held out by the inhabitants from their windows, from the shops to the attics, six stories high ; and the groupes below flashing out in the light, and disappearing in the darkness, their upturned faces, marked with the shifting traces of fear, horror, defiance, and despair, presented a subject for *Salvator*. No banditti, in the darkest woods of the Appennines, illuminated only by lightning, ever showed more fearful wildness of expression, or more picturesque distortion of attitude. Just then the flames sink for a moment, but, rising again, instantly poured forth a volume of light, that set the whole horizon

in a blaze. There was a shriek from the crowd, that seemed rather like the cry of triumph than despair. It is certain, that a people like the Irish, whose imagination is stronger than any other of their intellectual faculties, can utter cries of delight at the sight of a splendid conflagration that is consuming their dwellings.

‘ The last burst of flames produced a singular effect. The buildings in Castle Street (below the range of the illumination) lay in complete darkness—darkness more intense from the surrounding light, and the tower and spire of St Werburgh’s, (it had *then* a fantastically elegant spire), by their height in the horizon, caught the whole effect of the fire, and appeared like a fairy palace of flame, blazing and built among the clouds.’ II. p. 101—105.

Amidst this scene of horror and sublimity, rushes forth the beggar maniac, bursting through the crowd with irresistible force, and planting herself opposite to Zaira.

‘ She was, as usual, in rags, and as the strong light gleamed on her hoary streaming hair, her wild features, and her wilder attire, she seemed fit to act the prompting and exulting fury who stood by Nero when he surveyed from his tower Rome in flames, which his own orders had kindled, and which his own orders (it is said) forbid to be extinguished. She began her usual wild dance, regardless of the crowd, and of the terrible cause of their assembling, and mingled, from time to time, exclamations in a voice between recitative and singing, that seemed modulated to the music of invisible and infernal spirits. It was very singular of this woman, that though her accent was perfectly Irish, her expressions were not so; her individual feeling seemed to swallow up and overwhelm her nationality. Wherever she was, she seemed perfectly alone—alone alike amid the mountains of Wicklow or the multitudes of Dublin; all times, circumstances, and persons seemed to yield to the single, mysterious, undefinable feeling that always governed and inspired her; and while it made her an object of supreme terror to all others, made all others objects of supreme contempt to her.’ II. p. 107, 108.

As she attempted to seize upon Zaira, of whose individuality she retained some imperfect recollection, she was forced back by De Courcy.

‘ “ Have you no touch of nature in ye? ” said the woman, suddenly and fearfully altering her tone, and clinging close and closer to Zaira. “ Do you know who (*whom*) it is you drive away?—Have ye no touch of nature in ye?—Oh, these hands are withered, but how often they have clasped you round that white neck!—Oh, these hairs are gray, but how often have you played with them when they were as black and as bright as your own!—Sorrow for you has turned them white. Oh, look upon me,—look upon me on my knees. I don’t know *your name now*, but you should never have forgot mine. Oh, have ye no nature in you, and I kneeling on the cold stones *before my own*! ” II. 112, 113.

These ominous curses were prophetic. The departure of Zaira for the Continent brought De Courcy's apostasy to a crisis. Her father having died suddenly, deprived her of every clue, as she thought, to discover where her child existed ; and the discovery of how far her affections were like to hurry her, was another motive for her departure. She saw De Courcy once more, however, and the result of their interview was, his obtaining permission to attend her to the Continent on the footing of a companion, who, at the expiry of a twelvemonth, might claim possession of her hand. There is a letter of the deserted and heart-broken Eva to her faithless lover, which abounds with touches of beautiful and natural feeling. She thanked him for the wholesome cruelty which had restored to heaven a heart which, for his sake, had begun to love the world. She forgave him, and concluded with this pathetic prophecy.

" You will return in spring ; in spring, you will be back with your triumphant beautiful bride : perhaps you will visit this room from some lingering feeling ; you will see the flowers, the books, the music you once loved, all in their place, where you formerly wished to see them ; and perhaps you will ask, where am I.—" I came," says the eastern tale you told me, " to the tombs of my friends, and asked where are they ? and echo answered, *Where ?* " II. 276.

In the hope of rendering her juvenile lover all that was worthy, as she already accounted him all that was amiable, Zaira had yielded to the culpable weakness of becoming accessory to his breach of promise. She had not doubted that she could attach him to her by the double charms of beauty and talent, added to those of superior intellect. But Paris—that Paris in which even the lover of the Princess of Babylon became disloyal—was doomed to prove the vanity of her expectations.

The fidelity of a man is like the virtue of a female when it has succumbed in one temptation,—the sense of fine feeling is lost ; and it seldom resists another. Yet, we are far from thinking the second defection of Charles de Courcy, amiable and generous as he is painted, as half so probably *motived* as his first offence against the code of constancy. His desertion of the simple and narrow-minded Eva for a woman of such brilliant talent and powers as Zaira, while it was highly blameworthy, is but too probable an occurrence. But that, unsated by possession, and witnessing the prodigious effects produced by Zaira's talents on all that was brave and illustrious in Europe, and which was then (in 1814) assembled in Paris, he should have wantonly deserted the sacred object of his affection, and preferred to her, for ever so short a space, a certain Eulalie de Terranges, so inferior to her in all respects, exceeds

every extended limit of indulgence which we can allow to a susceptible and fickle disposition, fixes upon Mr Maturin's hero the odious character of a male coquette, and makes us almost identify a character so effeminate with that ascribed by the satirist to a countryman of De Courcy's—

A motley figure of the Fribble tribe,  
Which heart can scarce conceive or pen describe,  
Nor male nor female neither, and yet both  
Of neuter gender, though of Irish growth,  
A six foot suckling, mincing in its gait,  
Affected, peevish, prim and delicate.

Lest we should appear, however, to have judged too harshly of De Courcy, we will briefly recapitulate the various motives alleged for his a second time breaking the most solemn ties that a man can form, and deserting Zaira in Paris, as he had deserted Eva in Dublin. The blaze of Zaira's mental superiority seems to have become too scorching for De Courcy to bear, when he was no longer screened by the opportunity of retiring to contrast its brilliancy with the more calm moonlight character of Eva. She had pretensions, besides, to guide and to instruct him; and no man cares to be guided and instructed by a woman. Moreover, in the opinion of an experienced Frenchman, Zaira was *trop exigeante*, too determined to dazzle and to delight, and to inspire every moment with rapture of one description or another. 'Pleasure itself, so protracted,' says this connoisseur, 'so exaggerated, must become pain. It is like the punishment of Regulus, cutting off the eyelids to turn the light of the sun into torture.' Besides, there was the dissipation of Parisian society, and the shame of being seen one of the train of an actress—he a gentleman of fortune and birth; and there was the discovery, that Zaira had been a wife and a mother, which she had imprudently left him to receive from others; and there was a letter of expostulation from his kind guardian, conjuring him to avoid a disgraceful alliance, and not to suffer himself to be trailed over the Continent, the overgrown pupil of a female pedagogue. Lastly, there was a natural love of change, and some regret after the discarded Eva. If all these reasons cannot palliate De Courcy's second apostasy to the reader, we must abandon him to their severest condemnation for deserting Zaira, and announce his speedy return to Ireland. It was in vain that she degraded herself by following him even in the streets—it was impossible to recal his affections. The arrival of Montgomery, with intelligence that Eva was in a deep decline, brought his resolution to a crisis, and he quitted Paris. From this period there is little more occasion for narrative. The author traces the various steps by which Eva approaches to the harbour where there is



rest from each earthly storm—the affectionate services of her adopted mother—the selfish speculations of Wentworth, and the more basely selfish brutalities of the vile Tartuffe Macowen. With the history of Eva's graduated decline, is contrasted the despairing state of Zaira; her conferences and controversies with Cardonneau, a French sceptical philosopher; her escape from his snares; her resolution to become a devotee, and her horror at finding herself unable to entertain that warmth of enthusiastic zeal necessary to give effect to the Catholic nostrum of penance; her resolution to put herself to death, with all the preparations which she solemnly adopted; and her abandoning her purpose, startled by an impressive dream or vision, which impelled her to follow her versatile lover to Ireland. All these moods of a despairing mind are well described, but too much protracted. The mind becomes weary of accumulated horrors, having all reference to the same person and set of events, and belonging to a catastrophe which is inevitable, and full in view. The skill of the author, his knowledge of the human mind, his talent at expressing sorrow, in all the varieties of her melancholy language, proves unequal to the task—during the first perusal at least—of securing unwearied attention. His labours seem as if they were employed to diversify or adorn a long strait avenue of yews and cypresses, terminating in the fall fiew of a sepulchre.

At length, however, the various persons of the narrative, pursuers and pursued, are reassembled in Dublin. De Courcy—his own health destroyed by remorse and the conflict of contending passions, dares to solicit an interview with Eva—dares to confide his repentance to Mrs Wentworth, with whose character, naturally warm and even passionate, though now subjected to the control of religion, the reader has been already made acquainted. We have no hesitation in placing the meeting betwixt this lady and the penitent who had wounded her peace so bitterly, by the side of the pathetic scenes of the same sort in Richardson. But we have been already too liberal in quotations; and the conclusion of the tale must be briefly summed up. In her wanderings through Dublin, Zaira finds her maniac mother on her deathbed; and learns from her the fact, that she had been the unconscious rival of her own daughter, and the means of her descending to an untimely grave. After this communication, made with the same wild and impressive dignity with which Mr Maturin has all along invested this person, the unhappy woman expires; and the yet more unhappy Zaira hastens to Wentworth Street, where she finds Eva just dead. De Courcy also slept, to awake no more; and the author thus closes his melancholy narrative.

The following spring, the Miss Longwoods, gay and happy, were escorted by youthful, titled bridegrooms into that very church. They entered it fluttering in bridal finery; and as they quitted it, their steps trod lightly on the graves of De Courcy and Eva.—Such is the condition of life.

..... Zaira still lives, and lives in Ireland. A spell seems to bind her to the death-place of her daughter and lover. Her talents are gone, at least they are no longer exerted: The *oracles* may still be there, but it is only the tempest of grief that now scatters their leaves. Like Carathis in the vaults of Eblis, her hand is constantly pressed on her heart, in token of the fire that is burning there for ever; and those who are near her, constantly hear her repeat, "My child—I have murdered my child!" When great talents are combined with calamity, their union forms the *tenth wave* of human suffering;—grief becomes inexhaustible from the unhappy fertility of genius,—and the serpents that devour us, are generated out of our own vitals.' III. 407, 408.

The length of our analysis, and of our quotations, are the best proof of the pleasure with which we have read this moral and interesting tale,—and may stand in place of eulogy. We have also hinted at some of the author's errors; and we must now, in all candour and respect, mention one of considerable importance, which the reader has perhaps anticipated. It respects the resemblance betwixt the character and fate of Zaira and Corinne,—a coincidence so near, as certainly to deprive Mr Maturin of all claim to originality, so far as this brilliant and well painted character is concerned. In her accomplishments, in her beauty, in her talents, in her falling a victim to the passion of a fickle lover, Zaira closely resembles her distinguished prototype. Still, however, she is Corinne in Ireland, contrasted with other personages, and sustaining a different tone of feeling and conversation and argument; so that we pardon the want of originality of conception, in consideration of the new lights thrown upon this interesting female, who, in the full career of successful talent, and invested with all the glow of genius, sacrifices the world of taste and of science for an unhappily-placed affection. On the other hand, the full praise, both of invention and execution, must be allowed to Mr Maturin's sketch of Eva—so soft, so gentle, so self-devoted—such a mixture of the purity of heaven with the simplicity of earth, concealing the most acute feelings under the appearance of devout abstraction, and unable to express her passion otherwise than by dying for it. The various impressions received by good and by bad dispositions from the profession of methodistical or evangelical tenets, form a curious chapter in the history of our modern manners. Mr Maturin has used the scalpel, not we think unfair.

ly, but with professional rigour and dexterity, in anatomizing the effects of a system which is making way amongst us with increasing strength, and will one day have its influence on the fate perhaps of nations. But we resume our criticisms. The character of De Courcy we will not resume;—it is provokingly inconsistent; and we wish the ancient fashion of the Devil flying off with false-hearted lovers, as in the ballad of the Wandering Prince of Troy, had sustained no change in his favour.

Indeed, such a catastrophe would not have been alien to the genius of Mr Maturin, who, in the present as well as in former publications, has shown some desire to wield the wand of the enchanter, and to call in the aid of supernatural horrors. While De Courcy was in the act of transferring his allegiance from Eva to Zaira, the phantom of the latter—her *wraith* as we call in Scotland the apparition of a living person—glides past him, arrayed in white, with eyes closed, and face pale and colourless, and is presently afterwards seen lying beneath his feet as he assists Zaira into the carriage. Eva has a dream, corresponding to the apparition in all its circumstances. This incident resembles one which we have read in our youth in Aubrey, Baxter, or some such savoury and sapient collector of ghost-stories; but we chiefly mention it, to introduce a remarkable alteration in the tragedy of Bertram, adopted by the author, we believe, with considerable regret. It consists in the retrenchment of a passage or two of great poetical beauty, in which Bertram is represented as spurred to the commission of his great crimes, by the direct agency of a supernatural and malevolent being. We have been favoured with a copy of the lines by a particular friend and admirer of the author, to whom he presented the manuscript copy of his play, in which alone they exist. The Prior, in his dialogue with Bertram, mentions

the dark knight of the forest,  
So from his armour named and sable helm,  
Whose unbarred vizor mortal never saw.  
He dwells alone; no earthly thing lives near him,  
Save the hoarse raven croaking o'er his towers,  
And the dank weeds muffling his stagnant moat.

*Bertram.* I'll ring a summons on his barred portal  
Shall make them through their dark valves rock and ring.

*Prior.* Thou'rt mad to take the quest.—Within my memory  
One solitary man did venture there—

Dark thoughts dwelt with him, which he sought to vent.

Unto that dark compeer we saw his steps,  
In winter's stormy twilight, seek that pass—

But days and years are gone, and he returns not.

*Bertram.* What fate befel him there?

*Prior.* The manner of his end was never known.

*Bertram.* That man shall be my mate—Contend not with me—  
Horrors to me are kindred and society.

Or man, or fiend, he hath won the soul of Bertram.

*Bertram is afterwards discovered alone, wandering near the fatal tower, and describes the effect of the awful interview which he had courted.*

*Bertram.* Was it a man or fiend?—Whate'er it was

It hath dealt wonderfully with me—

All is around his dwelling suitable;

The invisible blast to which the dark pines groan,

The unconscious tread to which the dark earth echoes,

The hidden waters rushing to their fall,

These sounds of which the causes are not seen

I love, for they are like my fate mysterious—

How tower'd his proud form through the shrouding gloom,

How spoke the eloquent silence of its motion,

How through the barred vizard did his accents

Roll their rich thunder on their pausing soul!

And though his mailed hand did shun my grasp,

And though his closed morion hid his feature,

Yea all resemblance to the face of man,

I felt the hollow whisper of his welcome,

I felt those unseen eyes were fix'd on mine,

If eyes indeed were there—

Forgotten thoughts of evil, still-born mischiefs,

Foul fertile seeds of passion and of crime,

That wither'd in my heart's abortive core,

Rous'd their dark battle at his trumpet-peal:

So sweeps the tempest o'er the slumbering desert,

Waking its myriad hosts of burning death:

So calls the last dread peal the wandering atoms

Of blood and bone and flesh and dust-worn fragments,

In dire array of ghastly unity,

To bide the eternal summons—

I am not what I was since I beheld him—

I was the slave of passion's ebbing sway—

All is condensed, collected, callous now—

The groan, the burst, the fiery flash is o'er,

Down pours the dense and darkening lava-tide,

Arresting life and stilling all beneath it.

*Enter two of his band observing him.*

*First Robber.* Seest thou with what a step of pride he stalks—

Thou hast the dark knight of the forest seen;

For never man, from living converse come,

Trod with such step or flash'd with eye like thine.

*Second Robber.* And hast thou of a truth seen the dark knight?

*Bertram (turning on him suddenly)* Thy hand is chill'd with  
fear—Well! shivering craven,

Say I have seen him—wherefore dost thou gaze?

Long'st thou for tale of goblin-guarded portal ?  
 Of giant champion whose spell-forged mail  
 Crumbled to dust at sound of magic horn—  
 Banner of sheeted flame whose foldings shrunk  
 To withering weeds that o'er the battlements  
 Wave to the broken spell—or demon-blast  
 Of winded clarion whose fell summons sinks  
 To lonely whisper of the shuddering breeze  
 O'er the charm'd towers—

*First Robber.* Mock me not thus—Hast met him of a truth?—

*Bertram.* Well, fool—

*First Robber.* Why then heaven's benison be with you.  
 Upon this hour we part—farewel for ever.  
 For mortal cause I bear a mortal weapon—

But man that leagues with demons lacks not man.

The description of the fiend's port and language,—the effect which the conference with him produces upon Bertram's mind,—the terrific dignity with which the intercourse with such an associate invests him, and its rendering him a terror even to his own desperate banditti,—is all well conceived, and executed in a grand and magnificent strain of poetry; and, in the perusal, supposing the reader were carrying his mind back to the period when such intercourse between mortals and demons was considered as matter of indisputable truth, the story acquires probability and consistency, even from that which is in itself not only improbable but impossible. The interview with the incarnate fiend of the forest, would, in these days, be supposed to have the same effect upon the mind of Bertram, as the 'metaphysical aid' of the witches produces upon that of Macbeth, awakening and stimulating that appetite for crime, which slumbered in the bosom of both, till called forth by supernatural suggestion. At the same time, while we are happy to preserve a passage of such singular beauty and power, we approve of the taste which retrenched it in action. The *sudente diavolo* is now no longer a phrase even in our indictments; and we fear his Satanic Majesty, were he to appear on the stage in modern times, would certainly incur the appropriate fate of damnation.

To return to the present work.—We observe, with pleasure, that Mr Maturin has put his genius under better regulation than in his former publications, and retrenched that luxuriance of language, and too copious use of ornament, which distinguishes the authors and orators of Ireland, whose exuberance of imagination sometimes places them in the predicament of their honest countryman, who complained of being run away with by his legs. This excessive indulgence of the imagination is proper to a country where there is more genius than taste,

and more copiousness than refinement of ideas. But it is an error to suffer the weeds to rush up with the grain, though their appearance may prove the richness of the soil. There is a time when an author should refrain, like Job, 'even from good words—though it should be pain to him.'—And although we think Mr Mathurine has reformed that error indifferently well, in his present work, we do pray him, in his future compositions, to reform it altogether. For the rest, we dismiss him with our best wishes, and not without hopes that we may again meet him in the maze of fiction, since, although he has threatened, like Prospero, to break his wand, we have done our poor endeavour to save his book from being burned.

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*From February to June 1818.*

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The Farmer's Magazine. No. 74.

An Essay on Agriculture, containing an Introduction, in which the science of Agriculture is pointed out, by a careful attention to the works of Nature; also the means of rendering barren soils luxuriantly productive; to which is added a Memoir, drawn up at the express desire of his Imperial Highness the Archduke John of Austria, on the Nature and Nutritive Qualities of Fiorin Grass, &c. By W. Richardson, D. D.

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Mr Kendall, architect, of Exeter, has just published an Elucidation of the first principles of English Architecture, usually denominated Gothic. The work comprises upwards of 20 finely engraved plates by Mr Storer, representing Elevations, &c. taken from the Cathedral Church of Exeter.

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## ERRATUM.

p. 388, l. 26. For *l'un Bouchere*, read *l'Embouchure*

THE  
EDINBURGH REVIEW,  
SEPTEMBER, 1818.

N<sup>o</sup>. LX.

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NO BOOK can possibly possess a higher interest than this which is now before us. It is the last, dying bequest of the most brilliant writer that has appeared in our days;—and it treats of a period of history which we already know to be the most important that has occurred for centuries; and which those who look back on it, after other centuries have elapsed, will probably consider as still more important.

We cannot stop now to say all that we think of Madame de Staël:—and yet we must say, that we think her the most powerful writer that her country has produced since the time of Voltaire and Rousseau—and the greatest writer, of a woman, that any time or any country has produced. Her taste, perhaps, is not quite pure; and her style is too irregular and ambitious. These faults may even go deeper. Her passion for *effect*, and the tone of exaggeration which it naturally produces, have probably interfered occasionally with the soundness of her judgment, and given a suspicious colouring to some of her representations of fact. At all events, they have rendered her impatient of the humbler task of completing her explanatory details, or stating in their order all the premises of her reasonings. She gives her history in abstracts, and her theories in aphorisms:—and the greater part of her works, instead of presenting that systematic unity from which the highest degrees of strength and beauty and clearness must ever be derived, may be fairly described as a

collection of striking fragments—in which a great deal of repetition does by no means diminish the effect of a good deal of inconsistency. In these same works, however; whether we consider them as fragments or as systems, we do not hesitate to say that there are more original and profound observations—more new images—greater sagacity combined with higher imagination—and more of the true philosophy of the passions, the politics, and the literature of her contemporaries—than in any other author we can now remember. She has great eloquence on all subjects; and a singular pathos in representing those bitterest agonies of the spirit in which wretchedness is aggravated by remorse, or by regrets that partake of its character. Though it is difficult to resist her when she is in earnest, we cannot say that we agree in all her opinions, or approve of all her sentiments. She overrates the importance of Literature, either in determining the character or affecting the happiness of mankind; and she theorizes too confidently on its past and its future history. On subjects like this, we have not yet facts enough for so much philosophy; and must be contented, we fear, for a long time to come, to call many things accidental, which it would be more satisfactory to refer to determinate causes. In her estimate of the happiness, and her notions of the wisdom of private life, we think her both unfortunate and erroneous. She makes passions and high sensibilities a great deal too indispensable; and varnishes over all her pictures too uniformly with the glare of an extravagant or affected enthusiasm. She represents men, in short, as a great deal more unhappy, more depraved and more energetic, than they are—and seems to respect them the more for it.—In her politics she is far more unexceptionable. She is everywhere the warm friend and animated advocate of liberty—and of liberal, practical, and philanthropic principles. On these subjects we cannot blame her enthusiasm, which has nothing in it vindictive or provoking; and are far more inclined to envy than to reprove that sanguine and buoyant temper of mind which, after all she has seen and suffered, still leads her to overrate, in our apprehension, both the merit of past attempts at political amelioration, and the chances of their success hereafter. It is in that futurity, we fear, and in the hopes that make it present, that the lovers of mankind must yet, for a while, console themselves for the disappointments which still seem to beset them. If Mad. de Staël, however, predicts with too much confidence, it must be admitted that her labours have a powerful tendency to realize her predictions. Her writings are all full of the most animating views of the improvement of our social condition, and the means by

which it may be effected—the most striking refutations of prevailing errors on these great subjects—and the most persuasive expostulations with those who may think their interest or their honour concerned in maintaining them. Even they who are the least inclined to agree with her, must admit, that there is much to be learned from her writings; and we can give them no higher praise than to say, that their tendency is not only to promote the interests of philanthropy and independence, but to soften, rather than exasperate, the prejudices to which they are opposed.

Of the work before us, we do not know very well what to say. It contains a multitude of admirable remarks—and a still greater number of curious details; for Mad. de S. was not only a contemporary, but an eyewitness of much that she describes, and had the very best access to learn what did not fall under her immediate observation. Few persons certainly could be better qualified to appreciate the relative importance of the subjects that fell under her review; and no one, we really think, so little likely to colour and distort them, from any personal or party feelings. With all those rare qualifications, however, and inestimable advantages for performing the task of an historian, we cannot say that she has made a good history. It is too much broken into fragments. The narrative is too much interrupted by reflections: and the reflections too much subdivided, to suit the subdivisions of the narrative. There are too many events omitted, or but cursorily noticed, to give the work the interest of a full and flowing history; and a great deal too many detailed and analyzed, to let it pass for an essay on the philosophy or greater results of these memorable transactions. We are the most struck with this last fault—which perhaps is inseparable from the condition of a contemporary writer;—for, though the observation may sound at first like a paradox, we are rather inclined to think, that the best historical compositions—not only the most pleasing to read, but the most just and instructive in themselves—must be written at a very considerable distance from the times to which they relate. When we read an eloquent and judicious account of great events transacted in other ages, our first sentiment is that of regret at not being able to learn more of them. We wish anxiously for a fuller detail of particulars—we envy those who had the good fortune to live in the time of such interesting occurrences, and blame them for having left us so brief and imperfect a memorial of them. But the truth is, if we may judge from our own experience, that the greater part of those who were present to those mighty operations, were but very imperfectly aware of their import-

ance, and conjectured but little of the influence they were to exert on future generations. Their attention was successively engaged by each separate act of the great drama that was passing before them; but did not extend to the connected effect of the whole, in which alone posterity was to find the grandeur and interest of the scene. The connexion indeed of those different acts is very often not then discernible. The series often stretches off beyond the reach of the generation which witnessed its beginning; and makes it impossible for them to *integrate* what had not yet attained its completion; while, from similar causes, many of the terms that at first appeared most important, are unavoidably discarded, to bring the problem within a manageable compass. Time, in short, performs the same services to events, which distance does to visible objects. It obscures and gradually annihilates the small, but renders those that are very great much more distinct and conceivable. If we would know the true form and bearings of a range of Alpine mountains, we must not grovel among the irregularities of its surface, but observe, from the distance of leagues, the direction of its ridges and peaks, and the giant outline which it traces on the sky. —A traveller who wanders through a rugged and picturesque district, though struck with the beauty of every new valley, or the grandeur of every cliff that he passes, has no notion at all of the general configuration of the country, or even of the relative situation of the objects he has been admiring; and will understand all those things, and his own route among them, a thousand times better from a small map, on a scale of half an inch to a mile, which represents neither thickets nor hamlets, than from the most painful efforts to combine the indications of the strongest memory. The case is the same with those who live through periods of great historical interest. They are too near the scene—too much interested in each successive event—and too much agitated with their rapid succession, to form any just estimate of the character or result of the whole. They are like private soldiers in the middle of a great battle, or rather of a busy and complicated campaign—hardly knowing whether they have lost or won, and having but the most obscure and imperfect conception of the general movements in which their own fate has been involved. The foreigner who reads of them in the *Gazette*, or the peasant who sees them from the top of a distant hill or a steeple, has in fact a far better idea of them.

Of the thousand or fifteen hundred names that have been connected in contemporary fame with the great events of the last twenty-five years, how many will go down to posterity? In all probability not more than twenty: And who shall yet venture to say which twenty it will be? But it is the same with the

events as with the actors. How often, during that period, have we mourned or exulted, with exaggerated emotions, over occurrences that we already discover to have been of no permanent importance!—how certain is it, that the far greater proportion of those to which we still attach an interest, will be viewed with the same indifference by the very next generation!—and how probable, that the whole train and tissue of the history will appear, to a remoter posterity, under a totally different character and colour from any that the most penetrating observer of the present day has thought of ascribing to it! Was there any contemporary, do we think, of Mahomet, of Gregory VII., of Faust, or Columbus, who formed the same estimate of their achievements that we do at this day? Were the great and wise men who brought about the Reformation, as much aware of its importance as the whole world is at present? or does any one imagine, that, even in the later and more domestic events of the establishment of the English Commonwealth in 1648, or the English Revolution in 1688, the large and energetic spirits by whom those great events were conducted, were fully sensible of their true character and bearings, or at all foresaw the mighty consequences of which they have since been prolific?

• But though it may thus require the lapse of ages to develop the true character of a great transaction, and though its history may therefore be written with most advantage very long after its occurrence, it does not follow that such a history will not be deficient in many qualities which it would be desirable for it to possess. All we say is, that they are qualities which will generally be found incompatible with those larger and sounder views, which can hardly be matured while the subjects of them are recent. That this is an imperfection in our histories and historians, is sufficiently obvious; but it is an imperfection to which we must patiently resign ourselves, if it appear to be an unavoidable consequence of the limitation of our faculties. We cannot both enjoy the sublime effect of a vast and various landscape, and at the same time discern the form of every leaf in the forest, or the movements of every living creature that breathes within its expanse. Beings of a higher order may be capable of this;—and it would be very desirable to be so: But, constituted as we are, it is impossible; and, in our delineation of such a scene, all that is minute and detached, however interesting or important to those who are at hand, must therefore be omitted—while the general effect is entrusted to masses in which nothing but the great outlines of great objects are preserved, and the details left to be inferred from the character of their results, or the larger features of their usual accompaniments.

It is needless to apply this to the case of history; in which, when it records events of permanent interest, it is equally impossible to retain those particular details which engrossed the attention of contemporaries—both because the memory of them is necessarily lost in the course of that period which must elapse before the just value of the whole can be known—and because, even if it were otherwise, no human memory could retain, or human judgment discriminate, the infinite number of particulars which must have been presented in such an interval. We shall only observe, further, that though that which *is* preserved is generally the most material and truly important part of the story, it not unfrequently happens, that too little is preserved to afford materials for a satisfactory narrative, or to justify any general conclusion; and that, in such cases, the historian often yields to the temptation of connecting the scanty materials that have reached him by a sort of general and theoretical reasoning, which naturally takes its colour from the prevailing views and opinions of the individual writer, or of the age to which he belongs. If an author of consummate judgment, and with a thorough knowledge of the unchangeable principles of human nature, undertake this task, it is wonderful indeed to see how much he may make of a subject that appears so unpromising—and it is almost certain that the view he will give to his readers, of such an obscure period, will, at all events, be at least as instructive and interesting as if he had had its entire annals before him. In other hands, however, the result is very different; and, instead of a masterly picture of rude or remote ages, true at least to the general features of such periods, we have nothing but a transcript of the author's own most recent fantasies and follies, ill disguised under the masquerade character of a few traditional names.—It is only necessary to call to mind such books as Zouche's *Life of Sir Philip Sydney*, or Godwin's *Life of Chaucer*, to feel this much more strongly than we can express it. These, no doubt, are extreme cases;—but we suspect that our impressions of almost all remote characters and events, and the general notions we have of the times or societies which produced them, are much more dependent on the peculiar temper and habits of the popular writers in whom the memory of them is chiefly preserved, than it is very pleasant to think of. If we ever take the trouble of looking for ourselves into the documents and materials out of which those histories are made, we feel at once how much room there is for a very different representation of all those things from that which is current in the world: And accordingly we occasionally have very opposite representations. Compare Bossuet's *Universal History* with Voltaire's—Rollin

with Mitford—Hume or Clarendon with Ralph or Mrs M'Aulay; and it will be difficult to believe that these different writers are speaking of the same persons and things.

The work before us, we have already said, is singularly free from faults of this description. It is written, we do think, in the true spirit and temper of historical impartiality. But it has faults of a different character; and, with many of the merits, combines some of the appropriate defects, both of a contemporary and a philosophical history. Its details are too few and too succinct for the former—they are too numerous and too rashly selected for the latter;—while the reasonings and speculations in which perhaps its chief value consists, seem already to be too often thrown away upon matters that cannot long be had in remembrance. We must take care not to get entangled too far among the anecdotes—but the general reasoning cannot detain us very long.

It is the scope of the book to show that France must have a free government—a limited monarchy—in express words, a constitution like that of England. This, Mad. de S. says, was all that the body of the nation aimed at in 1789—and this she says the great majority of the nation are resolved to have still—undeterred by the fatal miscarriage of the last experiment, and undisturbed by the revival of antient pretensions which has accompanied its close. Still, though she maintains this to be the prevailing sentiment of the French people, she thinks it not altogether unnecessary to combat this discouragement and this disgust;—and the great object of all that is argumentative in her book, is to show, that there is nothing in the character or condition, or late or early history of her countrymen, to render this regulated freedom unattainable by them, or to disqualify them from the enjoyment of a representative government, or the functions of free citizens.

For this purpose she takes a rapid and masterly view of the progress of the different European kingdoms, from their primitive condition of feudal aristocracies, to their present state of monarchies limited by law, or mitigated by the force of public opinion; and endeavours to show, that the course has been the same in all, and that its unavoidable termination is in a balanced constitution like that of England. The first change was the reduction of the Nobles, chiefly by the aid which the Commons, then first pretending to wealth or intelligence, afforded to the Crown—and, on this basis, some small states, in Italy and Germany especially, erected a permanent system of freedom. But the necessities of war, and the substitution of hired forces for the feudal militia, led much more generally to the establishment



of an arbitrary or despotical authority; which was accomplished in France, Spain and England, under Lewis XI., Philip II., and Henry VIII. Then came the age of commerce, luxury, and taxes,—which necessarily ripened into the age of general intelligence, individual wealth, and a sense both of right and of power in the people;—and those led irresistibly to a limitation on the powers of the Crown by a representative assembly.

England having less occasion for a land army—and having been the first in the career of commercial prosperity, led the way in this great amelioration. But the same general principles have been operating in all the continental kingdoms, and must ultimately produce the same effects. The peculiar advantages which she enjoyed did not prevent England from being enslaved by the tyranny of Henry VIII., and Mary;—and she also experienced the hazards, and paid the penalties which are perhaps inseparable from the assertion of popular rights.—She also overthrew the monarchy, and sacrificed the monarch in her first attempt to set limits to his power. The English Commonwealth of 1648, originated in as wild speculations as the French of 1792—and ended, like it, in the establishment of a military tyranny, and a restoration which seemed to confound all the asserters of liberty in the general guilt of rebellion:—Yet all the world is now agreed that this was but the first explosion of a flame that could neither be extinguished nor permanently repressed; and that what took place in 1688, was but the sequel and necessary consummation of what had been begun 40 years before—and which might and would have been accomplished without even the slight shock and disturbance that was then experienced, if the Court had profited as much as the leaders of the people by the lessons of that first experience. Such too, Mad. de S. assures us, is the unalterable destiny of France;—and it is the great purpose of her book to show, that but for circumstances which cannot recur—mistakes that cannot be repeated, and accidents which never happened twice, even the last attempt would have led to that blessed consummation—and that every thing is now in the fairest train to secure it, without any great effort or hazard of disturbance.

That these views are supported with infinite talent, spirit, and eloquence, no one who has read the book will probably dispute; and we should be sorry indeed to think that they were not substantially just. Yet we are not, we confess, quite so sanguine as the distinguished writer before us; and though we do not doubt either that her principles are true, or that her predictions will be ultimately accomplished, we fear that the period of their triumph is not yet at hand; and that it is far more doubtful than she will allow it to be, whether that triumph will be easy,

peaceful, and secure. The example of England is her great, indeed her only authority; but we are afraid that she has run the parallel with more boldness than circumspection, and overlooked a variety of particulars in our case, to which she could not easily find any thing equivalent in that of her country. It might be invidious to dwell much on the opposite character and temper of the two nations; though it is no answer to say, that this character is the work of the government. But can Mad. de S. have forgotten, that England had a Parliament and a representative legislature for 500 years before 1648; and that it was *by that organ*, and the widely spread and deeply founded machinery of the elections on which it rested, that the struggle was made, and the victory won, which ultimately secured to us the blessings of political freedom? The least reflection upon the nature of government, and the true foundations of all liberty, will show what an immense advantage this was in the contest; and with what formidable obstacles those must have to struggle, who are obliged to engage in a similar conflict without it.

All political power, even the most despotic, rests at last, as was profoundly observed by Hume, upon Opinion. A government is *just*, or otherwise, according as it promotes, more or less, the true interests of the people who live under it. But it is *stable* and secure, exactly as it is directed by the opinion of those who really possess, and know that they possess, the power of enforcing it, and upon whose opinion, therefore, it constantly depends;—that is, in a military despotism, on the opinion of the soldiery;—in all rude and ignorant communities, on the opinion of those who monopolize the intelligence, the wealth, or the discipline which constitute power—the Priesthood—the landed proprietors—the armed and inured to war;—and, in civilized societies, on the opinion of that larger proportion of the people who can bring their joint talents, wealth and strength, to act in concert when occasion requires. A government may indeed subsist for a time, although opposed to the opinion of those classes of persons; but its existence must always be precarious, and it probably will not subsist long. The *natural* and appropriate *Constitution*, therefore, is, in every case, that which enables those who actually administer the government, to ascertain and conform themselves in time to the opinion of those who have the power to overturn it: and no government whatever can possibly be secure where there are no arrangements for this purpose. Thus it is plainly for want of a proper *Despotic Constitution*—for want of a regular and safe way of getting at the opinions of their Armies, that the Sultans and other Asiatic sovereigns are so frequently beheaded by their janissaries or insurgent soldiery: and, in like manner, it was for want of a proper

Feudal Constitution, that, in the decline of that system, the king was so often dethroned by his rebellious Barons, or excommunicated by an usurping Priesthood. In more advanced times, there is the same necessity of conforming to the prevailing opinion of those more extended and diversified descriptions of persons in whom the power of enforcing and resisting has come to reside; and the natural and only safe constitution for such societies, must therefore embrace a Representative assembly. A government may no doubt go on, in opposition to the opinion of this virtual aristocracy, for a long time after it has come into existence. For it is not enough that there is wealth, and intelligence, and individual influence enough in a community to overbear all pretensions opposed to them. It is necessary that the possessors of this virtual power should be aware of their own numbers, and of the conformity of their sentiments or views; and it is very late in the progress of society before the means of communication are so multiplied and improved, as to render this practicable in any tolerable degree. Trade and the press, however, have now greatly facilitated these communications; and in all the central countries of Europe, they probably exist in a degree quite sufficient to give one of the parties, at least, very decided impressions both as to its interests and its powers.

In such a situation of things, we cannot hesitate to say that a Representative government is the natural, and will be the ultimate remedy; but if we find, that even where such an institution existed from antiquity, it was possible so fatally to miscalculate and misjudge the opinions of the nation, as proved to be the case in the reign of our King Charles, is it not manifest that there must be tenfold risk of such miscalculation, in a country where no such constitution has been previously known, and where, from a thousand causes, the true state of the public mind is so apt to be oppositely misconceived by the opposite parties, as it is up to the present hour in France?

The great and cardinal use of a representative body in the legislature, is to afford a direct, safe and legitimate channel, by which the public opinion may be brought to act on the government: But, to enable it to perform this function with success, it is by no means enough, that a certain number of deputies are sent into the legislature by a certain number of electors. Without a good deal of previous training, the public opinion itself can neither be *formed*, *collected*, nor *expressed* in an authentic or effectual manner; and the first establishment of the representative system must be expected to occasion very nearly as much disturbance as it may ultimately prevent. In countries where there never has been any political elections, and few local magistracies, or occasions of provincial and parochial assemblages

for public purposes, the real state of opinion must be substantially unknown even to the most observant resident in each particular district;—and its general bearing all over the country can never possibly be learned by the most diligent inquiries, or even guessed at with any reasonable degree of probability. The first deputies, therefore, are necessarily returned, without any firm or assured knowledge of the sentiments of their constituents—and they again can have nothing but the most vague notions of the temper in which these sentiments are to be enforced—while the whole deputies come together without any notion of the dispositions, talents, or designs of each other, and are left to scramble for distinction and influence, according to the measure of their zeal, knowledge, or assurance. In England, there were no such novelties to be hazarded, either in 1640 or in 1688. The people of this country have had an elective Parliament from the earliest period of their history—and, long before either of the periods in question, had been trained in every hamlet to the exercise of various political franchises, and taught to consider themselves as connected, by known and honourable ties, with all the persons of influence and consideration in their neighbourhood, and, through them, by an easy gradation with the political leaders of the State;—while, in Parliament itself, the place and pretensions of every man were pretty accurately known, and the strength of each party reasonably well ascertained by long and repeated experiments, made under all variety of circumstances. The organization and machinery, in short, for collecting the public opinion, and bringing it into contact with the administration, was perfect, and in daily operation among us, from the most ancient times. The various conduits and channels by which it was to be conveyed from its first faint springs in the villages and burghs, and conducted in gradually increasing streams to the central wheels of the government, were all deep worn in the soil, and familiarly known, with all their levels and connexions, to every one who could be affected by their condition. In France, when the new sluices were opened, not only were the waters universally foul and turbid, but the quantity and the currents were all irregular and unknown; and some stagnated or trickled feebly along, while others rushed and roared with the violence and the mischief of a torrent. But it is time to leave these perplexing generalities, and come a little closer to the work before us.

It was the Cardinal de Richelieu, according to Mad. de S., who completed the degradation of the French nobility, begun by Louis XI.;—and the arrogance and Spanish gravity of Louis XIV., assumed, as she says, ‘pour éloigner de lui la familiarité des jugemens,’ fixed them in the capacity of courtiers; and put an

end to that gay and easy tone of communication which, in the days of Henri IV., had made the task of a courtier both less wearisome and less degrading. She has no partiality, indeed, for the memory of that buckram hero—and is very indignant at his being regarded as the patron of literature. ‘ Il persécuta Port-Royal, dont Pascal étoit le chef; il fit mourir de chagrin Racine; il exila Fénelon; il s’opposa constamment aux honneurs qu’on vouloit rendre à La Fontaine, et ne professa de l’admiration que pour Boileau. La littérature, en l’exaltant avec excès, a bien plus fait pour lui qu’il n’a fait pour elle.’ (I. p. 36.) In his own person, indeed, he outlived his popularity, if not his fame. The brilliancy of his early successes was lost in his later reverses. The debts he had contracted lay like a load on the nation; and the rigour and gloominess of his devotion was one cause of the alacrity with which the nation plunged into all the excesses and profligacy of the regency and the succeeding reign.

That reign—the weakness of Louis XV.—the avowed and disgusting influence of his mistresses and all their relations, and the national disasters which they occasioned—together with the general spread of intelligence among the body of the people, and the bold and vigorous spirit displayed in the writings of Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Rousseau, created a general feeling of discontent and contempt for the government, and prepared the way for those more intrepid reformers who were so soon destined to succeed.

Louis XVI, says Mad. de S., would have been the mildest and most equitable of despots, and the most constitutional of constitutional kings—had he been born to administer either an established despotism, or a constitutional monarchy. But he was not fitted to fill the throne during the difficult and trying crisis of a transition from the one state to the other. He was sincerely anxious for the happiness and even the rights of his people; but he had a hankering after the absolute power which seemed to be his lawful inheritance; and was too easily persuaded by those about him to cling to it too long for his own safety, or that of the country. The Queen, with the same amiable dispositions, had still more of those natural prejudices. M. de Maurepas, a minister of the old school, was compelled, by the growing disorder of the finances, to call to his aid the talents of Turgot and Necker about the year 1780. We hear enough, of course, in this book, of the latter: But though we can pardon the filial piety which has led the author to discuss, at so great length, the merit of his plans of finance and government, and to dwell on the prophetic spirit in which he foresaw and foretold all the consequences that have flowed

from rejecting them, we have too much regard for our readers to oppress them, at this time of day, with an analysis of the *Compte Rendu*, or the scheme for provincial assemblies. As an historical personage, he must have his due share of notice; and no fame can be purer than that to which he is entitled. His daughter, we think, has truly described the scope of his endeavours, in his first ministry, to have been, 'to persuade the King 'to do of himself that justice to the people, to obtain which 'they afterwards insisted for representatives.' Such a counsellor, of course, had no chance in 1780; and, the year after, M. Necker was accordingly dismissed. The great objection to him was, that he proposed innovations—'et de toutes les innovations, celle que les courtisans et les financiers detestent le plus, c'est l'ECONOMIE.' Before going out, however, he did a great deal of good; and found means, while M. de Maurepas had a bad fit of gout, to get M. de Sartine removed from the ministry of Marine—a personage so extremely diligent in the studies belonging to his department, that when M. Necker went to see him soon after his appointment, he found him in a chamber all hung round with maps; and boasting, with much complacency, that 'he could already put his hand upon the largest 'of them, and point, with his eyes shut, to the four quarters of 'the world!'

Calonne succeeded—a frivolous, presumptuous person,—and a financier, in so far as we can judge, after the fashion of our Poet-laureate; for he too, it seems, was used to call prodigality 'a large economy;' and to assure the King, that the more lavish he and his court were in their expenses, so much the better would it fare with the country. The consequence was, that the disorder soon became irremediable; and this sprightly minister was forced at last to adopt Turgot's proposal of subjecting the privileged orders to their share of the burdens—and finally to advise the convocation of the Notables, in 1787. The Notables, however, being all privileged persons, refused to give up any of their immunities—and they and M. de Calonne were dismissed accordingly. Then came the wavering and undecided administration of M. de Brienne, which ended with the resolution to assemble the States-General;—and this was the Revolution!

Hitherto, says Mad. de S., the nation at large, and especially the lower orders, had taken no share in these discussions. The resistance to the Court—the complaints—the call for reformation, originated and was confined to the privileged orders—to the Parliaments—the Nobles and the Clergy. No revolution indeed can succeed in a civilised country, which does not begin at least with the higher orders. It was in the

parliament of Paris, in which the peers of France had seats, and which had always been most tenacious of the privileges of its members, that the suggestion was first made which set fire to the four quarters of the kingdom. In that kingdom, indeed, it could hardly fail, as it was made in the form of a pun or *bon mot*. They were clamouring against the minister for not exhibiting his account of the public expenses, when the Abbé Sabatier said—‘ Vous demandez, messieurs, les états de recette et de dépense—et ce sont les *Etats-Generaux* qu’il nous faut. ’— This was eagerly repeated in every order of society; addresses to that effect were poured in in daily heaps; and at last M. de Brienne was obliged to promise, in the King’s name, that the States-General should assemble at the end of five years. This delay only inflamed the general impatience: and the Clergy having solemnly reclaimed against it, the King was at last obliged to announce that they should meet early in the following year. M. Necker at the same time was recalled to the ministry.

The States-General were demanded by the privileged orders; and, if they really expected to find them as they were in 1614; which was their last meeting, (though it is not very conceivable that they should have overlooked the difference of the times), we can understand that they might have urged this demand without any design of being very liberal to the other orders of the community. This is the edifying abstract which Mad. de S. has given of the proceedings of that venerable assembly.

‘ *Le Clergé* demanda qu’il lui fût permis de lever des dîmes sur toute espèce de fruits et de grains, et qu’on défendit de lui faire payer des droits à l’entrée des villes, ou de lui imposer sa part des contributions pour les chemins; il réclama de nouvelles entraves à la liberté de la presse. *La Noblesse* demanda que les principaux emplois fussent tous donnés exclusivement aux gentilshommes, qu’on interdit aux roturiers les arquebuses, les pistolets, et l’usage des chiens, à moins qu’ils n’eussent les jarrets coupés. Elle demanda de plus que les roturiers payassent de nouveaux droits seigneuriaux aux gentilshommes possesseurs de fiefs; que l’on supprimât toutes les pensions accordées aux membres du tiers état; mais que les gentilshommes fussent exempts de la contrainte par corps, et de tout subside sur les dîmes de leurs terres; qu’ils pussent prendre du sel dans les greniers du roi au même prix que les marchands; enfin que le tiers état fût obligé de porter un habit différent de celui des gentilshommes. ’ I. p. 162.

The States-General, however, were decreed;—and, that the whole blame of innovation might still lie upon the higher orders, M. de Brienne, in the name of the King, invited all and sundry to make public their notions upon the manner in which that great body should be arranged.—By the old form, the Nobles, the Clergy, and the Commons, each deliberated apart—and each

had but one voice in the enactment of laws ;—so that the privileged orders were always two to one against the other—and the course of legislation had always been to extend the privileges of the one, and increase the burdens of the other. Accordingly, the tiers état had long been defined, ‘ *la gent corvéable et tail-  
lable à merci et à miséricorde* ; ’—and Mad. de S., in one of those passages that already begin to be valuable to the forgetful world, bears this striking testimony as to the effect on their actual condition.

‘ Les jeunes gens et les étrangers qui n’ont pas connu la France avant la révolution, et qui voient aujourd’hui le peuple enrichi par la division des propriétés et la suppression des dîmes et du régime féodal, ne peuvent avoir l’idée de la situation de ce pays, lorsque la nation portoit le poids de tous les privilèges. Les partisans de l’esclavage, dans les colonies, ont souvent dit qu’un paysan de France étoit plus malheureux qu’un nègre. C’étoit un argument pour soulager les blancs, mais non pour s’endurcir contre les noirs. La misère accroît l’ignorance, l’ignorance accroît la misère ; et, quand on se demande pourquoi le peuple français a été si cruel dans la révolution, on ne peut en trouver la cause que dans l’absence de bonheur, qui conduit à l’absence de moralité. ’ I. 79.

But what made the injustice of this strange system of laying the heaviest pecuniary burdens on the poorest, a thousand times more oppressive, and ten thousand times more provoking, was, that the invidious right of exemption came at last to be claimed, not by the true ancient noblesse of France, which, Mad. de S. says, did not consist of 200 families, but by hundreds of thousands of persons of all descriptions, who had bought patents of nobility for the very purpose of obtaining this exemption. There was nothing in the structure of French society that was more revolting, or called more loudly for reformation, than the multitude and the pretensions of this anomalous race. They were most jealously distinguished from the true original noblesse ; which guarded its purity indeed with such extreme rigour, that no person was allowed to enter any of the royal carriages whose patent of nobility was not certified by the Court heralds to bear date prior to the year 1400 ; and yet they not only assumed the name and title of nobles, but were admitted into a full participation of all their most offensive privileges. It is with justice, therefore, that Mad. de S. reckons as one great cause of the Revolution,—

‘ cette foule de gentilshommes du second ordre anoblis de la veille, soit par les lettres de noblesse que les rois donnoient comme faisant suite à l’affranchissement des Gaulois, soit par les charges vénales de secrétaire du roi, etc., qui associoient de nouveaux individus aux droits et aux privilèges des anciens gentilshommes. La nation se seroit soumise volontiers à la prééminence des familles historiques, et



je n'exagère pas en affirmant qu'il n'y en a pas plus de deux cents en France. Mais les cent mille nobles et les cent mille prêtres qui vouloient avoir des privilèges, à l'égal de ceux de MM. de Montmorenci, de Grammont, de Crillon, etc., révoltoient généralement; car des négocians, des hommes de lettres, des propriétaires, des capitalistes, ne pouvoient comprendre la supériorité qu'on vouloit accorder à cette noblesse acquise à prix de révérences ou d'argent, et à laquelle vingt-cinq ans de date suffisoient pour siéger dans la chambre des nobles, et pour jouir des privilèges dont les plus honorables membres du tiers état se voyoient privés.

' La chambre des pairs en Angleterre est une magistrature patri-cienne, fondée sans doute sur les anciens souvenirs de la chevalerie, mais tout-à-fait associée à des institutions d'une nature très-différente. Un mérite distingué dans le commerce, et surtout dans la jurisprudence, en ouvre journellement l'entrée, et les droits représentatifs que les pairs exercent dans l'état, attestent à la nation que c'est pour le bien public que leurs rangs sont institués. Mais quel avantage les François pouvoient-ils trouver dans ces vicomtes de la Garonne, ou dans ces marquis de la Loire, qui ne payoient pas seulement leur part des impôts de l'état, et que le roi lui-même ne recevoit pas à sa cour, puisqu'il falloit faire des preuves de plus de quatre siècles pour y être admis, et qu'ils étoient à peine anoblis depuis cinquante ans? La vanité des gens de cette classe ne pouvoit s'exercer que sur leurs inférieurs, et ces inférieurs, c'étoient vingt-quatre millions d'hommes.'  
I. 166-168.

Strange as it may appear, there was no law or usage fixing the number of the deputies who might be returned; and though, by the usage of 1614, and some former assemblies, the three orders were allowed each but one voice in the legislature, there were earlier examples of the whole meeting and voting as individuals in the same assembly. M. de Brienne, as we have seen, took the sapient course of calling all the pamphleteers of the kingdom into council upon this emergency. It was fixed at last, though not without difficulty, that the deputies of the people should be equal in number to those of the other two classes together; and it is a trait worth mentioning, that the *only* committee of Nobles who voted for this concession, was that over which the present king of France presided. If it meant any thing, however, this concession implied that the whole body was to deliberate in common, and to vote individually; and yet, incredible as it now appears, the fact is, that the King and his ministers allowed the deputies to be elected, and *actually to assemble*, without having settled that great question, or even made any approach to its settlement. Of all the particular blunders that ensued or accelerated what was probably inevitable, this has always appeared to us to be one of the most inconceivable. The point, however, though

not taken up by any authority, was plentifully discussed among the talkers of Paris; and Mad. de S. assures us, that the side of the *tiers état* was at that time the most fashionable in good company, as well as the most popular with the bulk of the nation.

Tous ceux et toutes celles qui, dans la haute compagnie de France, influoient sur l'opinion, parloient vivement en faveur de la cause de la nation. *La mode* étoit dans ce sens; c'étoit le résultat de tout le dix-huitième siècle; et les vieux préjugés, qui combattoient encore pour les anciennes institutions, avoient beaucoup moins de force alors, qu'ils n'en ont eu à aucune époque pendant les vingt-cinq années suivantes. Enfin l'ascendant de l'esprit public étoit tel, qu'il entraîna le parlement lui-même.' (I. p. 172-3.) 'The clamour that was made against them, was not at that time by the advocates of the royal prerogative, but by interested individuals of the privileged classes. On the contrary, Mad. de S. asserts positively, that the popular party was then disposed, as of old, to unite with the Sovereign against the pretensions of these bodies, and that the Sovereign was understood to participate in their sentiments. The statement certainly seems to derive no slight confirmation from the memorable words which were uttered at the time, in a public address by the reigning King of France, then the first of the Princes of the blood.—' Une grande révolution étoit prêt, dit Monsieur (aujourd'hui Louis XVIII.) à la municipalité de Paris, en 1789; le roi, par ses intentions, ses vertus, et son rang suprême, *devoit en être le chef!*' We perfectly agree with Mad. de S.—' que toute la sagesse de la circonstance étoit dans ces paroles.'

Nothing, says Mad. de S., can be imagined more striking than the first sight of the 1200 deputies of France, as they passed in solemn procession to hear mass at Notre Dame, the day before the meeting of the States-General.

' La Noblesse se trouvant déclinée de sa splendeur par l'esprit de courtisan, par l'alliage des anoblis, et par une longue paix; le Clergé ne possédant plus l'ascendant des lumières qu'il avoit eu dans les temps barbares; l'importance des députés du Tiers état en étoit augmentée. Leurs habits et leurs manteaux noirs, leurs regards assurés, leur nombre imposant, attiroient l'attention sur eux: des hommes de lettres, des négocians, un grand nombre d'avocats composoient ce troisième ordre. Quelques nobles s'étoient fait nommer députés du tiers, et parmi ces nobles on remarquoit surtout le comte de Mirabeau: l'opinion qu'on avoit de son esprit étoit singulièrement augmentée par la peur que faisoit son immoralité; et cependant c'est cette immoralité même qui a diminué l'influence que ses étonnantes facultés devoient lui valoir. Il étoit difficile de ne pas le regarder

long-temps, quand on l'avoit une fois aperçu : son immense chevelure le distinguoit entre tous : on eût dit que sa force en dépendoit comme celle de Samson ; son visage empruntoit de l'expression de sa laideur même, et toute sa personne donnoit l'idée d'une puissance irrégulière, mais enfin d'une puissance telle qu'on se la représenteroit dans un tribun de peuple.

'Aucun nom propre, excepté le sien, n'étoit encore célèbre dans les six cents députés du tiers ; mais il y avoit beaucoup d'hommes honorables, et beaucoup d'hommes à craindre.' I. 185, 186.

The first day of their meeting, the deputies of course insisted that the whole three orders should sit and vote together ; and the majority of the nobles and clergy of course resisted :—And this went on for nearly two months, in the face of the mob of Paris and the people of France—before the King and his Council could make up their own minds on the matter. The inner cabinet, in which the Queen and the Princes had the chief sway, had now taken the alarm, and was for resisting the pretensions of the Third Estate ; while M. Necker, and the ostensible ministers, were for compromising with them, while their power was not yet disclosed by experience, nor their pretensions raised by victory. The Ultras relied on the army, and were for dismissing the Legislature as soon as they had granted a few taxes. M. Necker plainly told the King, that he did not think that the army could be relied on ; and that he ought to make up his mind to reign hereafter under a constitution like that of England. There were fierce disputes, and endless consultations ; and at length, within three weeks after the States were opened, and before the Commons had gained any decided advantage, M. Necker obtained the full assent both of the King and Queen to a Declaration, in which it was to be announced to the States, that they should sit and vote as one body in all questions of *taxation*, and in *two* chambers only in all other questions. This arrangement, Mad. de S. assures us, would have satisfied the Commons at the time, and invested the throne with the great strength of popularity. But, after a full and deliberate consent had been given by both their Majesties, the party about the Queen found means to put off from day to day the publication of the important instrument ; and a whole month was unpardonably wasted in idle discussions ; during which, nearly one half of the Nobles and Clergy had joined the deputies of the Commons, and taken the name of the National Assembly. Their popularity and confidence had been dangerously increased, in the mean time, by their orators and pamphleteers ; and the Court had become the object of suspicion and discontent, both by the rumour of the approach of its armies to the capital, and by what

Mad. de S. calls the *accidental* exclusion of the deputies from their ordinary place of meeting—which gave occasion to the celebrated and theatrical oath of the Tennis-court. After all, Mad. de S. says, much might have been regained or saved, by issuing M. Necker's declaration. But the very night before it was to be delivered, the council was adjourned, in consequence of a billet from the Queen;—two new councillors and two princes of the blood were called to take part in the deliberations; and it was suddenly determined, that the King should announce it as his pleasure, that the Three Estates should meet and vote in their three separate chambers, as they had done in 1614!

M. Necker, full of fear and sorrow, refused to go to the meeting at which the King was to make this important communication. It was made, however—and received with murmurs of deep displeasure; and, when the Chancellor ordered the deputies to withdraw to their separate chamber, they answered, that they were the National Assembly, and would stay where they were. The whole visible population seconded this resolution, with indications of a terrible and irresistible violence: Perseverance, it was immediately seen, would have led to the most dreadful consequences; and the same night the Queen entreated M. Necker to take the management of the State upon himself, and solemnly engaged to follow no councils but his. The minister complied;—and immediately the obnoxious order was recalled, and a royal mandate was issued to the Nobles and the Clergy, to join the deliberations of the Tiers état.

If these reconciling measures had been sincerely followed out, the country and the monarchy might perhaps have been saved. But the party of the Ultras—'qui parloit avec beaucoup de dédain de l'autorité du roi d'Angleterre, et vouloit faire considérer comme un attentat, la pensée de réduire un roi de France au misérable sort du monarque Britannique'—this misguided party—had still too much weight in the royal councils; and, while they took advantage of the calm produced by M. Necker's measures and popularity, did not cease secretly to hasten the march of M. de Broglie with his German regiments upon Paris—with the design, scarcely dissembled, of employing them to overawe and disperse the assembly. Considering from whom her information is derived, we can scarcely refuse our implicit belief to the following important statement, which has never yet been made on equal authority.

'M. Necker n'ignoroit pas le véritable objet pour lequel on faisoit avancer les troupes, bien qu'on voulût le lui cacher. L'intention de la cour étoit de réunir à Compiègne tous les membres des trois ordres qui n'avoient point favorisé le système des innovations, et là de leur

faire consentir à la hâte les impôts et les emprunts dont elle avoit besoin, afin de les renvoyer ensuite. Comme un tel projet ne pouvoit être secondé par M. Necker, on se proposoit de le renvoyer dès que la force militaire seroit rassemblée. Cinquante avis par jour l'informeront de sa situation, et il ne lui étoit pas possible d'en douter; mais il savoit aussi que, dans les circonstances où l'on se trouvoit alors, il ne pouvoit quitter sa place sans confirmer les bruits qui se répandoient sur les mesures violentes que l'on préparoit à la cour. Le roi s'étant résolu à ces mesures, M. Necker ne voulut pas y prendre part, mais il ne vouloit pas non plus donner le signal de s'y opposer; et il restoit là comme une sentinelle qu'on laissoit encore à son poste, pour tromper les attaquans sur la manœuvre. I. 231—233.

He continued, accordingly, to go every day to the palace, where he was received with cold civility; and at last, when the troops were all assembled, he received an order in the middle of the night, commanding him instantly to quit France, and to let no one know of his departure. This was on the night of the 11th of July;—and as soon as his dismissal was known, all Paris rose in insurrection—an army of 100,000 men was arrayed in a night—and, on the 14th, the Bastille was demolished, and the King brought as a prisoner to the Hotel de Ville, to express his approbation of all that had been done. M. Necker, who had got as far as Brussels, was instantly recalled. Upwards of two millions of men took up arms in the country—and it was manifest that a great revolution was already consummated.

There is next a series of lively and masterly sketches of the different parties in the Constituent Assembly, and their various leaders. Of these, the most remarkable, by far, was Mirabeau, who appeared in opposition to Necker, like the evil spirit of the Revolution contending with its better angel. Mad. de S. says of him, that he was 'Tribun par calcul et Aristocrat par goût.' There never, perhaps, was an instance of so much talent being accompanied and neutralized by so much profligacy. Of all the daring spirits that appeared on that troubled scene, no one, during his life, ever dared to encounter him; and yet, such was his want of principle, that no one party, and no one individual, trusted him with their secrets. His fearlessness, promptitude and energy, overbore all competition; and his ambition seemed to be, to show how the making or the marring of all things depended upon his good pleasure. Mad. de S. confirms what has often been said of his occasional difficulty in *extempore* speaking, and of his habitually employing his friends to write his speeches and letters; but, after his death, she says none of them could ever produce for themselves any thing equal to what they used to catch from his inspiration. In debate, he was artful when worsted, and merciless when successful. What he said of the

Abbé Maury, was true of all his opponents—' Quand il a raison, nous disputons; quand il a tort, je l'écrase.'

Opposed to this, and finely contrasted with it, is the character of M. de la Fayette—the purest, the most temperate, and therefore the most inflexible friend of rational liberty in France. Considering the times in which he has lived, and the treatment he has met with, it is a proud thing for a nation to be able to name *one* of its public characters, to whom this high testimony can be borne, without risk of contradiction. ' Depuis le départ de M. de la Fayette pour l'Amérique, il y a quarante ans, on ne peut citer ni une action, ni une parole de lui qui n'ait été dans la même ligne, sans qu'aucun intérêt personnel se soit jamais mêlé à sa conduite.' The Abbé Sieyès seems to us a little like our Bentham. At all events, this little sketch of him is worth preserving.

' Il avoit mené jusqu'à quarante ans une vie solitaire, réfléchissant sur les questions politiques, et portant une grande force d'abstraction dans cette étude; mais il étoit peu fait pour communiquer avec les autres hommes, tant il s'irritoit aisément de leurs travers, et tant il les blessait par les siens. Toutefois, comme il avoit un esprit supérieur et des façons de s'exprimer laconiques et tranchantes, c'étoit la mode dans l'assemblée de lui montrer un respect presque superstitieux. Mirabeau ne demandoit pas mieux que d'accorder au silence de l'Abbé Sieyès le pas sur sa propre éloquence, car ce genre de rivalité n'est pas redoutable. On croyoit à Sieyès, à cet homme mystérieux, des secrets sur les constitutions, dont on espéroit toujours des effets étonnans quand il les révéleroit. Quelques jeunes gens, et même des esprits d'une grande force, professoient la plus haute admiration pour lui; et l'on s'accordoit à le louer aux dépens de tout autre, parce qu'il ne se faisoit jamais juger en entier dans aucune circonstance. Ce qu'on savoit avec certitude, c'est qu'il détestoit les distinctions nobiliaires; et cependant il avoit conservé de son état de prêtre un attachement au clergé, qui se manifesta le plus clairement du monde lors de la suppression des dîmes. *Ils veulent être libres et ne savent pas être justes*, disoit-il à cette occasion; et toutes les fautes de l'assemblée étoient renfermées dans ces paroles.' I, 305-6.

The most remarkable party, perhaps, in the Assembly was that of the Aristocrats, consisting chiefly of the Nobles and Clergy, and about thirty of the Commons. In the situation in which they were placed, one would have expected a good deal of anxiety, bitterness or enthusiasm, from them. But, in France, things affect people differently. Nothing can be more characteristic than the following powerful sketch. ' Ce parti, qui avoit protesté contre toutes les résolutions de l'assemblée, n'y assistoit que par prudence; tout ce qu'on y faisoit lui paroissoit inso-

‘ lent, mais très-peu sérieux ! tant il trouvoit ridicule cette dé-  
 ‘ couverte du dix-huitième siècle, *une nation*, — tandis qu’on n’a-  
 ‘ voit eu jusqu’alors que des nobles, des prêtres, et du peuple ! ’  
 (I. p. 298.) They had their counterpart, however, on the op-  
 posite side. The speculative, refining, and philanthropic re-  
 formers, were precisely a match for them. There is infinite  
 talent, truth and pathos, in the following hasty observations.

‘ Ils gagnèrent de l’ascendant dans l’assemblée, en se moquant des  
 modérés, comme si la modération étoit de la foiblesse, et qu’eux  
 seuls fussent des caractères forts ; on les voyoit, dans les salles et sur  
 les bancs des députés, tourner en ridicule quiconque s’avisait de leur  
 représenter qu’avant eux les hommes avoient existé en société, que  
 les écrivains avoient pensé, et que l’Angleterre étoit en possession de  
 quelque liberté. On eût dit qu’on leur répétoit les contes de leur  
 nourrice, tant ils écoutoient avec impatience, tant ils prononçoient  
 avec dédain de certaines phrases bien exagérées et bien décisives, sur  
 l’impossibilité d’admettre un sénat héréditaire, un sénat même à vie,  
 un *vero* absolu, une condition de propriété, enfin tout ce qui, disoi-  
 ent-ils, attentoit à la souveraineté du peuple ! *Ils portoient la futilité*  
*des cours dans la cause démocratique*, et plusieurs députés du tiers  
 étoient, tout à la fois, éblouis par leurs belles manières de gentils-  
 hommes, et captivés par leurs doctrines démocratiques.

‘ Ces chefs élégans du parti populaire vouloient entrer dans le mi-  
 nistère. Ils souhaitoient de conduire les affaires jusqu’au point où  
 l’on auroit besoin d’eux ; mais, dans cette rapide descente, le char ne  
 s’arrêtoit point à leurs relais ; ils n’étoient point conspirateurs, mais ils  
 se confioient trop en leur pouvoir sur l’assemblée, et se flattoient de  
 relever le trône dès qu’ils l’auroient fait arriver jusqu’à leur portée ;  
 mais, quand ils voulurent de bonne foi réparer le mal déjà fait, il  
 n’étoit plus temps. On ne sauroit compter combien de désastres au-  
 roient pu être épargnés à la France, si ce parti de jeunes gens se fût  
 réuni avec les modérés : car, avant les événemens du 6 Octobre,  
 lorsque le roi n’avoit point été enlevé de Versailles, et que l’armée  
 Française, répandue dans les provinces, conservoit encore quelque  
 respect pour le trône, les circonstances étoient telles qu’on pouvoit  
 établir une monarchie raisonnable en France. ’ I. 30 — 305.

It is a curious proof of the vivaciousness of vulgar prejudices,  
 that Mad. de S. should have thought it necessary, in 1816, to  
 refute, in a separate chapter, the popular opinion that the dis-  
 orders in France in 1790 and 1791 were fomented by the hired  
 agents of England.

There is a long and very interesting account of the outrages  
 and horrors of the 5th of October 1789, and of the tumultuous  
 conveyance of the captive monarch from Versailles to Paris, by  
 a murderous and intimated mob. Mad. de S. was a spectator  
 of the whole scene in the interior of the palace ; and though  
 there is not much that is new in her account, we cannot resist

making one little extract after the mob had filled all the courts of the palace,—

‘ La reine parut alors dans le salon ; ses cheveux étoient en désordre, sa figure étoit pâle, mais digne, et tout, dans sa personne, frappoit l’imagination : le peuple demanda qu’elle parût sur le balcon ; et, comme toute la cour, appelée la cour de marbre, étoit remplie d’hommes qui tenoient en main des armes à feu, on put appercevoir dans la physionomie de la reine ce qu’elle redoutoit. Néanmoins elle s’avança, sans hésiter, avec ses deux enfans qui lui servoient de sauvegarde.

‘ La multitude parut attendrie, en voyant la reine comme mère, et les fureurs politiques s’apaisèrent à cet aspect ; ceux qui, la nuit même, avoient peut-être voulu l’assassiner, portèrent son nom jusqu’aux nues. Le peuple en insurrection est inaccessible d’ordinaire au raisonnement, et l’on n’agit sur lui que par des sensations aussi rapides que les coups de l’électricité, et qui se communiquent de même. Les masses sont, suivant les circonstances, meilleures ou plus mauvaises que les individus qui les composent ; mais, dans quelque disposition qu’elles soient, on ne peut les porter au crime comme à la vertu, qu’en faisant usage d’une impulsion naturelle.

‘ La reine, en sortant du balcon, s’approcha de ma mère, et lui dit, avec des sanglots étouffés : *Ils vont nous forcer, le roi et moi, à nous rendre à Paris, avec les têtes de nos gardes du corps portées devant nous au bout de leurs piques.* Sa prédiction faillit s’accomplir. Ainsi la reine et le roi furent amenés dans leur capitale ! Nous revînmes à Paris par une autre route, qui nous éloignoit de cet affreux spectacle : c’étoit à travers le bois de Boulogne que nous passâmes, et le temps étoit d’une rare beauté ; l’air agitoit à peine les arbres, et le soleil avoit assez d’éclat pour ne laisser rien de sombre dans la campagne : aucun objet extérieur ne répondoit à notre tristesse. Combien de fois ce contraste, entre la beauté de la nature et les souffrances imposées par les hommes, ne se renouvelle-t-il pas dans le cours de la vie !

‘ Le roi se rendit à l’hôtel de ville, et la reine y montra la présence d’esprit la plus remarquable. Le roi dit au maire : *Je viens avec plaisir au milieu de ma bonne ville de Paris ;* la reine ajouta : *Et avec confiance.* Ce mot étoit heureux, bien qu’hélas, l’événement ne l’ait pas justifié. Le lendemain, la reine reçut le corps diplomatique et les personnes de sa cour ; elle ne pouvoit prononcer une parole sans que les sanglots la suffoquassent, et nous étions de même dans l’impossibilité de lui répondre.

‘ Quel spectacle en effet que cet ancien palais des Tuileries, abandonné depuis plus d’un siècle par ses augustes hôtes ! La vétusté des objets extérieurs agissoit sur l’imagination, et la faisoit errer dans les temps passés. Comme on étoit loin de prévoir l’arrivée de la famille royale, très-peu d’appartemens étoient habitables, et la reine avoit été obligée de faire dresser des lits de camp pour ses enfans, dans la chambre même où elle recevoit ; elle nous en fit des excuses, en ajoutant : *Vous savez que je ne m’attendois pas à venir ici.* Sa physionomie étoit belle et irritée ; on ne peut l’oublier quand on l’a vue.



It has always struck us as a singular defect in all the writers who have spoken of those scenes of decisive violence in the early history of the French revolution, such as the 14th of July and this of the 6th of October, that they do not so much as attempt to explain by what instigation they were brought about—or by whom the plan of operations was formed, and the means for carrying it into execution provided. That there was concert and preparation in the business, is sufficiently apparent from the magnitude and suddenness of the assemblage, and the skill and systematic perseverance with which they set about accomplishing their purposes. Yet we know as little, at this hour, of the plotters and authors of the mischief, as we do of the Porteous mob. Mad. de S. contents herself with saying, that these dreadful scenes signalized ‘l’avenement des Jacobins;’ but seems to exculpate all the known leaders of that party from any actual concern in the transaction;—and yet it was that transaction that subverted the monarchy.

Then came the abolition of titles of nobility—the institution of a constitutional clergy—and the federation of 14th July 1790. In spite of the storms and showers of blood which we have already noticed, the political horizon, it seems, still looked bright in the eyes of France. The following picture is lively—and is among the traits which history does not usually preserve—and which, what she does preserve, certainly would not enable future ages to conjecture.

‘Les étrangers ne sauroient concevoir le charme et l’éclat tant vapté de la société de Paris, s’ils n’ont vu la France que depuis vingt ans; mais on peut dire avec vérité, que jamais cette société n’a été aussi brillante et aussi sérieuse tout ensemble, que pendant les trois ou quatre premières années de la révolution, à compter de 1788 jusqu’à la fin de 1791. Comme les affaires politiques étoient encore entre les mains de la première classe, toute la vigueur de la liberté et toute la grâce de la politesse ancienne se réunissoient dans les mêmes personnes. Les hommes du tiers état, distingués par leurs lumières et leurs talens, se joignoient à ces gentilshommes plus fiers de leur propre mérite que des privilèges de leur corps; et les plus hautes questions que l’ordre social ait jamais fait naître étoient traitées par les esprits les plus capables de les entendre et de les discuter.

‘Ce qui nuit aux agrémens de la société en Angleterre, ce sont les occupations et les intérêts d’un état depuis long-temps représentatif. Ce qui rendoit au contraire la société française un peu superficielle, c’étoient les loisirs de la monarchie. Mais tout à coup la force de la liberté vint se mêler à l’élégance de l’aristocratie; dans aucun pays ni dans aucun temps, l’art de parler sous toutes ses formes n’a été aussi remarquable que dans les premières années de la révolution.

‘L’assemblée constituante, comme je l’ai déjà dit, ne suspendit

pas un seul jour la liberté de la presse. Ainsi ceux qui souffroient de se trouver constamment en minorité dans l'assemblée, avoient au moins la satisfaction de se moquer de tout le parti contraire. Leurs journaux faisoient de spirituels calembours sur les circonstances les plus importantes ; c'étoit l'histoire du monde changée en commérage. Tel est partout le caractère de l'aristocratie des cours. C'est la dernière fois, hélas ! que l'esprit françois se soit montré dans tout son éclat, c'est la dernière fois, et à quelques égards aussi la première, que la société de Paris ait pu donner l'idée de cette communication des esprits supérieurs entre eux, la plus noble jouissance dont la nature humaine soit capable. Ceux qui ont vécu dans ce temps ne sauroient s'empêcher d'avouer qu'on n'a jamais vu ni tant de vie ni tant d'esprit nulle part ; l'on peut juger, par la foule d'hommes de talens que les circonstances développèrent alors, ce que seroient les François s'ils étoient appelés à se mêler des affaires publiques dans la route tracée par une constitution sage et sincère.' I. 383—386.

Very soon after the federation, the King entered into secret communications with Mirabeau, and expected by his means, and those of M. Bouillé and his army, to emancipate himself from the bondage in which he was held. The plan was, to retire to Campiegne; and there, by the help of the army, to purify the Assembly, and restore the royal authority. Mad. de S. says, that Mirabeau insisted for a constitution like that of England; but, as an armed force was avowedly the organ by which he was to act, one may be permitted to doubt, whether he could seriously expect this to be granted. In the mean time, the policy of the King was to agree to every thing; and, as this appeared to M. Necker, who was not in the secret, to be an unjustifiable abandonment of himself and the country, he tendered his resignation, and was allowed to retire—and then followed the death of Mirabeau, and shortly after the flight and apprehension of the King—the revision of the constitution—and the dissolution of the constituent assembly, with a self-denying ordinance, declaring, that none of its members should be capable of being elected into the next legislature.

There is an admirable chapter on the emigration of 1791—that emigration, in the spirit of party and of *bon ton*, which at once exasperated and strengthened the party who ought to have been opposed, and irretrievably injured a cause which was worse than deserted, when foreigners were called in to support it. Mad. de S. is decidedly of opinion, that the Nobles should have staid, and resisted what was wrong,—or submitted to it. 'Mais ils ont trouvé plus simple d'invoquer la gendarmerie Européenne, afin de mettre Paris à raison.' The fate of the country, which ought to have been their only concern, was always a secondary object, in their eyes, to the triumph of their

own opinions—' ils l'ont voulu comme un jaloux sa maîtresse—' fidelle au morte,'—and seem rather to have considered themselves as allied to all the other nobles of Europe, than as countrymen to the people of France.

The constituent assembly made more laws in two years than the English parliament had done in two hundred. The succeeding assembly made as many—with this difference, that while the former aimed, for the most part, at general reformation, the last were all personal and vindictive. The speculative republicans were for some time the leaders of this industrious body;—and Mad. de S., in describing their tone and temper while in power, has given a picture of the political tractability of her countrymen, which could scarcely have been endured from a stranger.

'Aucun argument, aucune inquiétude n'étoient écoutés par ses chefs; ils répondoient aux observations de la sagesse, et de la sagesse désintéressée, par un sourire moqueur, symptôme de l'aridité qui résulte de l'amour-propre: on s'épuisoit à leur rappeler les circonstances, et à leur en déduire les causes; on passoit tour à tour de la théorie à l'expérience, et de l'expérience à la théorie, pour leur en montrer l'identité; et, s'ils consentoient à répondre, ils nioient les faits les plus authentiques, et combattoient les observations les plus évidentes, en y opposant quelques maximes communes, bien qu'exprimées avec éloquence. Ils se regardoient entre eux, comme s'ils avoient été seuls dignes de s'entendre, et s'encourageoient par l'idée que tout étoit pusillanimité dans la résistance à leur manière de voir. Tels sont les signes de l'esprit de parti chez les François: le dédain pour leurs adversaires en est la base, et le dédain s'oppose toujours à la connoissance de la vérité.'—'Mais dans les débats politiques,' she adds, 'où la masse d'une nation prend part, il n'y a que la voix des événemens qui soit entendue; les argumens n'inspirent que le désir de leur répondre.'

The King, who seemed for a time to have resigned himself to his fate, was roused at last to refuse his assent to certain brutal decrees against the recusant priests—and his palace and his person were immediately invaded by a brutal mob—and he was soon after compelled with all his family to assist at the anniversary of the 14th July, where, except the plaudits of a few children, every thing was dark and menacing. The following few lines appear to us excessively touching.

'Il falloit le caractère de Louis XVI, ce caractère de martyr qu'il n'a jamais démenti, pour supporter ainsi une pareille situation. Sa manière de marcher, sa contenance avoient quelque chose de particulier; dans d'autres occasions, on auroit pu lui souhaiter plus de grandeur: mais il suffisoit dans ce moment de rester en tout le même pour paroître sublime. Je suivis de loin sa tête poudrée au milieu de ces têtes à cheveux noirs; son habit, encore brodé comme jadis, ressortoit à côté du costume des gens du peuple qui se pressoient autour

de lui. Quand il monta les degrés de l'autel, on crut voir la victime sainte, s'offrant volontairement en sacrifice. Il redescendit ; et, traversant de nouveau les rangs en désordre, il revint s'asseoir auprès de la reine et de ses enfans. Depuis ce jour, le peuple ne l'a plus revu que sur l'échafaud.' II. 54, 55.

Soon after, the allies entered France; the King refused to take shelter in the army of M. de la Fayette at Compiègne. His palace was stormed, and his guards butchered, on the 10th of August. He was committed to the Temple, arraigned, and executed ; and the reign of terror, with all its unspeakable atrocities, ensued.

We must pass over much of what is most interesting in the book before us ; for we find, that the most rapid sketch we can trace, would draw us into great length. Mad. de S. thinks that the war was nearly unavoidable on the part of England ; and, after a brief character of our Fox and Pitt, she says,

‘ Il n'est pas nécessaire de décider entre ces deux grands hommes, et personne n'oseroit se croire capable d'un tel jugement. Mais la pensée salutaire qui doit résulter des discussions sublimes dont le parlement anglois a été le théâtre, c'est que le parti ministériel a toujours eu raison, quand il a combattu le jacobinisme et le despotisme militaire ; mais toujours tort et grand tort, quand il s'est fait l'ennemi des principes libéraux en France. Les membres de l'opposition, au contraire, ont dévié des nobles fonctions qui leur sont attribuées, quand ils ont défendu les hommes dont les forfaits perdoient la cause de l'espèce humaine ; et cette même opposition a bien mérité de l'avenir, quand elle a soutenu la généreuse élite des amis de la liberté qui, depuis vingt-cinq ans, se dévoue à la haine des deux partis en France, et qui n'est forte que d'une grande alliance, celle de la vérité.' II. 105, 106.

‘ Il pouvoit être avantageux toutefois à l'Angleterre que M. Pitt fût le chef de l'état dans la crise la plus dangereuse où ce pays se soit trouvé ; mais il ne l'étoit pas moins qu'un esprit aussi étendu que celui de M. Fox soutint les principes malgré les circonstances, et sût préserver les dieux pénates des amis de la liberté, au milieu de l'incendie. Ce n'est point pour contenter les deux partis que je les loue ainsi tous les deux, quoiqu'ils aient soutenu des opinions très-opposées. Le contraire en France devoit peut-être avoir lieu ; les factions diverses y sont presque toujours également blâmables ; mais dans un pays libre, les partisans du ministère et les membres de l'opposition peuvent avoir tous raison à leur manière, et ils font souvent chacun du bien selon l'époque ; ce qui importe seulement, c'est de ne pas prolonger le pouvoir acquis par la lutte, après que le danger est passé.' II. 113.

There is an excellent chapter on the excesses of the parties and the people of France at this period ; which she refers to

the sudden exasperation of those principles of natural hostility by which the high and the low are always in some degree actuated, and which are only kept from breaking out by the mutual concessions which the law, in ordinary times, exacts from both parties. The law was now annihilated in that country, and the natural antipathies were called into uncontrolled activity; the intolerance of one party having no longer any check but the intolerance of the other.

‘ Une sorte de fureur s’est emparée des pauvres en présence des riches, et les distinctions nobiliaires ajoutant à la jalousie qu’inspire la propriété, le peuple a été fier de sa multitude; et tout ce qui fait la puissance et l’éclat de la minorité, ne lui a paru qu’une usurpation. Les germes de ce sentiment ont existé dans tous les temps; mais on n’a senti trembler la société humaine dans ses fondemens qu’à l’époque de la terreur en France: on ne doit point s’étonner si cet abominable fléau a laissé de profondes traces dans les esprits, et la seule réflexion qu’on puisse se permettre, et que le reste de cet ouvrage, j’espère, confirmera, c’est que le remède aux passions populaires n’est pas dans le despotisme, mais dans le règne de la loi.

‘ Les querelles des patriciens et des plébéiens, la guerre des esclaves, celle des paysans, celle qui dure encore entre les nobles et les bourgeois, toutes ont eu également pour origine la difficulté de maintenir la société humaine, sans désordre et sans injustice. Les hommes ne pourroient exister aujourd’hui ni séparés, ni réunis, si le respect de la loi ne s’établisoit pas dans les têtes: tous les crimes naîtroient de la société même qui doit les prévenir. Le pouvoir abstrait des gouvernemens représentatifs n’irrite en rien l’orgueil des hommes, et c’est par cette institution que doivent s’éteindre les flambeaux des furies. Ils se sont allumés dans un pays où tout étoit amour-propre, et l’amour-propre irrité, chez le peuple, ne ressemble point à nos nuances fugitives; c’est le besoin de donner la mort.

‘ Des massacres, non moins affreux que ceux de la terreur, ont été commis au nom de la religion; la race humaine s’est épuisée pendant plusieurs siècles en efforts inutiles pour contraindre tous les hommes à la même croyance. Un tel but ne pouvoit être atteint, et l’idée la plus simple, la tolérance, telle que Guillaume Penn l’a professée, a banni pour toujours, du nord de l’Amérique, le fanatisme dont le midi a été l’affreux théâtre. Il en est de même du fanatisme politique; la liberté seule peut le calmer. Après un certain temps, quelques vérités ne seront plus contestées, et l’on parlera des vieilles institutions comme des anciens systèmes de physique, entièrement effacés par l’évidence des faits. ’ II. 115-116.

We can afford to say nothing of the Directory, or of the successes of the national army; but it is impossible to pass quite over the 18th Fructidor (4th September) 1797, when the majority of the Directory sent General Augereau with an armed force to disperse the legislative bodies, and arrest certain of their mem-

bers. This step Mad. de S. considers as the beginning of that system of military despotism which was afterwards carried so far; and seems seriously to believe, that, if it had not been adopted, the reign of law might yet have been restored, and the usurpation of Bonaparte prevented. To us it seems infinitely more probable, that the Bourbons would then have been brought back without any conditions—or rather, perhaps, that a civil war, and a scene of far more sanguinary violence would have ensued. She does not dispute that the royalist party was very strong in both the councils; but seems to think, that an address or declaration by the army would have discomfited them more becomingly than an actual attack. We confess we are not so delicate. Law and order had been sufficiently trod on already, by the Jacobin clubs and revolutionary tribunals; and the battalions of General Augereau were just as well entitled to domineer as the armed sections and butchering mobs of Paris. There was no longer, in short, any sanctity or principle of civil right acknowledged; and it was time that the force and terror which had substantially reigned for three years, should appear in their native colours. They certainly became somewhat less atrocious when thus openly avowed.

We come at last to Bonaparte—a name that *will* go down to posterity, and of whom it is not yet clear, perhaps, how posterity will judge. The greatest of conquerors, in an age when great conquests appeared no longer possible—the most splendid of usurpers, where usurpation had not been heard of for centuries—who entered in triumph almost all the capitals of Continental Europe, and led, at last, to his bed, the daughter of her proudest sovereign—who set up kings and put them down at his pleasure, and, for sixteen years, defied alike the swords of his foreign enemies and the daggers of his domestic factions. This is a man on whom future generations must yet sit in judgment; but the evidence by which they are to judge must be transmitted to them by his contemporaries. Mad. de S. has collected a great deal of this evidence; and has reported it, we think, on the whole, in a tone of great impartiality. Her whole talents seem to be roused and concentrated when she begins to speak of this extraordinary man; and much and ably as his character has been lately discussed, we do think it has never been half so well described as in the volumes before us. We shall venture on a pretty long extract, beginning with the account of their first interview; for on this, as on most other subjects, Mad. de S. has the unspeakable advantage of writing from her own observation. After mentioning the great popularity he had ac-

quired by his victories in Italy, and the peace by which he had secured them at Campo Formio, she says—

‘ C’est avec ce sentiment, du moins, que je le vis pour la première fois à Paris. Je ne trouvai pas de paroles pour lui répondre, quand il vint à moi me dire qu’il avoit cherché mon père à Coppet, et qu’il regrettoit d’avoir passé en Suisse sans le voir. Mais, lorsque je fus un peu remise du trouble de l’admiration, un sentiment de crainte très-prononcé lui succéda. Bonaparte alors n’avoit aucune puissance ; on le croyoit même assez menacé par les soupçons ombrageux du directoire ; ainsi, la crainte qu’il inspireroit n’étoit causée que par le singulier effet de sa personne sur presque tous ceux qui l’approchent. J’avois vu des hommes très-dignes de respect, j’avois vu aussi des hommes féroces : il n’y avoit rien dans l’impression que Bonaparte produisoit sur moi, qui pût me rappeler ni les uns ni les autres. J’aperçus assez vite, dans les différentes occasions que j’eus de le rencontrer pendant son séjour à Paris, que son caractère ne pouvoit être défini par les mots dont nous avons coutume de nous servir ; il n’étoit ni bon, ni violent, ni doux, ni cruel, à la façon des individus à nous connus. Un tel être n’ayant point de pareil, ne pouvoit ni ressentir, ni faire éprouver aucune sympathie : c’étoit plus ou moins qu’un homme. Sa tournure, son esprit, son langage sont empreints d’une nature étrangère, avantage de plus pour subjuguier les Français, ainsi que nous l’avons dit ailleurs.

‘ Loin de me rassurer en voyant Bonaparte plus souvent, il m’intimidoit toujours davantage. Je sentois confusément qu’aucune émotion de cœur ne pouvoit agir sur lui. Il regarde une créature humaine comme un fait ou comme une chose, mais non comme un semblable. Il ne hait pas plus qu’il n’aime ; il n’y a que lui pour lui ; tout le reste des créatures sont des chiffres. La force de sa volonté consiste dans l’imperturbable calcul de son égoïsme ; c’est un habile joueur d’échecs dont le genre humain est la partie adverse qu’il se propose de faire échec et mat. Ses succès tiennent autant aux qualités qui lui manquent, qu’aux talens qu’il possède. Ni la pitié, ni l’attrait, ni la religion, ni l’attachement à une idée quelconque ne sauroient le détourner de sa direction principale. Il est pour son intérêt ce que le juste doit être pour la vertu : si le but étoit bon, sa persévérance seroit belle.

‘ Chaque fois que je l’entendois parler, j’étois frappée de sa supériorité ; elle n’avoit pourtant aucun rapport avec celle des hommes instruits et cultivés par l’étude ou la société, tels que l’Angleterre et la France peuvent en offrir des exemples. Mais ses discours indiquoient le tact des circonstances, comme le chasseur à celui de sa proie. Quelquefois il racontoit les faits politiques et militaires de sa vie d’une façon très-intéressante ; il avoit même, dans les récits qui permettoient de la gaieté, un peu de l’imagination italienne. Cependant rien ne pouvoit triompher de mon invincible éloignement pour ce que j’apercevois en lui. Je sentois dans son âme une épée froide et tranchante qui glaçoit en blessant ; je sentois dans son esprit une

ironie profonde à laquelle rien de grand ni de beau, *pas même sa propre gloire*, ne pouvoit échapper ; car il méprisoit la nation dont il vouloit les suffrages, et nulle étincelle d'enthousiasme ne se mêloit à son besoin d'étonner l'espèce humaine.

Ce fut dans l'intervalle entre le retour de Bonaparte et son départ pour l'Egypte, c'est-à-dire, vers la fin de 1797<sup>e</sup>, que je le vis plusieurs fois à Paris ; et jamais la difficulté de respirer que j'éprouvois en sa présence ne put se dissiper. J'étois un jour à table entre lui et l'abbé Sieyès : singulière situation, si j'avois pu prévoir l'avenir ! J'examinois avec attention la figure de Bonaparte ; mais chaque fois qu'il découvroit en moi des regards observateurs, il avoit l'art d'ôter à ses yeux toute expression, comme s'ils fussent devenus de marbre. Son visage étoit alors immobile, excepté un sourire vague qu'il plaçoit sur ses lèvres à tout hasard, pour dérouter quiconque voudroit observer les signes extérieurs de sa pensée.

Sa figure, alors maigre et pâle, étoit assez agréable ; depuis, il est engraisé, ce qui lui va très-mal : car on a besoin de croire un tel homme tourmenté par son caractère, pour tolérer un peu que ce caractère fût tellement souffrir les autres. Comme sa stature est petite, et cependant sa taille fort longue, il étoit beaucoup mieux à cheval qu'à pied ; en tout, c'est la guerre, et seulement la guerre qui lui sied. Sa manière d'être dans la société est gênée sans timidité ; il a quelque chose de dédaigneux quand il se contient, et de vulgaire, quand il se met à l'aise ; le dédain lui va mieux, aussi ne s'en fait-il pas faute.

Par une vocation naturelle pour l'état de prince, il adressoit déjà des questions insignifiantes à tous ceux qu'on lui présentait. Etes-vous marié ? demandoit-il à l'un des convives. Combien avez-vous d'enfans ? disoit-il à l'autre. Depuis quand êtes-vous arrivé ? Quand partez-vous ? Et autres interrogations de ce genre qui établissent la supériorité de celui qui les fait sur celui qui veut bien se laisser questionner ainsi. Il se plaisait déjà dans l'art d'embarrasser, en disant des choses désagréables : art dont il s'est fait depuis un système, comme de toutes les manières de subjuguier les autres *en les avilissant*. Il avoit pourtant, à cette époque, le désir de plaire, puisqu'il renfermoit dans son esprit le projet de renverser le directoire, et de se mettre à sa place ; mais, malgré ce désir, on eût dit qu'à l'inverse du prophète, il maudissoit involontairement, quoiqu'il eût l'intention de bénir.

Je l'ai vu un jour s'approcher d'une Française très-connue par sa beauté, son esprit et la vivacité de ses opinions ; il se plaça tout droit devant elle comme le plus roide des généraux allemands, et lui dit : *Madame, je n'aime pas que les femmes se mêlent de politique.* " Vous avez raison, général," lui répondit-elle : " *mais dans un pays où on leur coupe la tête, il est naturel qu'elles aient envie de savoir pourquoi.*" Bonaparte alors ne répliqua rien. C'est un homme que la résistance véritable apaise ; ceux qui ont souffert son despotisme, doivent en être autant accusés que lui-même. II. 198—204.



The following little anecdote is every way characteristic.

‘ Un soir il parloit avec Barras de son ascendant sur les peuples italiens, qui avoient voulu le faire duc de Milan et roi d’Italie. Mais je ne pense, dit-il, à rien de semblable dans aucun pays. “ Vous faites bien de n’y pas songer en France,” répondit Barras; “ car, si le directoire vous envoyoit demain au Temple, il n’y auroit pas quatre personnes qui s’y opposassent.” Bonaparte étoit assis sur un canapé à côté de Barras; à ces paroles il s’élança vers la cheminée, n’étant pas maître de son irritation; puis, reprenant cette espèce de calme apparent dont les hommes les plus passionnés parmi les habitants du Midi sont capables, il déclara qu’il vouloit être chargé d’une expédition militaire. Le directoire lui proposa la descente en Angleterre; il alla visiter les côtes; et reconnoissant bientôt que cette expédition étoit insensée, il revint décidé à tenter la conquête de l’Egypte.’ II. 207, 208.

We must add a few miscellaneous passages, to develop a little farther this extraordinary character. Mad. de S. had a long conversation with him on the state of Switzerland, in which he seemed quite insensible to any feelings of generosity.

‘ Cette conversation,’ however, she adds, ‘ me fit cependant concevoir l’agrément qu’on peut lui trouver quand il prend l’air bonhomme, et parle comme d’une chose simple de lui-même et de ses projets. Cet art, le plus redoutable de tous, a captivé beaucoup de gens. A cette même époque, je revis encore quelquefois Bonaparte en société, et il me parut toujours profondément occupé des rapports qu’il vouloit établir entre lui et les autres hommes, les tenant à distance ou les rapprochant de lui, suivant qu’il croyoit se les attacher plus sûrement. Quand il se trouvoit avec les directeurs surtout, il craignoit d’avoir l’air d’un général sous les ordres de son gouvernement, et il essayoit tour à tour dans ses manières, avec cette sorte de supérieurs, la dignité ou la familiarité; mais il manquoit le ton vrai de l’une et de l’autre. C’est un homme qui ne sauroit être naturel que dans le commandement.’ II. 211, 212.

‘ Quelques personnes ont cru que Bonaparte avoit une grande instruction sur tous les sujets, parce qu’il a fait à cet égard, comme à tant d’autres, usage de son charlatanisme. Mais comme il a peu lu dans sa vie, il ne sait que ce qu’il a recueilli par la conversation. Le

très-estimé qu’il vous dise, sur un sujet quelconque, une

l’en ait informé la veille; mais, l’instant d’après, ne sait pas ce que tous les gens instruits ont appris.’ II. 248, 249.

The following remark relates rather to the French nation than their ruler. We quote it for its exquisite truth rather than its severity.

‘ Sa conversation avec le Mufti dans la pyramide de Chéops devoit enchanter les Parisiens, parce qu’elle réunissoit les deux choses

qui les captivent : un certain genre de grandeur, et de la moquerie tout ensemble. Les François sont bien aises d'être émus, et de rire de ce qu'ils sont émus ; le charlatanisme leur plaît, et ils aident volontiers à se tromper eux-mêmes, pourvu qu'il leur soit permis, tout en se conduisant comme des dupes, de montrer par quelques bons mots que pourtant ils ne le sont pas. ' II. 228.

On his return from Egypt it was understood by everybody that he was to subvert the existing constitution. But he passed five weeks at Paris in a quiet and apparently undecided way—and, with all this study, acted his part very badly after all. Nothing can be more curious than the following passage. When he had at last determined to put down the Directory,—

' Il se rendit à la barre du conseil des anciens, et voulut les entraîner en leur parlant avec chaleur et avec noblesse ; mais il ne sait pas s'exprimer dans le langage soutenu : ce n'est que dans la conversation familière que son esprit mordant et décidé se montre à son avantage : d'ailleurs, comme il n'a d'enthousiasme véritable sur aucun sujet, il n'est éloquent que dans l'injure, et rien ne lui étoit plus difficile que de s'astreindre, en improvisant, au genre de respect qu'il faut pour une assemblée qu'on veut convaincre. Il essaya de dire au conseil des anciens : *Je suis le dieu de la guerre et de la fortune, suivez-moi.* Mais il se servoit de ces paroles pompeuses par embarras, à la place de celles qu'il auroit aimé leur dire : *Vous êtes tous des misérables, et je vous ferai fusiller si vous ne m'obéissez pas.*

' Le 19 brumaire, il arriva dans le conseil des cinq cents, les bras croisés, avec un air très-sombre, et suivi de deux grands grenadiers qui protégeoient sa petite stature. Les députés appelés jacobins poussèrent des hurlemens en le voyant entrer dans la salle ; son frère Lucien, bien heureusement pour lui, étoit alors président ; il agitoit en vain la sonnette pour rétablir l'ordre ; les cris de *traître* et d'*usurpateur* se faisoient entendre de toutes parts ; et l'un des députés, compatriote de Bonaparte, le corse Aréna, s'approcha de ce général et le secoua fortement par le collet de son habit. On a supposé, mais sans fondement, qu'il avoit un poignard pour le tuer. Son action cependant effraya Bonaparte, et il dit aux grenadiers qui étoient à côté de lui, *en laissant tomber sa tête sur l'épaule de l'un d'eux : Tirez-moi d'ici !* Les grenadiers l'enlevèrent du milieu des députés qui l'entouraient, ils le portèrent hors de la salle en plein air ; et, dès qu'il y fut, sa présence d'esprit lui revint. Il monta à cheval à l'instant même ; et, parcourant les rangs de ses grenadiers, il les détermina bientôt à ce qu'il vouloit d'eux. Dans cette circonstance, comme dans beaucoup d'autres, on a remarqué que Bonaparte pouvoit se troubler quand un autre danger que celui de la guerre étoit en face de lui, et quelques personnes en ont conclu bien ridiculement qu'il manquoit de courage. Certes on ne peut nier son audace ; mais, comme il n'est rien, pas même brave, d'une façon généreuse, il s'ensuit qu'il ne s'expose jamais que quand cela peut être utile. Il seroit très-fâché d'être tué, parce que c'est un revers, et qu'il veut en tout du succès ; il en seroit aussi

fâché, parce que la mort déplait à son imagination : mais il n'hésite pas à hasarder sa vie, lorsque, suivant sa manière de voir, la partie vaut le risque de l'enjeu, s'il est permis de s'exprimer ainsi. II. p. 240-242.

Although he failed thus strangely in the theatrical part of the business, the substantial part was effectually done. He sent in a column of grenadiers with fixed bayonets at one end of the hall, and made them advance steadily to the other ; driving the unhappy senators, in their fine classical draperies, before them, and forcing them to leap out of the windows, and scamper through the gardens in these strange habiliments. Colonel Pride's purge itself was not half so rough in its operation.

There was now an end, not only of liberty, but of republican tyranny ; and the empire of the sword in the hand of one man, was substantially established. It is melancholy to think, but history shows it to be true, that the most abject servitude is usually established at the close of a long, and even generous struggle for freedom ; partly, no doubt, because despotism offers an image of repose to those who are worn out with contention, but chiefly because that military force to which all parties had in their extremity appealed, naturally lends itself to the bad ambition of a fortunate commander. This it was which made the fortune of Bonaparte. His answer to all remonstrances was—' Voulez vous que je vous livre aux Jacobins ? ' But his true answer was, that the army was at his devotion, and that he defied the opinion of the nation.

He began by setting up the Consulate : But from the very first, says Mad. de S., assumed the airs and the tone of royalty.

' Il prit les Tuileries pour sa demeure, et ce fut un coup de partie que le choix de cette habitation. On avoit vu là le roi de France, les habitudes monarchiques y étoient encore présentes à tous les yeux, et il suffisoit, pour ainsi dire, de laisser faire les murs pour tout rétablir. Vers les derniers jours du dernier siècle, je vis entrer le premier consul dans le palais bâti par les rois ; et quoique Bonaparte fût bien loin encore de la magnificence qu'il a développée depuis, l'on voyoit déjà dans tout ce qui l'entouroit un effressement de se faire courtisan à l'orientale, qui dut lui persuader que gouverner la terre étoit chose bien facile. Quand sa voiture fut arrivée dans la cour des Tuileries, ses valets ouvrirent la portière et précipitèrent le marchepied avec une violence qui sembloit dire que les choses physiques elles-mêmes étoient insolentes quand elles retardoient un instant la marche de leur maître. Lui ne regardoit ni ne remercioit personne, comme s'il avoit craint qu'on pût le croire sensible aux hommages même qu'il exigeoit. En montant l'escalier au milieu de la foule qui se pressoit pour le suivre, ses yeux ne se portèrent ni sur aucun objet, ni sur aucune personne en particulier ; il y avoit quelque chose de vague et d'insouciant dans sa physionomie, et ses regards n'expri-

moient que ce qu'il lui convient toujours de montrer, l'indifférence pour le sort, et le dédain pour les hommes.' II. 258, 259.

He had some reason, indeed, to despise men, from the specimens he had mostly about him : For his adherents were chiefly deserters from the royalist or the republican party ;—the first willing to transfer their servility to a new dynasty,—the latter to take the names and emoluments of republican offices from the hand of a plebeian usurper. For a while he thought it prudent to dissemble with each ; and, with that utter contempt of truth which belonged to his scorn of mankind, held, in the same day, the most edifying discourses of citizenship and equality to one set of hearers, and of the sacred rights of sovereigns to another. He extended the same unprincipled dissimulation to the subject of religion. To the prelates with whom he arranged his celebrated *Concordat*, he spoke in the most serious manner of the truth and the awfulness of the Gospel ; and to Cabanis and the philosophers, he said, the same evening—' Savez vous ce que c'est la Concordat ? C'est la *Vaccine de la Religion*—dans cinquante ans il n'y aura plus en France ! ' He resolved, however, to profit by it while it lasted ; and had the blasphemous audacity to put this, among other things, into the national catechism, approved of by the whole Gallican church :—' *Qu.* Que doit-on penser de ceux qui manqueraient à leur devoir envers l'Empereur Napoléon ? *Answer.* Qu'ils résisteroient à l'ordre établi de Dieu lui-même—et se rendroient dignes de la *damnation éternelle* ! '

With the actual tyranny of the sword began the more pitiful persecution of the slavish journals—the wanton and merciless infliction of exile on women and men of letters—and the perpetual, restless, insatiable interference in the whole life and conversation of every one of the slightest note or importance. The following passages are written, perhaps, with more bitterness than any other in the book ; but they appear to us to be substantially just.

' Bonaparte, lorsqu'il dispoisoit d'un million d'hommes armés, n'en attachoit pas moins d'importance à l'art de guider l'esprit public par les gazettes ; il dictoit souvent lui-même des articles de journaux qu'on pouvoit reconnoître aux saccades violentes du style ; on voyoit qu'il auroit voulu mettre dans ce qu'il écrivoit, des coups au lieu de mots. Il a dans tout son être un fond de vulgarité que le gigantesque de son ambition même ne sauroit toujours cacher. Ce n'est pas qu'il ne sache très-bien, un jour donné, se montrer avec beaucoup de convenance ; mais il n'est à son aise que dans le mépris pour les autres, et, dès-qu'il peut y rentrer, il s'y complait. Toutefois ce n'étoit pas uniquement par goût qu'il se livroit à faire servir, dans ses *Notes du Moniteur*, le cynisme de la révolution au maintien de sa

puissance. Il ne permettoit qu'à lui d'être jacobin en France. II. p. 264.

‘ Je fus la première femme que Bonaparte exila ; mais bientôt après il en bannit un grand nombre, d'opinions opposées. D'où venoit ce luxe en fait de méchanceté, si ce n'est d'une sorte de haine contre tous les êtres indépendans ? Et comme les femmes, d'une part, ne pouvoient servir en rien ses desseins politiques, et que, de l'autre, elles étoient moins accessibles que les hommes aux craintes et aux espérances dont le pouvoir est dispensateur, elles lui donnoient de l'humeur comme des rebelles, et il se plaisoit à leur dire des choses blessantes et vulgaires. Il haïssoit autant l'esprit de chevalerie qu'il recherchoit l'étiquette : c'étoit faire un mauvais choix parmi les anciennes mœurs. Il lui restoit aussi de ses premières habitudes pendant la révolution, une certaine antipathie jacobine contre la société brillante de Paris, sur laquelle les femmes exerçoient beaucoup d'ascendant ; il redoutoit en elles l'art de la plaisanterie, qui, l'on doit en convenir, appartient particulièrement aux Françaises. Si Bonaparte avoit voulu s'en tenir au superbe rôle de grand général et de premier magistrat de la république, il auroit plané de toute la hauteur du génie au-dessus des petits traits acérés de l'esprit de salon. Mais quand il avoit le dessein de se faire un roi parvenu, un bourgeois gentilhomme sur le trône, il s'exposoit précisément à la moquerie du bon ton, et il ne pouvoit la comprimer, comme il l'a fait, que par l'espionnage et la terreur. ’ II. 306, 307.

‘ Il avoit plus que tout autre le secret de faire naître ce froid isolement qui ne lui présentait les hommes qu'un à un, et jamais réunis. Il ne vouloit pas qu'un seul individu de son temps existât par lui-même, qu'on se mariât, qu'on eût de la fortune, qu'on choisît un séjour, qu'on exerçât un talent, qu'une résolution quelconque se prit sans sa permission : et, chose singulière, il entroit dans les moindres détails des relations de chaque individu, de manière à réunir l'empire du conquérant à une inquisition de commerce, s'il est permis de s'exprimer ainsi, et de tenir entre ses mains les fils les plus déliés comme les chaînes les plus fortes. ’ II. 310, 311.

The thin mask of the Consulate was soon thrown off—and the Emperor appeared in his proper habits. The following remarks, though not all applicable to the same period, appear to us to be admirable.

‘ Bonaparte avoit la l'histoire d'une manière confuse : peu accoutumé à l'étude, il se rendoit beaucoup moins compte de ce qu'il avoit appris dans les livres, que de ce qu'il avoit recueilli par l'observation des hommes. Il n'en étoit pas moins resté dans sa tête un certain respect pour Attila et pour Charlemagne, pour les lois féodales et pour le despotisme de l'Orient, qu'il appliquoit à tort et à travers, ne se trompant jamais, toutefois, sur ce qui servoit instantanément à son pouvoir ; mais du reste, citant, blâmant, louant et raisonnant comme le hasard le conduisoit ; il parloit ainsi des heures entières avec d'autant plus d'avantage, que personne ne l'interrompoit, si ce n'est par les applaudissemens involontaires qui échappent toujours dans des occu-

sions semblables. Une chose singulière, c'est que, dans la conversation, plusieurs officiers bonapartistes ont emprunté de leur chef cet héroïque galimatias qui véritablement ne signifie rien qu'à la tête de huit cent mille hommes.' II. 332, 333.

' Il fit occuper la plupart des charges de sa maison par des nobles de l'ancien régime ; il flattoit ainsi la nouvelle race en la mêlant avec la vieille, et lui-même aussi réunissant les vanités d'un parvenu aux facultés gigantesques d'un conquérant, il aimoit les flatteries des courtisans d'autrefois, parce qu'ils s'entendoient mieux à cet art que les hommes nouveaux, même les plus empressés. Chaque fois qu'un gentilhomme de l'ancienne cour rappeloit l'étiquette du temps jadis, proposoit une révérence de plus, une certaine façon de frapper à la porte de quelque antichambre, une manière plus cérémonieuse de présenter une dépêche, de plier une lettre, de la terminer par telle ou telle formule, il étoit accueilli comme s'il avoit fait faire des progrès au bonheur de l'espèce humaine. Le code de l'étiquette impériale est le document le plus remarquable de la bassesse à laquelle on peut réduire l'espèce humaine.' II. 334, 335.

' Quand il y avoit quatre cents personnes dans son salon, un aveugle auroit pu s'y croire seul, tant le silence qu'on observoit étoit profond. Les maréchaux de France, au milieu des fatigues de la guerre, au moment de la crise d'une bataille, entroient dans la tente de l'empereur pour lui demander ses ordres, et il ne leur étoit pas permis de s'y asseoir. Sa famille ne souffroit pas moins que les étrangers de son despotisme et de sa hauteur. Lucien a mieux aimé vivre prisonnier en Angleterre que régner sous les ordres de son frère. Louis Bonaparte, dont le caractère est généralement estimé, se vit contraint par sa probité même, à renoncer à la couronne de Hollande ; et, le croiroit-on ? quand il causoit avec son frère pendant deux heures tête à tête, forcé par sa mauvaise santé de s'appuyer péniblement contre la muraille, Napoléon ne lui offroit pas une chaise : il demouroit lui-même debout, de crainte que quelqu'un n'eût l'idée de se familiariser assez avec lui pour s'asseoir en sa présence.

' Le peur qu'il causoit dans les derniers temps étoit telle, que personne ne lui adressoit le premier la parole sur rien. Quelquefois il s'entretenoit avec la plus grande simplicité au milieu de sa cour, et dans son conseil d'état. Il souffroit la contradiction, il y encourageoit même, quand il s'agissoit de questions administratives ou judiciaires sans relation avec son pouvoir. Il falloit voir alors l'attendrissement de ceux auxquels il avoit rendu pour un moment la respiration libre ; mais, quand le maître reparoissoit, on demandoit en vain aux ministres de présenter un rapport à l'empereur contre une mesure injuste.—Il aimoit moins les louanges vraies que les flatteries serviles parce que, dans les unes, on n'auroit vu que son mérite, tandis que les autres attestoient son autorité. En général, il a préféré la puissance à la gloire ; car l'action de la force lui plaisoit trop pour qu'il s'occupât de la postérité sur laquelle on ne peut l'exercer.' II. 399-401.

There are some fine remarks on the baseness of those who sought employment and favours under Bonaparte, and have since

joined the party of the *Ultras*, and treated the whole revolution as an atrocious rebellion—and a very clear and masterly view of the policy by which that great commander subdued the greater part of continental Europe. But we can afford no room now for any further account of them. As a General, she says, he was prodigal of the lives of his soldiers—haughty and domineering to his officers—and utterly regardless of the miseries he inflicted on the countries which were the scenes of his operations. The following anecdote is curious—and to us original.

‘ On l’a vu dans la guerre d’Autriche, en 1809, quitter l’île de Lobau, quand il jugeoit la bataille perdue; il traversa le Danube, seul avec M. de Czernitchef, l’un des intrépides aides de camp de l’empereur de Russie, et le maréchal Berthier. L’empereur leur dit assez tranquillement qu’après avoir gagné quarante batailles, il n’étoit pas extraordinaire d’en perdre une; et lorsqu’il fut arrivé de l’autre côté du fleuve, il se coucha et dormit jusqu’au lendemain matin, sans s’informer du sort de l’armée française, que ses généraux sauvèrent pendant son sommeil.’ II. 358.

Mad. de S. mentions several other instances of this facility of sleeping in moments of great apparent anxiety.—The most remarkable is, that he fell fast asleep before taking the field in 1814, while endeavouring to persuade one of his ministers that he had no chance of success in the approaching campaign, but must inevitably be ruined!

She has extracted from the *Moniteur* of July 1810, a very singular proof of the audacity with which he very early proclaimed his own selfish and ambitious views. It is a public letter addressed by him to his nephew, the young Duke of Berg, in which he says, in so many words, ‘ N’oubliez jamais, que vos premiers devoirs sont envers moi—vôrs seconds envers la France—ceux envers les peuples que je pourrois vous confier, ne viennent qu’après.’ This was at least candid—and in his disdain for mankind a sort of audacious candour was sometimes alternated with his duplicity.

‘ Un principe général, quel qu’il fût, déplaisoit à Bonaparte, comme une niaiserie ou comme un ennemi. Il n’écoutoit que les considérations du moment, et n’examinait les choses que sous le rapport de leur utilité immédiate; car il auroit voulu mettre le monde entier en rente viagère sur sa tête. Il n’étoit point sanguinaire, mais indifférent à la vie des hommes. Il ne la considéroit que comme un moyen d’arriver à son but, ou comme un obstacle à écarter de sa route. Il n’étoit pas même aussi colère qu’il a souvent paru l’être: il vouloit effrayer avec ses parolets, afin de s’épargner le fait par la menace. Tout étoit chez lui moyen ou but; l’involontaire ne se trouvoit nulle part, ni dans le bien, ni dans le mal. On prétend qu’il a dit: *J’ai tant de soucis à dépenser par an.* Ce propos est vraisemblable, car Bonaparte a souvent assez méprisé ses auditeurs pour se complaire

dans un genre de sincérité qui n'est que de l'impudence.—Jamais il n'a cru aux sentimens exaltés, soit dans les individus, soit dans les nations; il a pris l'expression de ces sentimens pour de l'hypocrisie.' II. 391, 392.

Bonaparte, Mad. de S. thinks, had no alternative but to give the French nation a free constitution; or to occupy them in war, and to dazzle them with military glory. He had not magnanimity to do the one, and he finally overdid the latter. His first great error was the war with Spain; his last, the campaign in Russia. All that followed was put upon him, and could not be avoided. She rather admires his rejection of the terms offered at Chatillon; and is moved with his farewell to his legions and their eagles at Fontainebleau. She feels like a Frenchwoman on the occupation of Paris by foreign conquerors; but gives the Emperor Alexander full credit, both for the magnanimity of his conduct as a conqueror, and the generosity of his sentiments on the subject of French liberty and independence. She is quite satisfied with the declaration made by the King at St Ouen, and even with the charter that followed—though she allows that many further provisions were necessary to consolidate the constitution. All this part of the book is written with great temperance and reconciling wisdom. She laughs at the doctrine of *legitimacy*, as it is now maintained; but gives excellent reasons for preferring an antient line of princes, and a fixed order of succession. Of the *Ultras*, or *unconstitutional royalists*, as she calls them, she speaks with a sort of mixed anger and pity; although an unrepressed scorn takes the place of both, when she has occasion to mention those members of the party who were the abject flatterers of Bonaparte during the period of his power, and have but transferred, to the new occupant of the throne, the servility to which they had been trained under its late possessor.

' Mais ceux dont on avoit le plus de peine à contenir l'indignation vertueuse contre le parti de l'usurpateur, c'étoient les nobles ou leurs adhérens, qui avoient demandé des places à ce même usurpateur pendant sa puissance, et qui s'en étoient séparés bien nettement le jour de sa chute. L'enthousiasme pour la légitimité de tel chambellan de Madame mère, ou de telle dame d'atour de Madame sœur, ne connoissoit point de bornes; et certes, nous autres que Bonaparte avoit proscrits pendant tout le cours de son règne, nous nous examinions pour savoir si nous n'avions pas été ses favoris, quand une quand une certaine délicatesse d'âme nous obligeoit à le défendre contre les invectives de ceux qu'il avoit comblés de bienfaits.' III. 107.

Charles II. was recalled to the throne of his ancestors by the voice of his people; and yet that throne was shaken, and, within twenty-five years, overturned by the arbitrary conduct of the



restored sovereigns. Louis XVIII. was *not* recalled by his people, but brought in and set up by foreign conquerors. It must therefore be still more necessary for him to guard against arbitrary measures, and to take all possible steps to secure the attachment of that people whose hostility has so lately proved fatal. If he like domestic examples better, he has that of his own Henri IV. before him. That great and popular Prince at last found it necessary to adopt the religious creed of the great majority of his people. In the present day, it is at least as necessary for a less popular monarch to study and adopt their political one. Some of those about him, we have heard, rather recommend the example of Ferdinand VII. ! But even the *Ultras*, we think, cannot really forget, that Ferdinand, instead of having been restored by a foreign force, was dethroned by one ; that there had been no popular insurrection, and no struggle for liberty in Spain ; and that, besides the army, he had the priesthood on his side, which, in that country, is as omnipotent as in France it is insignificant and powerless for any political purposes. We cannot now follow Mad. de S. into the profound and instructive criticism she makes on the management of affairs during Bonaparte's stay at Elba ;—though much of it is applicable to a later period—and though we do not remember to have met any where with so much truth told in so gentle a manner.

Mad. de S. confirms what we believe all well-informed persons now admit, that for months before the return of Bonaparte, the attempt was expected, and in some measure prepared for—by all but the court, and the royalists by whom it was surrounded. When the news of his landing was received, they were still too foolish to be alarmed ; and, when the friends of liberty said to each other, with bitter regret, ‘ There is an end of our liberty if he should succeed—and of our national independence if he should fail,’—the worthy *Ultras* went about, saying, it was the luckiest thing in the world, for they should now get properly rid of him ; and the King would no longer be vexed with the fear of a pretender ! Mad. de S. treats with derision the idea of Bonaparte being sincere in his professions of regard to liberty, or his resolution to adhere to the constitution proposed to him after his return. She even maintains, that it was absurd to propose a free constitution at such a crisis. If the nation and the army abandoned the Bourbons, nothing remained for the nation but to invest the master of that army with the dictatorship, and to rise *en masse*, till their borders were freed from the invaders. That they did not do so, only proves that they had become indifferent about the country, or that they were in their hearts hostile to Bonaparte. Nothing but a feel-

ing of this could have made him submit to concessions so alien to his whole character and habits—and the world, says Mad. de S., so understood him. ‘Quand il a prononcé les mots de *Loi* et *Liberté*, l’Europe s’est rassurée: Elle a senti que ce n’étoit plus son ancien et terrible adversaire.’

She passes a magnificent encomium on the military genius and exalted character of our Wellington; but says he could not have conquered as he did, if the French had been led by one who could rally round him the affections of the people as well as he could direct their soldiers. She maintains, that after the battle, when Bonaparte returned to Paris, he had not the least idea of being called upon again to abdicate, but expected to obtain from the two chambers the means of renewing or continuing the contest. When he found that this was impossible, he sunk at once into despair, and resigned himself without a struggle. The selfishness which had guided his whole career, disclosed itself in naked deformity in the last acts of his public life. He abandoned his army the moment he found that he could not lead it immediately against the enemy—and no sooner saw his own fate determined, than he gave up all concern for that of the unhappy country which his ambition had involved in such disasters. He quietly passed by the camp of his warriors on his way to the port by which he was to make his own escape—and, by throwing himself into the hands of the English, endeavoured to obtain for himself the benefit of those liberal principles which it had been the business of his life to extirpate and discredit all over the world.

At this point Mad. de S. terminates somewhat abruptly her historical review of the events of the Revolution; and here, our readers will be happy to learn, we must stop too. There is half a volume more of her work, indeed,—and one that cannot be supposed the least interesting to us, as it treats chiefly of the history, constitution, and society of England. But it is for this very reason that we cannot trust ourselves with the examination of it. We have every reason certainly to be satisfied with the account she gives of us; nor can any thing be more eloquent and animating than the view she has presented of the admirable mechanism and steady working of our constitution, and of its ennobling effects on the character of all who live under it. We are willing to believe all this too to be just; though we are certainly painted *en beau*. In some parts, however, we are more shocked at the notions she gives us of the French character, than flattered at the contrast exhibited by our own. In mentioning the good reception that gentlemen in opposition to government sometimes meet with in society, and the upright posture they contrive to maintain, she says, that nobody here would

think of *condoling* with a man for being out of power, or of receiving him with less cordiality. She notices also, with a very alarming sort of admiration, that she understood when in England, that a gentleman of the law had actually refused a situation worth 6000*l.* or 7000*l.* a year, merely because he did not approve of the ministry by whom it was offered; and adds, that in France, *any man* who would refuse a respectable office, with a salary of 8000 louis, would certainly be considered as fit for Bedlam: And in another place she observes, that it seems to be a fundamental maxim in that country, that every man must have a place. We confess that we have some difficulty in reconciling these incidental intimations with her leading position, that the great majority of the French nation is desirous of a free constitution, and perfectly fit for and deserving of it. If these be the principles, not only upon which they act, but which they and their advocates avow, we know no constitution under which they can be free; and have no faith in the power of any new institutions to counteract that spirit of corruption by which, even where they have existed the longest, their whole virtue is consumed.

With our manners in society she is not quite so well pleased;—though she is kind enough to ascribe our deficiencies to the most honourable causes. In commiserating the comparative dullness of our social talk, however, has not this philosophic observer a little overlooked the effects of national tastes and habits—and is it not conceivable, at least, that we who are used to it, may really have as much satisfaction in our own hum-drum way of seeing each other, as our more sprightly neighbours in their exquisite assemblies? In all this part of the work, too, we think we can perceive the traces rather of ingenious theory than of correct observation; and suspect that a good part of the *tableau* of English society is rather a sort of conjectural sketch, than a copy from real life; or at least that it is a generalization from a very few, and not very common examples. May we be pardoned too for hinting, that a person of Mad. de S.'s great talents and celebrity, is by no means well qualified for discovering the true tone and character of English society from her own observation; both because she was not likely to see it in those smaller and more familiar assemblages in which it is seen to the most advantage, and because her presence must have had the unlucky effect of imposing silence on the modest, and tempting the vain and ambitious to unnatural display and ostentation.

With all its faults, however, the portion of her book which we have been obliged to pass over in silence, is well worthy of as ample a notice as we have bestowed on the other parts of it.

and would of itself be sufficient to justify us in ascribing to its lamented author that perfection of masculine understanding, and female grace and acuteness, which are so rarely to be met with apart, and never, we believe, were before united.

ART. II. *Osservazioni Intorno alla Questione sopra la Originalità del Poema di Dante.* Di F. CANCELLIERI. Roma, 1814.

*Observations concerning the Question of the Originality of the Poem of Dante.* By F. CANCELLIERI.

THE limits of a late Number precluded us from entering, as fully as we would have wished, into the subject of Dante. We resume it the more willingly, from our having just received a work, published two or three years ago in Italy, but almost unknown in England, having for its object to ascertain, whether this great poet was an inventor, or an imitator only. The continental antiquaries and scholars have eagerly laid hold of a manuscript, said to have been discovered about the beginning of the present century, and affording evidence, according to some persons, that he had borrowed from others the whole plan and conception of his wonderful work. The question, indeed, is of ancient date; and, long before such value had been set upon this manuscript, was so perplexed and prolonged, as now to call for definitive elucidation. We trust we shall place our readers in a condition to decide it for themselves.

An extract, or rather a short abstract of an old Vision, written in Latin, appeared in a pamphlet published at Rome in 1801, with an insinuation, that the primitive model of Dante's poem had at length been discovered. Some reader of new publications transmitted the intelligence of this discovery to a German journalist, who received it as of the utmost importance; and from him, a writer in a French paper, (the *Publiciste* of July 1809), transcribed, embellished, and diffused it over all Europe, through the medium of his universal language. Having nothing to do with politics, every body received it upon the faith of the author of the pamphlet, by whom alone the old manuscript had been read; and it was immediately settled, among the wits and critics of the day, that Dante was but the versifier of the ideas of others. Mr Cancellieri, a professed black-letter scholar, and animated, no doubt, with a laudable zeal for religion as well as literature, published the Vision entire in 1814, on the return of his Holiness to Rome. He ac-

accompanied it with an Italian translation, the whole comprising some sixty pages, preceded by twice that number of pages of his own remarks. In this ample dissertation, the question, however, is merely glanced at;—and all that its readers can make out with certainty is, that the learned author had selected this curious subject chiefly to astonish the world by his multifarious erudition, in a book which might have been not inaptly entitled—‘*De rebus omnibus, et de quibusdam aliis.*’ It must be acknowledged, however, that, amidst the unbounded variety of his citations, we meet with some things which it is agreeable to know; but they have so little to do with Dante, that we are really but little beholden to him on the present occasion; and have been obliged to refer to many other authorities, in order to disentangle ourselves from the perplexities into which he had brought us.

Mr Cancellieri apprises us that there existed two famous *Alberics*, both monks of Monte-Cassino;—but he thought it immaterial to add, that the first was one of the few monks to whom the civilization of the world is not without obligations—he having, in the midst of the barbarism of the 11th century, written treatises upon logic, astronomy, and music.\* His works probably contributed more to form the mind of Dante, than the *Visions* of the other to form the plan of his poem.

The latter Alberic was born about the year 1100, soon after the death of the former. When in his 9th year, he fell sick, and remained in a lethargy for nine days. Whilst in this state, a dove appeared to him, and catching him by the hair lifted him up to the presence of Saint Peter, who, with two angels, conducted the child across Purgatory, and, mounting thence from planet to planet, transported him into Paradise, there to contemplate the glory of the blessed. His vision restored him to perfect health;—the miraculous cure was published to the world;—the monks received the child at Monte-Cassino;—and, because he repeated his vision tolerably well, and was of a rich family, they devoted him to Saint Benedict, before he had reached his 10th year. He lived from that time in constant penitence, tasting neither flesh or wine, and never wearing shoes; and the monastery had thus the glory of possessing a living saint, who, by his virtue, confirmed the belief that he had seen Purgatory and Paradise.

They took care to have the vision of Alberic reduced to writing, first by one of their own lettered brethren, and, some years after, by Alberic himself, assisted by the pen of Peter the Deacon, of whom there are yet remaining some historical pieces

\* Mabillon, An. Bened. vol. 5, b. 65.

which occasionally throw light upon the darkness of that age. We subjoin what he says of Alberic in his own words. †

If there existed but this one vision before the time of Dante, there might be some ground for presuming, that it suggested to him the idea of his poem. But the truth is, that such visions abounded from the very earliest ages of Christianity. Saint Cyprian had visions,—Saint Perpetua had visions,—and both, with many others, were declared divine by Saint Augustine. The revelations of each turned upon the doctrine which each thought the best for establishing the faith. Accordingly, the creed written for the church over which he presided, by Saint Gregory Thaumaturgus, was dictated to him in a vision by Saint John the Evangelist. But the zeal of the early bishops was soon replaced by the interested views of their successors. About the 10th century, the great object was, to establish the doctrine of Purgatory, in which the period of expiation was shortened in favour of souls, in proportion to the alms given by their heirs to the Church. The monk Alberic describes Purgatory with minuteness, and sees Hell only at a distance. All these visions, having the same object, resembled each other; and whoever will take the trouble to examine the legends of the saints, and archives of the monasteries, will find hundreds, of the same epoch, and the same tenor. It may be said, that Dante either profited by all, or by none; but, if there be any one to which he can be supposed to be indebted more than another, it is the vision of an English monk, not named by any one that we know, though told circumstantially by Mathew Paris.\* The English monk, like the Italian, gives no description of Hell, but, like Dante, describes his Purgatory as a mount;—the passage from Purgatory to Paradise, a vast garden, intersected by delightful woods, as in our poet: Both had their visions in the holy week;—both allot the same punishments to the same infamous crimes, with some other points of resemblance, which those who are curious may find in Mathew Paris. The vision related by that historian, suffices to give an idea of

- † *Tanta usque in hodiernum abstinencia, tanta morum gravitate pollet, ut penas peccatorum perspexisse, et pertinuisse, et gloriam sanctorum vidisse nemo, quis dubitet: Non enim carnem, non adipem, non vinum, ab illo tempore usque nunc, Deo annuente, assumpsit; calciamento nullo penitus tempore utitur; et sic, in tanta cordis, ac corporis contritione, et humillitate usque nunc in hodiernum, in hoc Casinensi cœnobio perseverat, ut multa illum quæ alios lateant vel metuenda, vel desideranda vidisse, etiamsi lingua taceret, vita loqueretur. (De Viris illustr. Casin.)*

all the others; and proves, indeed, that there existed, at that time, a systematic style for working, in this way, upon popular credulity. The English monk also had his vision immediately after a long and dangerous malady, and in a state of lethargy and inanition, which lasted nine days, also followed by a miraculous cure.

It is sufficiently probable, that Dante had read the history of Mathew Paris, the historian having died before the birth of the poet; and still more probable, that he had read the vision of Alberic. The resemblance which we have pointed out between the visions of the two monks, and the infinity of other visions of the same kind, show that there was then established, in the popular belief, a sort of Visionary mythology, which Dante adopted in the same manner as the mythology of Polytheism had been adopted by Homer. Besides, the discovery of the manuscript of the Vision of Alberic, about which so much noise has been made for the last eighteen years, really took place about a century ago. It is mentioned, but without much stress, by Mazzuchelli, Pelli, and Tiraboschi. \* Mr Bottari was the first who confronted it with the poem of Dante, in the year 1753; and the vanity which turns the heads of so many erudite persons, when they make discoveries to their own infinite surprise, made him imagine he had discovered, in Dante, diverse close imitations of the manuscript. The following is one of his great instances. Dante calls the Devil 'the great worm,' (*Inferno*, Cant. 31.), and therefore he must have copied from Alberic, who saw 'a great worm that devoured souls.' Monsignor Bottari was a prelate; the author of the pamphlet is a Benedictine abbot; Mr Cancellieri is a good Catholic, and all three are antiquarians. How has it escaped them, that the Devil is called 'the serpent' in the Scriptures, and that 'worm' was constantly used for 'serpent' by the old Italian writers? Shakespeare indeed uses it in the same sense, in '*Anthony and Cleopatra*;' and Johnson, in his note upon the passage, adduces a variety of other instances, in which the term was so employed. Another alleged imitation is, that in Purgatory an eagle grasps Dante with his talon, and raises him on high, in the same manner as Alberic had been caught by the hair, and lifted up by a dove.—Here, too, three pious persons have forgotten their Bible. In the two chapters of *Daniel*, retained in the Vulgate, Habakkuk is thus caught and lifted up by an angel; and the prophet Ezekiel says, chap. viii. v. 3. 'And he put forth the form of an hand, and took me by a lock of mine head, and the spirit lifted me up between the earth and

\* Mazzuch. Scritt. It. vol. 1. pag. 290.—Pelli Memor. pag. 122.—Tirab. Storia, &c. vol. 3. b. 4.

‘ the heaven, and brought me in the visions of God.’ It is certain that ingenuity and erudition will discover resemblances in things the most different from each other. In the passage of Sterne, which is so beautiful, so original, and so well known, of the recording angel washing out the oath with a tear, we doubt not that Doctor Ferriar would have detected a plagiarism from Alberic, had that ingenious person seen the 18th section of the manuscript. We give an abstract of the passage, for the use of the Doctor’s next edition. ‘ A demon holds a book, in which are written the sins of a particular man; and an angel drops on it, from a phial, a tear which the sinner had shed in doing a good action; and his sins are washed out.’

It is possible that Dante may have taken some ideas here and there from the Visions which abounded in his age. There are involuntary plagiarisms, which no writer can wholly avoid; — for much of what we think and express is but a new combination of what we have read and heard. But reminiscences in great geniuses are sparks that produce a mighty flame; and if Dante, like the monks, employed the machinery of visions, the result only proves, that much of a great writer’s originality may consist in attaining his sublime objects by the same means which others had employed for mere trifling. He conceived and executed the project of creating the Language and the Poetry of a nation—of exposing all the political wounds of his country—of teaching the Church and the States of Italy, that the imprudence of the Popes, and the civil wars of the cities, and the consequent introduction of foreign arms, must lead to the eternal slavery and disgrace of the Italians. He raised himself to a place among the reformers of morals, the avengers of crimes, and the asserters of orthodoxy in religion; and he called to his aid Heaven itself, with all its terrors and all its hopes, in what was denominated by himself

—— ‘ the Sacred work, that made  
Both Heaven and Earth copartners in his toil.’

*Il poema sacro*

*Al qual ha posto mano e Cielo e Terra.* Parad. Cant. 25.

To explain how he executed his vast design, it appears to us indispensable that we should give a slight sketch of the political and religious state of Italy at the period when he wrote.

Robertson has described Europe, in the middle ages, as peopled with slaves attached to the soil, who had no consolation but their Religion: And this indeed was, for many centuries, the great instrument of good and of evil even in temporal concerns. The feudal lords were restrained only by the fear of Heaven,—and the monarch had no army but such as that military aristocracy supplied: The canon law was the only instrument by



which justice could oppose force; and that instrument was wielded only by the clergy. This last circumstance was the chief foundation of the great ascendancy of the Popes. A strong yearning after justice and law instigated the people of Italy to become free; and the circumstances of the times were such, that for their freedom they were indebted to the Church. Robertson, however, as well as many others, copying after Machiavelli, has erroneously ascribed the misfortunes of the succeeding generations to the authority usurped over princes by Gregory VII. The ill effects of that usurpation were not sensibly felt in Italy until a much later period; and the truth is, that Italian liberty and civilization were greatly promoted by it in the first instance; and advanced by rapid strides, from the age of Gregory to that of Dante, a period of 200 years. The acts of that ambitious Pontiff, however, prolific as they were of important consequences to his country, require undoubtedly to be kept in view by all who would understand its history.

The daring schemes which he conceived and executed in a few years, and in his old age, may be said to have been accomplished by the use of the single word—Excommunication. By this talisman, he compelled the sovereigns of his day to acknowledge, that all the lands in their dominions allotted for the support of the clergy, belonged in property to the Pope;—and our England was the first that made the concession: Two Italians at that time successively enjoyed the see of Canterbury for nearly forty years.\* By this notable device, the Church at once acquired a very large portion of all the cultivated lands of Europe: for the monks had very generally employed themselves in clearing and cultivating the soil—received large donations from potentates and kings—and had thus become wealthy and powerful proprietors. By this act of annexation, however, they became the immediate subjects of the Pope; and a great portion of the riches of Europe began, in consequence, to flow in upon Italy.

The next of Gregory's gigantic measures was, if possible, still more bold and important—and this was the absolute prohibition of marriage to all the orders of the priesthood. He had here to struggle with the inclinations of the clergy themselves, and of the Italian clergy in particular. But when the difficulty was once overcome, the advantage gained was prodigious—to the order itself—to the Popedom—and to the country which was its seat. The great brotherhood of the Catholic clergy, receiving their subsistence directly from the Church—exempted from secular jurisdiction, and now loosened from all

\* Lanfranc and St. Anselm, from 1070 to 1109.

the ties of natural affection—must have felt themselves but feebly attached to their respective countries, and looked almost exclusively, as they taught their fellow citizens to look, to Rome as the place which was to give law to the world.

The last grand project of Gregory was that of the Crusades, † which, though he did not live long enough to carry into execution, he left to his successor already matured and digested. Then it was that kings became subalterns in command, fighting with their subjects in Asia during half a century, under orders issued from Rome; and Rome and Italy became, of course, the centre of influence and authority. All these advantages, however, would have been of but little value, without freedom; and of this, also, the sovereign Pontiff happened to be the first dispenser:—for Gregory, in his first experiment of excommunication, released the Italians from their oath of fealty to the Emperor, who had previously governed them as vassals.

It is under these circumstances that we behold, immediately after the death of this Pope, and even in his lifetime, the cities of Italy suddenly improving in population, wealth and power—palaces of independent magistrates rising to view where there were before but hamlets and slaves—and republics starting forth as if out of nothing. The holy war had delivered Europe in general from the slavery of the soil; every man who took up arms for the crusade became free; and the labourer in Italy began to till the earth on his own account. The military aristocracies and monarchies being employed with their armed forces in distant expeditions, had no longer the same oppressive preponderance at home. The maritime preparations for the crusades were undertaken by the cities of Italy—danger nerved the courage of every class—and navigation, by opening the exportation of manufactures, increased industry, wealth and knowledge. Florence, for example, supplied all nations with her woollen cloths; and Milan furnished all the arms used by the crusaders, and the princes of Europe. The latter city, at that period of her liberty, had a population triple what it is at the present day. It was said the country was depopulated to supply the manufactures in the towns. But how could so many millions have been subsisted without agriculture? It was then that Italy crowded every port with her galleys, and every market with her merchandise. The wealth thus resulting from commerce, served to divide and distribute the property of the land, and to multiply the number of those interested in maintaining the laws and independence of their country. The enormous inequality of

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† This appears by two of his own letters. See Collect. of Labbeus.  
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fortunes disappeared, and the weight of the capitalists was opposed to the ascendancy of the ancient nobles. It was then that the people of Pisa became masters of the Balearic, and discovered the Canary islands—that Genoa was fortified with strong walls in the space of two months—that Milan, and other towns of Lombardy, having seen their children massacred, their houses and churches burned, their habitations rased—and, having been reduced to live two years unsheltered in the fields,—resumed their arms, routed Frederick Barbarossa, who returned with a formidable force, and compelled him to sign the peace of Constance, acknowledging their independence.

During all this time, it is true that most of those States were engaged in civil wars: But they had arms in their hands; and when the common enemy appeared, they knew how to join in defending their common liberties. The Italians having thrown off the foreign yoke, gave their aid to the Popes, who were constantly occupied in conflicts with the Emperors; and the Church had thus an interest in favouring independence and democracy. But, by degrees, she became tired of using the arms of the Italian States as her defence, though the safest and most natural for her to employ; and, having contributed towards the liberty of Italy, thought she had the right to invade it. Excommunications had then been hurled against friends and enemies, till they began to be less formidable; and the Popes adopted the policy of introducing foreign conquerors, and sharing their conquests. It was then that they and the kings of France became constant and close allies. In the lifetime of Dante, a French prince, aided by the Pope, came for the first time into Italy, usurping the states of old dynasties in the name of the Holy See—promising liberty, and preaching concord to republics, but in fact dividing still more, in order to enslave them. The *Guelfs* professed themselves supporters of the Church, and the *Ghibelini* of the Empire, but without much caring for the one or the other. The true question between them was, whether the wealthy citizens or the people should govern the state; and, in the continual danger of foreign invasion, the popular party found its interest in attaching itself to the Church and to France against Germany, whilst the higher classes were more interested in joining the Emperors against the Popes and the French. From the political conduct of Dante when a magistrate, it is evident that he condemned the madness of both parties; for he sent the leaders of both into banishment. But it is also clear that he was more afraid of France than of Germany, and not over fond of democracy.

The true reason of his exile was his refusal to receive a prince of France sent by Boniface VIII., under the pretext of

pacifying their dissensions. After his exile, he openly embraced the Ghibeline party, and composed a Latin treatise, *De Monarchia*, to prove that all the misfortunes of Italy sprang from the false doctrine, that the Popes had a right to interfere in temporal concerns. France having, at the time, contrived that the Popes should reside at Avignon, for the purposes of more absolute control, and Frenchmen having been successively raised to the Holy See, as being more devoted to French interests, our poet addressed a letter to the Cardinals from his exile, recommending strongly that they should elect an Italian Pope.\* It was with those views, and under those circumstances, in so far as politics were concerned, that he wrote his poem.

But, notwithstanding the corruption and senseless ambition of the Church, and its consequent unpopularity, Religion still maintained its primitive influence. The first crusade raised almost all Europe in arms, by an opinion, suddenly diffused, that the end of the world and the general judgment were at hand, and that the holy war was the sole expiation of sins. These enterprises had been abandoned during the lifetime of our poet; but the dread of the end of the world continued to agitate Christendom for eighty years after his death. Leonardo Aretino, a historian, known for the extent of his knowledge, and the share he had in the affairs of Italy and Europe, was an eyewitness of an event which took place in 1400. We shall give his account, translated *verbatim*.

\* In the midst of the alarms and troubles of the wars, either begun or impending between the States of Italy, an extraordinary occurrence took place. All the inhabitants of each state dressed themselves in white. This multitude went forth with extreme devotion. They passed to the neighbouring states, humbly craving peace and mercy. Their journey lasted usually ten days; and their food during this time was bread and water. None were seen in the towns that were not dressed in white. The people went without danger into an enemy's country, whither, a few days before, they would not have dared to approach. No one ever thought of betraying another, and strangers were never insulted. It was a universal truce tacitly understood between all enemies. This lasted for about two months; but its origin is not clear. It was confidently affirmed to have come down from the Alps into Lombardy, whence it spread with astonishing rapidity over all Italy. The inhabitants of Lucca were the first who came in a body to Florence. Their presence suddenly excited an ardent devotion, to such a degree that even those who, at the commencement, treated this enthusiasm with contempt, were the first to change their dress and join the procession, as if they were suddenly

\* Giovanni Villani, B. 9, chap. 134.

impelled by a heavenly inspiration. The people of Florence divided themselves into four parties; two of which, consisting of a countless multitude of men, women and children, went to Arezzo. The remaining two took other directions, and, wherever they came, the inhabitants dressed themselves in white, and followed their example. During the two months that this devotion lasted, war was never thought of; but, no sooner had it passed away, than the people resumed their arms, and the previous state of agitation was renewed. *Aret. Hist. Flor. b. 12. c. 1.*

Such, in that age, was the force of religion; and Dante, therefore, naturally employed its terrors as the most effective means of touching the passions of his cotemporaries. But religion, in Italy especially, was overgrown with heresies and schisms, which often produced the most sanguinary conflicts. Saint Francis founded his order about the beginning of the 13th century; and preached the faith, according to the doctrines of the Church of Rome, in opposition to the sects which the Italian chronicles of that age call Valdesi, Albigesi, Cattari and Paterini, but more commonly by the latter name. These four sects were all in the main Manicheans. At the same time, St Dominic arrived from Spain, carrying fire and sword wherever his opinions were disputed. It was he who founded the Inquisition; and was himself the first *magister sacri palati*, an office always held at Rome, even in our own time, by a Dominican, who examines new books, and decides upon their publication. Before the institution of those two orders, the monks were almost all of the different rules of St Benedict, reformed by St Bernard and other abbots. But, being occupied in tilling the land, or in perusing manuscripts of antient authors—in fine, never going beyond their convents, unless to become the ministers of kingdoms, where they sometimes exercised kingly power,—their wealth, education, and even pride, rendered them unfit for the business of running from place to place, and employing hypocrisy, impudence and cruelty, in the service of the Popes. St Bernard, by his eloquence and rare talents, exercised great influence over kings and pontiffs. He succeeded in firing Europe to undertake the crusade; but, to give durability to the opinions he produced, there was still wanting the pertinacity and roguery of the mendicant friars, to exhibit to the people spectacles of humility and privation, and of auto-da-fe. They had their convents in towns, and spread themselves over the country; whilst the Benedictines were living like great feudal lords in their castles. Hence, the Italians carefully make the distinction of *Monaci* and *Frati*. The former were always more or less useful to agriculture—remarkable for the luxury in which they lived—receiving amongst them only persons of condition

for the most part—and each congregation having a sort of monarchical constitution, of which the abbot was absolute chief. The constitution of the *Frati* was, on the other hand, at all times more or less democratic. They have always been meddling with affairs of state, and family affairs—

*‘ Scire volunt secreta domus atque inde timeri. ’*

The Jesuits, who have been lately re-established, are also mendicant *Frati*. Notwithstanding their great wealth, they observed the form, in order to preserve the right of begging, by sending out their *conversi* (lay-brothers) with sacks, three or four times a year, to beg for their convents. Having been established three centuries later than the others, they took advantage of this, to give refinement to the arts, and to avoid the faults of those who preceded them. Mathew Paris, who was nearly cotemporary with Saint Francis and Saint Dominick, has given pictures of their new flocks, which might be taken for an abstract of all that has been written from the days of Pascal to the present, concerning the Jesuits. ‘ The people,’ says he, ‘ called them hypocrites and successors of Antichrist, pseudo-preachers, flatterers and counsellors of kings and princes, despisers and supplanters of bishops, violators of royal marriage-beds, prevaricators of confessions, who, wandering over unknown provinces, minister to the audacity of sin.’ (*ad an.* 1256, p. 939, *Edit.* 1640.) It is inconceivable what an ascendancy was exercised by the Dominicans and Franciscans in the time of our poet over the passions of individuals, the opinions of the people, and the powers of the State. The Franciscan, Fra Giovanni di Vicenza, possessed unbounded authority in Lombardy, changing the laws, leading towns and provinces in his train; instigating the civil animosities of that unhappy people in obedience to the fatal policy of the Popes; and, when harangues and intrigues failed, making himself obeyed by auto-da-fe. By a document published not long since by Mr Marini, it appears that auto-da-fe were multiplied by the Dominicans, even beyond the wishes and orders of the Court of Rome. It is a brief of Pope Benedict the XI., dated the 11th of March 1304, and addressed to the Inquisitors of Padua, ordering them to reverse their iniquitous sentences, and to go on with their trade of preaching and burning, in such a manner, that the outcries of the people should no longer reach his ears. Benedict the XI. was himself a Dominican; and perhaps wished, like many other sovereigns, to profit by the injustice of his agents, without appearing to be a party.

At the very time that these friars were setting the example of the most infamous vices, they appear also to have originated the most sacrilegious heresies. The Mendicants not only contin-

ed to cry up their innumerable antiquated visions, but invented new ones still more absurd, which they continued to have revealed, sworn to, and believed. The University of Paris was for several years agitated, Europe scandalized, and the Vatican occupied without knowing how to extricate itself, with a long trial of the Dominicans for a singular attempt, aided by a Franciscan fanatic, to substitute the prophetic visions of the Abbé Joachim, with some supplements of their own, for the New Testament. Mathew Paris, either from not being exactly informed of what was passing abroad, or not daring to state all he knew, speaks of this circumstance only in general terms. 'They preached,' says he, 'commented, and taught certain novelties, which, as far as they were known, were considered mere ravings, and reduced those into a book, which they were pleased to style "the Everlasting Gospel;" with certain other things, of which it would not be wise to say too much.' (*Hist. Ang. ad an. 1257.*) But he has said quite enough to confirm the discoveries subsequently made by writers of every communion, respecting this extraordinary fact, and to make known in what state Dante found the religion of Europe. The Inquisitors, in the mean time, were by no means remiss in burning astrologers, and persons accused of practising the art of magic, though it sometimes happened that an astrologer triumphed over them. Of two contemporaries of Dante, one, Cecco d'Ascoli, was burned by order of the Dominican Inquisition at Florence; \* and the other, Pietro d'Abano, who was reputed to be confederate with devils, and openly professed astrology, upon being accused at Paris, retorted the charge of heresy upon the Dominicans—summoned them to appear—convicted them of heresy by forty-five special arguments—procured their expulsion and exclusion from Paris for a considerable period—and was himself pronounced innocent by the Pope at Rome. † The people, however, believed in the power of this magician. It is mentioned in the chronicles of that age, and still repeated in the villages of Padua, that Pietro had seven spirits at his command; and that when he was going to be hanged, he substituted an ass in his place. The fact is, that notwithstanding his canonical absolution, Pietro had admitted in his writings the influence of the stars upon human actions, and denied absolutely the existence of demons. ‡

\* Gio. Villani, B. 10. Chap. 39.

† Michael Savonarola, ad an. 1292, 1299.—Petri Abani concinator, differentia 10.

‡ This curious observation was first made by Pico of Mirandola. See *De rerum Prænotione*, sect. 5.

The philosophy of Epicurus had made some progress among the higher orders in the age of Dante; Guido Cavalcanti, his intimate friend, was pointed out by the people for his Meditations against the Existence of God.

Thus were the grossest abuses of superstition and fanaticism mingled with heretical license, uncertainty of opinion, popular credulity and atheism; and, nevertheless, Religion was still the great centre around which all the passions and interests of mankind revolved. In this singular condition of society, Boniface, in the last year of the 13th century, proclaimed a plenary indulgence to all who should make a pilgrimage to Rome. All Christendom was accordingly attracted towards the holy city; and, during several weeks, 200,000 foreigners were calculated to succeed each other daily || at its gates. To give all possible solemnity and effect to the lessons he proposed to inculcate, Dante fixed the epoch of his Vision of Divine Justice, in the holy week of that year, when all Europe thus went forth to obtain the remission of sins.

We have thus endeavoured to fill up some of the *lacuna* in the work of Mr Cancellieri; and trust we have, at the same time, negatived many of the trite and visionary conjectures that have been hazarded upon the sources whence our poet might have derived the idea of his work.\* There are, however, some recent authors, whose writings are deservedly popular, of whose opinions it may be right to say something. Denina has gone the length of supposing, that Dante borrowed his plan from a masquerade which took place during a public festival at Florence, in which devils and damned souls were represented as characters. This strange drama was exhibited on a bridge over the Arno, which, being made of wood, gave way during the show, and closed the scene most tragically.—Now, it appears from Villani, that Dante had left Florence two years before; and, previously to his departure, had composed the seven first cantos of his poem, which were saved by his wife when his house was pillaged and destroyed by the faction that persecuted him. The manuscript, by Boccaccio's account, was sent to him in his exile, in 1302; and the masquerade of 'the Damned Souls' was represented in 1304. The truth, therefore, is probably the very reverse of Denina's conjecture,—that the idea of the show was suggested to the people of Florence by

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|| Meratori, *Annali*, ad an. 1300.

\* *Romance of Guerin*—*Saint Patrick's pit*—*The Juggler who goes to Hell*—*The dream of Hell*—*The road to Hell*—and three *Tales* of the 12th and 13th centuries, to be found in the old French *Fabliaux*,



the beginning of their fellow-citizen's poem. Tiraboschi and Mr Sismondi, indeed, are both of this opinion; and we may add, that, even in 1295, Dante, in his little work, entitled 'La Vita Nuova,' gives distinct hints of the design of his great poem.

Our poet was the pupil of Brunetto Latini, who, in a sort of poem, entitled the *Tesoretto*, supposes himself guided by Ovid through the mazes of a forest, in search of the oracles of nature and philosophy; and from this model it is confidently asserted, that the pupil loses himself in a forest, and takes Virgil for his guide. That Mr Corniani should dilate upon this fine discovery, is very natural—for, of all the historians of Italian literature, he is the most quackish and the most inept. But it is lamentable that it should be repeated with even more confidence by Mr Ginguené. He is 'astonished, that no Italian before Mr Corniani suspected this to be the origin of Dante's poem;'—and we are astonished, in our turn, that Mr Ginguené should not know this suspicion to be as old as the year 1400. It may be collected, indeed, from the biographical account of Dante, by Philip Villani, nephew to the illustrious historian of that name; and was advanced more boldly by others a few years after, and at a longer interval.\* Federigo Ubaldini says, in the preface to his edition of the *Tesoretto* in 1642—'Aver Dante imitato il *Tesoretto* di Brunetto Latini.' Mr Ginguené too, we may say, has been much too favourable in his judgment of the *Tesoretto*, which is really a very mean and scarcely intelligible performance. Though written six hundred years ago, we suspect there are but few persons who have read it in all that time. Would it be credited, that Count Mazzuchelli, and Father Quadrio, the two Italian writers who have most carefully explored the old authors, had but an imperfect knowledge of the *Tesoretto*, even while they were busy disputing about it? Both writers, misled by the resemblance of name, mention it as an abridgment of the *Tesoro*, which is in fact the great work of Brunetto Latini, but has nothing whatever, either in conception or matter, in common with the *Tesoretto*. The *Tesoro*, besides, is written in French, and in prose. Monsignor Fontanini, who is occasionally bewildered by his admiration of what is old, calls the *Tesoretto*—'Poesia cristiana, nobile e morale.' Its orthodoxy we do not dispute: But, for nobleness, we can see nothing but the reverse. And, as to its morality, it consists entirely in a string of maxims, or rather proverbs, without imagery, sentiment, or a single spark

\* Vide Lor. Mehus, *vita del Travassari*, page 153.

of animation. It is moreover disfigured by grammatical inaccuracies, vulgarisms of phrase, and a great number of words, so obscure, as not to be found even in the dictionary of la Crusca. That Academy, which was certainly disposed to do full justice to the efforts of the early Florentine writers, and was instituted for the purpose of examining them with more care, has characterized the Tesoretto in three words—' Poesia a foggia di frottola '—(poetry in the trivial ballad style.)

After all this, we should scarcely have expected to meet with a passage like the following in so learned and correct an author as Mr Hallam. ' The source from which Dante derived the scheme ' and general idea of his poem, has been a subject of inquiry in ' Italy. To his original mind, one might have thought the sixth ' *Æneid* would have sufficed. But it happens, in fact, that he took ' his plan, with more direct imitation than we should expect, from ' the Tesoretto of his master in philosophical studies, Brunetto Latini. This is proved by Mr Ginguené, B. 2. p. 8. ' Even the authority is hastily quoted for this hasty opinion: for though it is true, that, in the place cited by Mr Hallam, and elsewhere, the French critic has made the assertion here imputed to him, it is very remarkable, that, in the succeeding volume, this *certainly* is reduced to *probability*. Mr Ginguené there says only, ' that • Dante gave grandeur and poetic colouring to the ideas of his master, Brunetto,—*if indeed he borrowed any from him; and similar ideas were not dictated to him by the nature of his subject.* ' (Vol. II. p. 27). And at last this great discovery dwindles into a mere *possibility*; for Mr Ginguené, in giving some extracts from the Tesoretto, is reduced to the avowal, ' that it is at least *possible* Dante may have profited by it. ' (p. 8.) The truth is, that such inaccuracies and inconsistencies are almost inevitable in treating of a foreign literature; and especially of a literature so copious and peculiar as the Italian. The history of its eminent writers is entangled in the dissensions of the different provinces—the systems of their different schools—their religious opinions, and not infrequently the political interests of their several masters. Hence, in order to appreciate the force or the value of their expressions, it is often necessary to have an accurate knowledge of the different systems of literary education, of manners, of revolutions, of governments, and, often, even of the personal character and design of each writer. In Italy, too, it should be remembered, that there has not for centuries been any political freedom, and that the people have been studiously kept in ignorance. Flattery and satire have accordingly been chiefly in request—while party spirit and imposture have had full play. The num-

ber of readers, at the same time, is so limited, as to consist almost wholly of protégés, patrons and rivals: and the men of letters, who might expose imposture, and bring truth to light, have rarely been able to speak without danger. We have already observed, that the Jesuits usurped every branch of polite literature; and that, to serve the cause of the Popes, they systematically decried Dante, with the other noblest geniuses of Italy. Nevertheless, the history of the Jesuit Tiraboschi, is (with very few exceptions) the constant model of Mr Ginguené, who in fact has done little more than impart a more lively colouring to the original design of that learned but prejudiced person. In the execution of this humble task, however, he now and then gets so bewildered as to be unjust to his model:—for example, he actually charges Tiraboschi ‘with having confounded the Tesoro with the Tesoretto,’ (vol. II. p. 8.);—while the fact is, that Tiraboschi was the very person who first exposed this blunder of Mazzuchelli and Quadrio, to which we have already adverted. (Storia Lett. vol. IV. lib. 3. c. 5.) The French, however, are apt, we suspect, to fall into such perplexities. The Abbé de Sades, in his Memoirs of the life of Petrarca, relates of that poet—‘that, to avoid a winter passage over the mountains between Milan and Venice, he postponed his journey,’ &c. (vol. III. p. 345.) Now, we shall not venture to say what might have been the state of that country anterior to the deluge: But of this we are certain, that in no author, antient or modern, always excepting M. de Sades, is there the least mention of mountains between Milan and Venice—a tract of country so flat, as to be called, in the chronicles of the time of Petrarca—‘La Valle Lombarda.’—The key to the whole is, that the Abbé had never been in Italy,—and that Mr Ginguené wrote in the same predicament; having never penetrated beyond Turin, where he went as ambassador in the time of the Republic. We must not wonder, therefore, if he should now and then make a slip—But he might have avoided quoting foreign as native authority. ‘Pour ne point alleguer ici’ observes Mr Ginguené (vol. I. p. 25) ‘d’autorités suspectes; c’est encore dans les Italiens que je puiserais:’ And incontinently, he cites a passage of Mr Andres, who certainly writes in Italian, but is a Spaniard!—and, moreover, generally considered in Italy, as neither very well acquainted with its literature, nor very just to it.

The work of Mr Frederick Schlegel, which has been very lately translated into English, is another instance of the hazards of all presumptory criticism on the character of foreign writers. The German author has entitled his book—‘*Lec-*

tures on the History of Literature, ancient and modern.' He is graciously pleased to represent Dante as 'the greatest of Italian and of Christian poets,'—but observes, at the same time, that 'the Ghibeline harshness appears in Dante in a form noble and dignified. But although it may perhaps do no injury to the outward beauty, it certainly mars, in a very considerable degree, the internal charm of his poetry. His chief defect is, in a word, the want of gentle feelings.' Now, the opinion of Mr Hallam is directly opposite to that of this learned Theban. 'In one so highly endowed by nature,' observes Mr Hallam, 'and so consummate by instruction, we may well sympathize with a resentment which exile and poverty rendered perpetually fresh. But the heart of Dante was naturally sensible and even tender; his poetry is full of comparisons from rural life; and the sincerity of his early passion for Beatrice, pierces through the veil of allegory that surrounds her. But the memory of his injuries pursued him into the immensity of eternal light; and, in the company of saints and angels, his unforgiving spirit darkens at the name of Florence.' It would be presumption in us to determine—between Mr Schlegel and Mr Hallam—which has read Dante with more care; but the poem itself, we think, affords sufficient evidence that the English critic has the truer sense of its character—and is most in unison with the soul of the poet, which was fraught even to redundancy with 'gentle feelings,' and poured them out, on every occasion, with a warmth and delicacy perhaps unequalled in any other writer. We must however remind even Mr Hallam, that Dante does not always, in his poem, mention his country with resentment; and, in his prose work, 'Il Convito,' he remembers Florence with the most affectionate tenderness. He styles the injustice of his fellow-citizens towards himself, a fault, not a crime—and offers up a pathetic prayer, 'that his bones might repose at last in the soft bosom of that land which had nursed and borne him to the maturity of his age.'—We subjoin his own words, for the satisfaction of those who are sufficiently conversant with Italian to feel the beauty of the original, and who will thence readily concur in the truth of our observation. 'Ahi! piaciuto fosse al Dispensatore dell' Universo che la cagione della mia scusa mai non fosse stata! Che nè altri contro me avria fallato, nè io sofferto avrei pena ingiustamente; pena, dico, d'esilio e di povertà, poichè fu piacere dei cittadini della bellissima e famosissima figlia di Roma, Fiorenza, di gittarmi fuori del suo dolce seno, nel quale nato e nutrito fui fino al colmo della mia vita; e nel quale, con buona pace di quella, desidero con tutto il cuore di riposare l'animo stanco, e terminare il tempo che mi è dato.'

Mr Schlegel, however, is not the only person who has imputed harshness of soul to Dante. This, indeed, is a sort of

traditional censure, derived from the fastidious critics of the Court of Leo X.; for our poet, it must be confessed, was

..... *minus aptus acutis*

*Naribus horum hominum* .....

..... *at est vir bonus, ut melior*

*Non alius quisquam, at ingenium ingens.*

It is a distinctive trait in the character of the earlier poets, that they continually reveal to us in their writings the inmost feelings and dispositions of their souls. They, as it were, say to the reader,

*Tibi nunc, hortante Camenâ,*

*Excutienda damus præcordia.*

But, in order to obtain just views of those characteristic feelings, their poems should be read through and through; whereas the generality of critics content themselves with a few popular passages, and judge of the rest according to the response of some of those oracles, who, like Cardinal Bembo, have had the art or the good fortune to make their *dicta* pass current as authority. Dante is, perhaps, the poet most spoken of, and least read by foreigners. It may, therefore, be proper to select a few passages from the many that might be found in his poem, to prove that his heart was as much distinguished for gentleness, as for magnanimity and force.

The haughtiness of demeanour, attributed to him by all the writers from Giovanni Villani to the present day, probably is not exaggerated. He was naturally proud; and when he compared himself with his cotemporaries, he felt his own superiority, and took refuge, as he expresses it himself with so much happiness—

*Sotto l'usbergo del sentirsi puro.*

Conscience makes me firm;

The boon companion, who her strong breastplate

Buckles on him that feels no guilt within,

And bids him on, and fear not.

Nevertheless, this inflexibility and pride, melt at once into the softest deference and docility, when he meets those who have claims upon his gratitude or respect. In conversing with the shade of Brunetto Latini, who was damned for a shameful crime, he still attends his master with his head bent down—

*Il capo chino*

*Tenea, com' uom che riverente vada—*

Held my head

Bent down as one who walks in reverent guise.

We believe it has never been remarked that Dante, who makes it a rule, in conversing with all others, to employ the pro-

noun *tu* (thou), uses the pronoun *voi* (you) in addressing his preceptor Brunetto, and his mistress Beatrice. Even Mr Cary has not seized this shade of distinction, and translates

*Sete voi qui, ser Brunetto—*

—by—

Sir! Brunetto!

And art *thou* here?

Our poet has even carried modesty so far as not to pronounce his own name; and upon one occasion, when he was asked who he was, did not say that he was Dante; but whilst he described himself in such a manner as to give an exalted opinion of his genius, ascribed all the merit to love, by which he was inspired—

*..... io mi son un, che quando*

*Amore spira, noto; e a quel modo*

*Che detta dentro, vo significando.*

Count of me but as one

Who am the scribe of Love, that, when he breathes,

Take up my pen, and, as he dictates, write.

Yet when the beloved Beatrice addresses him, as if to reproach him with his past life—

*Dante!*

*Non pianger anco, non pianger ancora;*

*Che pianger ti convien per altra spada—*

Dante, weep not;

Weep thou not yet;—behoves thee feel the edge

Of other sword, and thou shalt weep for that;

he writes his own name, lest he should alter or omit a single word that fell from the lips of her he loved; yet, even for this, he thinks it necessary to excuse himself—

*Quando mi volsi, al suon del nome mio*

*Che di necessità quì si registra—*

Turning me at the sound of mine own name

Which here I am compelled to register.

This repugnance to occupy his readers with his own particular concerns, (a repugnance of which we have certainly no reason to complain in the authors of the present day), has perhaps imposed upon Dante his singular silence respecting his family: Whilst he records a variety of domestic anecdotes of almost all his acquaintance, and so forcibly paints the miseries of exile, he omits one grief the most cruel of all—that of a father without a house to shelter, or bread to feed his young and helpless children. It is beyond all doubt that he had several sons, and that they lived in a state of proscription and distress until the period of his death. But, for this fact, we are indebted only to the historians. From his own writings it could not be even suspected that he was a husband and a father.

It is, however, easy to perceive, that he is thinking of his family, when he exclaims, that the women of Florence, in older times, when purity of morals and civil concord prevailed, were not reduced to a life of widowhood whilst their husbands yet lived—or obliged to share with them the sufferings of their exile, without knowing in what place they should find a grave—

*O fortunate, e ciascuna era certa*

*Della sua sepoltura—*

Oh! happy they,

Each sure of burial in her native land.

It is not alone in his ‘comparisons drawn from rural life,’ as remarked by Mr Hallam, but principally in what he says of social intercourse, and of the brighter days of his country, that we perceive the sensibility and gentleness of his nature. ‘He delights in painting the joys of domestic life, of which he presents a most affecting picture in the 15th Canto of the *Paradiso*, whence we have taken the verses just quoted. He does not lament the loss of innocence and simplicity alone, but also of the refined luxury, the courtesy, the chivalrous spirit of gallantry and love, and the tone of high breeding in society, which in Italy, it seems, were then beginning to disappear.

The ladies and the knights, the toils and ease

That witch'd us into love and courtesy.

*Le donne, i cavalier, gli affanni e gli agi*

*Che ne invogliava amore e cortesia.*

These two lines have such a charm to Italian ears, that Ariosto, after having sketched a thousand beginnings for his poem, and decided upon an indifferent one enough, which was printed, finally rejected them all in the second edition, and substituted almost word for word, the verses of Dante, as follows—

*Le donne, i cavalier, l'armi, gli amori*

*Le cortesie, l'audaci imprese, io canto.*

But the slight change which it was necessary to make, destroyed the sweet harmony of the original; and the delicate sentiment of regret is wholly lost in the imitation. It is very rarely that the same ideas, or the same words, produce the same effect, when transplanted from the place into which they first dropped from the heart of a man of genius.

It is curious to see, how little novelty there is, even in the most modern of our elegant distresses. Dante, in the beginning of the 14th century, complains, that commerce having suddenly enriched numbers of mere clowns, society was corrupted and debased by an upstart aristocracy whose insolence and profusion had put to flight all courtesy of heart, and refinement of breeding—

An upstart multitude, and sudden gain,  
Pride and excess, oh ! Florence ! have in thee  
Engendered ; so that now in tears thou mourn'st.

This is one of the many instances in which our poet mingles with stern justice of observation, a sentiment of plaintive tenderness for his country. It will, we believe, be much more forcibly felt by those who understand the original.

*La gente nuova e i subiti guadagni,  
Orgoglio e dismisura han generata,  
Fiorenza, in te ! sì che tu già ten piagni.*

He has also the generosity to attribute to others the courtesy which was felt with so much nobleness, and expressed with so much sweetness by himself. Upon his entrance into Purgatory, he meets his friend Casella, a celebrated musician, who died a short time before, and whom he deeply lamented.—

- Then one I saw, darting before the rest  
With such fond ardour to embrace me, I
- To do the like was moved : O, shadows vain,  
Except in outward semblance ! Thrice my hands  
I clasped behind it ; they as oft returned  
Empty into my breast again : Surprise,  
I need must think, was painted in my looks,
- For that the shadow smiled and backward drew.  
To follow it I hastened, but with voice  
Of sweetness, it enjoined me to desist :  
Then who it was I knew, and prayed of it  
To talk with me it would a little pause :  
It answered, “ Thee as in my mortal frame  
I loved, so loosed from it I love thee still,  
And therefore pause ; but why walkest thou here ? ”

We shall give neither the sequel nor the original of this dialogue. Even this feeble attempt at translation suffices to show, that it was dictated to a delicate mind by nature. At the close of their conversation the poet asks his friend to sing.

Then I : “ If new laws have not quite destroyed  
Memory and use of that sweet song of love,  
That whilom all my cares had power to 'suage,  
Please thee with it a little to console  
My spirit—

“ Love that discourses in my thoughts.” He then  
Began, in such soft accents, that within  
The sweetness thrills me yet.

These lines convey but a dim shadow of the grace and tenderness of the original.

*Ed io : “ Se nuova legge non ti toglie  
Memoria o uso all' ameroso canto,  
Che mi solea quietar tutte mie voglie ;*



*Di ciò ti piaccia consolare alquanto*

*L'anima mia—*

*"Amor che nella mente mi ragiona"—*

*Cominciò egli allor sì dolcemente*

*Che la dolcezza ancor dentro mi suona.*

Dante, in the words 'amoroso canto,' asks his friend generally to sing him some strain that should excite in him feelings of tenderness and love; whilst in Mr Cary's translation, the words '*that song of love,*' seem rather to indicate some particular song, and thereby destroy the beauty and delicacy of the poet's idea; for the touch of courteous and gentle feeling which he imagines in his friend is, that Casella selects a song which Dante had himself written for Beatrice. This is not mentioned in the poem; but we have found the Canzone, of which the opening is given here, among his lyric compositions.

Perhaps we have not correctly seized the acceptation in which the words 'gentle feelings' are used by Mr F. Schlegel. It is difficult for people to understand each other through the medium of a foreign language. We have before us a French translation of the *Inferno*, published a few years since in London, in which the translator complains 'of not finding enough of *episodes* in the poem of Dante—and this radical vice of the poem, he says, necessarily fatigues the most intrepid reader.' Now, in as much as the whole poem, and particularly the *Inferno*, is a tissue of episodes, we are obliged to conclude that, in French literature, the word *episode* means something very different from what is generally understood. We have, however, too many frightful examples before us, to enter into discussions relating to a foreign language. Mr Ginguené, who has treated Italian literature with more zeal and candour, and who was generally better qualified than many who have undertaken the same task, is, we regret to repeat, one of those examples. The simile of Dante (*Inf. Cant. 1.*)

*E come quei che con lena affannata,*

*Uscito fuor del pelago alla riva,*

*Si volge all' acqua perigliosa, e guata,\**

is translated by Mr Ginguené, '*Comme un voyageur hors d'haleine, descendu sur le rivage, tourne ses regards vers la mer où il a couru tant de dangers.*' In the original, the question is not about a traveller at sea, but about a man who saves himself by swimming. He reaches the shore, after having despaired of escape, and when at

\* And as a man with difficult short breath  
Forespent with toiling, 'scaped from sea to shore  
Turns to the perilous wide waste, and stands  
At gaze. (*Cary's transl.*)

the very last gasp. The words 'fuor del pelago' present the man to our imagination as if he had been just vomited up by the ocean; and the concluding verse places him in that sort of stupor which is felt upon passing at once to safety from despair, without any intervention of hope. He looks back upon perdition with a stare, unconscious how he had escaped it. The word 'guata' which ends the stanza and the sentence, presents all this, as if by magic, to the imagination of the reader—and leaves him in full possession of the image which the poet had conjured up by his genius.

Such observations may appear too minute and particular; but it is in things like this, that the peculiar merit of Dante consists. He condenses all his thoughts and feelings in the facts he relates—and expresses himself invariably by images, and those images often what the Italian painters call *in iscorcio*. Even his largest groupes are composed of a very few strokes of the pencil—and in none does he ever stop to fill up the design with minute or successive touches, but passes hastily on through the boundless variety of his subject, without once pausing to heighten the effect, or even to allow its full development to the emotion he has excited. A single word flung in apparently without design, often gives its whole light and character to the picture. Thus, in the third Canto of the *Purgatorio*, the poet gazes with fixed eyes upon the shades as they move over the mountain. One stands still and addresses him.

Then of them one began—"Whoe'er thou art  
Who journey'st thus this way, thy visage turn.  
Think if me elsewhere thou hast ever seen."  
I towards him turned, and with fixed eyes beheld.  
Comely and fair and gentle of aspect  
He seemed; but on one brow a gash was marked;  
When humbly I disclaimed to have beheld  
Him ever. "Now behold," he said; and showed,  
High on his breast, a wound; then smiling, spake,  
"I am Manfredi."

*E un di loro incominciò, chiunque  
Tu se', così andando volgi 'l viso,  
Poi mente, se di là mi vedesti unque.  
Io mi volsi ver lui, e guardai fiso,  
Biondo era, e bello, e di gentile aspetto;  
Ma l'un-de' cigli un colpo avea diviso.  
Quando mi fu umilmente disdetto,  
D'averlo visto mai, el disse: or vedi;  
E mostrommi una piaga a sommo il petto,  
Poi sorridendo disse: Io son Manfredi.*

Manfredi was the most powerful prince of Italy, and the chief

support of the Ghibeline party; and fell on the field of battle in the flower of his age. The Pope had his bones dug up and exposed, in order that they might be '*washed by the rain, and stirred by the wind.*' \* It is easy to imagine what Dante felt at the sight of this ill-fated and youthful hero. We look to find a eulogy upon him; but the poet, in his own person, speaks not of Manfredi. It is by the single word *sorridendo* that the reader is moved to admiration and to pity. Dante employs but that one touch, to express the magnanimity of a hero SMILING, whilst he shows the wound that arrested him in his career of glory,—and discovering, in that *smile*, his contempt of the vindictive fury of his enemies.

We shall add but one example more, to show the difficulty of explaining the beauties of Dante's composition by any general description. The passage we select is from the episode of '*Francesca da Rimini*,' as being most familiar to the English reader, both from its own popularity, and from the beautiful amplification of it which Mr Hunt has lately given to the public. *Francesca* says to the poet,

*Amor, ch'al cor gentil ratto s'apprende,  
Prese costui della bella persona  
Che mi fu tolta; e' il modo ancor m'offende:  
Amor, ch'a nullo amato amar perdona,  
Mi prese del costui piacer sì forte  
Che, come vedi, ancor non m'abbandona:  
Amor condusse noi ad una morte.*

Love, that in gentle heart is quickly learned,  
Entangled him by that fair form, from me  
Ta'en in such cruel sort, as grieves me still;  
Love, that denial takes from none beloved,  
Caught me with pleasing him so passing well,  
That, as thou see'st, he yet deserts me not;  
Love brought us to one death.

The whole history of woman's love is as highly and completely wrought, we think, in these few lines, as that of *Juliette* in the whole tragedy of Shakspeare. *Francesca* imputes the passion her brother-in-law conceived for her, not to depravity, but nobleness of heart in him, † and to her own loveliness. With a mingled feeling of keen sorrow and complacent naïveté, she says she was fair, and that an ignominious death robbed him of

\* Or le bagna la pioggia e muove il vento.

† The words '*gentile*,' and '*gentilezza*,' as used by the best writers, from Dante to the present day, denote rather nobleness of soul than amiableness of manners. *Gentilezza* is a propensity towards all that is beautiful and generous; and is the alliance of delicacy of sentiment with high courage. Ariosto says, the lion *ha il cor gentile*.

her beauty. She confesses that she loved, because she was beloved:—That charm had deluded her:—and she declares, with transport, that joy had not abandoned her even in hell.

———— *piacer sì forte*

*Che, come vedi, ancor non m'abbandona.*

It is thus that Dante unites perspicuity with conciseness—and the most naked simplicity with the profoundest observation of the heart. Her guilty passion survives its punishment by Heaven—but without a shade of impiety. How striking is the contrast of her extreme happiness in the midst of torments that can never cease; when, resuming her narrative, she looks at her lover, and repeats with enthusiasm,

*Questi che mai da me non fia diviso—*

• ————— he who ne'er

From me shall separate.\*

She nevertheless goes on to relieve her brother-in-law from all imputation of having seduced her. Alone, and unconscious of their danger, they read a love-story together. They gazed upon each other, pale with emotion—but the secret of their mutual passion never escaped their lips.

*Per piu fiate gli occhi ci sospinse*

*Quella lettura, e scolorocci 'l viso ;*

• *Ma solo un punto, fu quel che ci vinse.*

Often-times by that reading

Our eyes were drawn together, and the hue

Fled from our altered cheek : But at one point

Alone we fell.

We are sorry to say Mr Cary has not translated these interesting passages with his usual felicity. The description of two happy lovers in the story was the ruin of Francesca. It was the romance of Lancelot and Genevra, wife of Arthur, King of England. †

*Quando leggemmo il disiato riso*

*Esser baciato da cotanto amante,*

*Questi, che mai da me non fia diviso*

*La bocca mi baciò tutto tremante.*

———— When of that smile we read

The wish'd for smile, so rapturously kissed

By one so deep in love ; then he, who ne'er

From me shall separate, at once my lips

All trembling kissed.

\* We think the word *questi*, in the original, more evidently conveys the idea that Francesca, when she used it, turned her eyes towards her lover, who was ever by her side.

† Dante calls the author 'Galeotto;' and, in the manuscripts of Boccaccio, his Decameron is found entitled 'Il principe Galeotto,' apparently to apprise the reader of its being a dangerous book.

After this avowal, she hastens to complete the picture with one touch which covers her with confusion.

*Quel giorno piu non vi leggemmo acante.*

"

— That day,

We read no more !

She utters not another word !—and yet we fancy her before us, with her downcast and glowing looks ; whilst her lover stands by her side, listening in silence and in tears. Dante, too, who had hitherto questioned her, no longer ventures to inquire in what manner her husband had put her to death ; but is so overcome by pity, that he sinks into a swoon. Nor is this to be considered as merely a poetical exaggeration. It is remarked by the commentators, that the poet had himself often yielded to the force of love, and that the fear of his own damnation probably mingled with his compassion for Francesca, in producing this excessive emotion. This may be true—but it is but a part of the truth. Dante's whole work, though founded on what may be considered as an extravagant fiction, is conversant only with real persons. While other poets deal with departed or with fabulous heroes, he takes all his characters from among his countrymen, his cotemporaries, his hosts, his relatives, his friends, and his enemies : Nor does he seek to disguise them under borrowed appellations. He gives, in plain words, the name and description and character of all those well known individuals. He converses with them—reminds them of their former friendship—and still seeks to mingle his sentiments with theirs. At the same time, he marks impartially the retribution to which he thinks their conduct has entitled them ; while, with a singular mixture of human relenting, he is not prevented by their crimes, and consequent punishment in hell, from doing them honour—laying open to them his heart, and consoling them with his tears. If they had attended to those things, we think the commentators might have condescended to mention, that Francesca was the daughter of *Guido da Polenta*, master of Ravenna, Dante's protector and most faithful friend. The poet had probably known her when a girl, blooming in innocence and beauty under the paternal roof. He must, at least, have often heard the father mention his ill-fated child. He must therefore have recollected her early happiness, when he beheld the spectacle of her eternal torment ; and this, we think, is the true account of the overwhelming sympathy with which her form overpowers him. The episode, too, was written by him in the very house in which she was born, and in which he had himself, during the last ten years of his exile, found a constant asylum.

Boccaccio has given an account which greatly mitigates the crime of Francesca; and he insinuates, that still further particulars were known to Dante. He relates, that 'Guido engaged to give his daughter in marriage to Lanciotto, the eldest son of his enemy the master of Rinnini. Lanciotto, who was hideously deformed in countenance and figure, foresaw, that if he presented himself in person, he should be rejected by the lady. He therefore resolved to marry her by proxy, and sent, as his representative, his younger brother Paolo, the handsomest and most accomplished Italy. Francesca saw Paolo arrive, and imagined she beheld her future husband. That mistake was the commencement of her passion. The friends of Guido addressed him in strong remonstrances and mournful predictions of the dangers to which he exposed a daughter, whose high spirit would never brook to be sacrificed with impunity. But Guido was no longer in a condition to make war; and the necessities of the politician overcame the feelings of the father.' \*

Dante abstained from employing any of those circumstances, though highly poetical. He knew that pathos, by being expanded over a number of objects, loses of its force. His design was to produce, not tragedies, but single scenes; and Francesca, to justify herself, must have criminated her father, and thus diminished the affecting magnanimity with which her character is studiously endowed by the poet.

To record this stain upon the illustrious family of a benefactor and a friend, may in our eyes appear indelicate and ungrateful; especially as it may be supposed, from his placing Francesca in Hell, that he meant to hold her up to execration. An observation which perhaps has not escaped the learned men of Italy, but which they have never expressed, from the dread of provoking the savage bigotry of their priests, explains this point. Dante constantly distinguishes between the *sins* and *merits* of each individual. *Divine Justice*, in his poem, punishes sin whenever it is actually committed; but *human sympathy*, or pity, laments or extenuates the offence, according to the circumstances under which it was committed. The poet dispenses censure and praise, according to the general qualities of the persons—the good or evil they had done their country—the glory or the infamy they had left behind them. He, however, carefully abstains from laying down this maxim in words, whilst he invariably acts upon it both in the *Inferno* and the *Purgatorio*. In the *Paradiso*, there is plainly no room for its operation.

\* Opere del Boccaccio, vol. V. towards the end. Florence edition, 1721.

From this principle he has deduced, that those who have done neither good or evil in their day, are the most despicable of beings. They are described as

*Questi sciaurati che mai non fur vivi—*

These wretches who ne'er lived.

He places them between Hell, the abode of the damned, and Limbo, the abode of the souls of infants and good men ignorant of the Christian faith; and with singular boldness of opinion as well as style, he says *God's* justice disdains to punish, and his mercy disdains to pardon, those who were useless in their lives.

*Fama di lor nel mondo esser non lassa,*

*Misericordia e Giustizia li sdegna,*

*Non ragioniam di lor, ma guarda e passa.*

Fame of them the world hath none,

Nor suffers. Mercy and Justice scorn them both.

Speak not of them; but look, and pass them by.

Among those, he has had the boldness to place Saint Celestino, who abdicated the pontificate through weakness, and acquired his titles to canonization in a hermit's cell. He also finds amongst them the angels that in the war of *Lucifer* against *God* took neither side, and thought only of themselves.

In those who merited that *God* should weigh their lives against their sins, Dante has generally implanted a strong desire of celebrity. The prospect of being named by the poet, on his return to the living, suspends awhile the sense of their pains. Great souls, though expiating the guilt and shamefulfulness of the heaviest sins, entreat him to mention his having seen them. This he always promises; and often, for the purpose of engaging them to speak with him more freely, pledges his faith that they shall not be forgotten. The shades of those only who in their lives were sunk in habitual crime and infamy, conceal from him their names. It is in the middle age, between barbarism and refinement, that men most strongly feel this desire of having their names preserved from oblivion. The passions, at that period, have yet lost no portion of their vigour, and are ruled by impulse rather than by calculation. Man has then more difficulties to rouse, and more courage to sustain him; and, rather than be checked in his course, will plunge with *ecclat* into any gulf that opens in his way. Of this the age of Dante furnishes examples scarcely credible in an age like ours, in which nothing retains sufficient novelty to make a strong impression, and the objects of pursuit are so multiplied, that no one can excite a commanding interest. It is obvious, however,

that the strong passions of less polished times bear men on to great virtues—great crimes—great calamities; and thus form the characters that are most proper for poetry. Dante had only to look round him for characters such as these. He found them already formed for his purpose, without the necessity of a single heightening touch from his own invention. Refinement had not yet produced that sameness of individual physiognomy in the great mass of a nation. Individual originality, now rare, dangerous, ridiculous, and often affected, was then common and undisguised. Poetry, in later times, has succeeded in catching its shades for the purposes of fine comedy—as in the *Misanthrope* of Moliere; and of pretty satire—as in Pope's *Rape of the Lock*. But all that this species of poetry can do, is to seize that exterior of character which every age and nation decks out after its own fashion; whilst the poetry, whose business is with the human heart, is coeval and coextensive with human nature. Pope, accordingly, no sooner lighted, in an almost barbarous age, upon a poetical personage, governed both in action and in writing by feeling alone, than he produced the *Epistle of Eloisa*, and proved that he had genius. Many a woman of that day resembled *Eloisa* in her misfortunes and her love; but they left few, if any, letters behind them. Even those of *Eloisa* have reached us only by their connexion with the writings of her lover. At present, the fair sex write much more, and perhaps feel as much less; and accordingly, our later poets, not finding poetical characters at home, are driven to seek for them in Turkey and in Persia;—while the Germans explore the ruins of Teutonic castles—and the Italians prudently confine themselves to the mythology of Greece and Rome. In fine, when nations are in a semi-barbarous state, the passions are their strongest laws: what else they have under the name of law, is yet without consistency or force. The punishment of an injury is left to him who suffered it—and he regards vengeance as a duty. Dante concludes one of his lyric pieces with the following sentiment—

How fair is the honour reaped from revenge!

*Che bell' onor s'acquista in far vendetta.*

How strongly does its application to his own poem illustrate the character of his age! Though terrified, at every step, by the objects which Hell presents to his view, the sentiment of vengeance, as a duty, stops him in his course. His eyes are fixed upon a shade that seems to shun him. Virgil reminds him that they must continue their journey; and asks the reason of his delay. Dante answers, 'If you knew the reason, you



would allow me to remain longer; for in the pit, on which I fixed my eyes, I thought I beheld one of my kinsmen.' 'Truly,' rejoins Virgil, 'I marked him pointing his finger at you, with a menacing and haughty air.' 'Oh! my master,' exclaims Dante; 'he was killed by an enemy, and his death has not been yet revenged by any of those to whom that insult was given; and therefore he disdained to speak to me!'

From those considerations, which we have been tempted to expand perhaps more than was necessary, it is, we think, evident, that the episode of Francesca was every way congenial to the principles, the poetry, and the affections of Dante, as well as to the age in which he lived. To satisfy *Divine Justice*, he, in fact, places her in Hell; but he introduces her in such a manner, that human frailty must pity her. Nature had given to her character the poetic cast. Her story, he knew, was one that could not be concealed;—and he gave the daughter of his friend the celebrity which popular tradition could not bestow. The husband of Francesca was living and powerful when Dante wrote; but the fearless vengeance of the poet devotes him to infamy; and foretels, that his place, named after Cain, among the fratricides, awaits him in the very centre of Hell. Indeed, the father of Francesca continued to afford protection to Dante, and not only attended his remains to the tomb, but composed and recited a funeral oration over them. His successors, too, defended the Poet's sepulchre against the power of *Charles de Valois* king of Naples, and the Church—when *John the XXII*d sent Cardinal *Bernardo di Foggetto* from Avignon to Ravenna, with orders to drag forth the bones of the poet from the repose of the grave, that they might be burned, and their ashes scattered before the wind. This, indeed, is mentioned only by Boccacio in the life of Dante; and that piece of biography has been generally regarded as a romance. But the fact, we think, is completely verified in the works of *Bartolo*, a celebrated civilian, who was living at the time, and alludes to it very distinctly in treating of the law *de Rejudicandis Reis.* (ad cod. l. 1. *cod. de Rejudic. &c.*)

The celebrity of the episode of Francesca, and the little light hitherto thrown upon it has engaged us in a discussion, the unavoidable length of which is an additional proof that a commentary upon Dante, which should be useful in a historical and poetical view, still remains to be executed. We hasten now to the close of these desultory observations. But few literary men are acquainted with his lyric compositions; and his prose is

scarcely ever mentioned. The elegant treatise written by him, to prove that in a nation, divided by so many dialects as Italy, it must be impossible to adapt the dialect of Florence exclusively, was the principal cause of the little value set by the academy of La Crusca and its adherents upon the prose of our poet. For La Crusca always maintained that the language should not be called Italian, or even Tuscan, but Florentine. Nevertheless, the literary language of Italy, though founded upon the Tuscan, is a distinct language, created by the commonwealth of authors, never spoken, but always written; as Dante had seen and foreseen. His own prose is a fine model of forcible and simple style, harmonious without studied cadences, and elegant without the affected graces of Boccaccio and his imitators. We venture upon a short specimen, extracted from the *Convito*, upon the subject to which we have alluded.

• ‘ Siccome non si può bene manifestare la bellezza d'una donna, quando li adornamenti dell' azzimare e delle vestimenta la fanno più ammirare che essa medesima. Onde chi vuole bene giudicare d'una donna, guardi quella, quando solo sua naturale bellezza si sta con lei, da tutto accidentale adornamento discompagnata; Siccome sarà questo volgare; nel quale si vedrà l'agevolezza delle sue sillabe, le proprietà delle sue condizioni, e le orazioni che di lui si fanno:—le quali chi bene guarderà, vedrà essere piene di dolcissima e d'amabilissima bellezza.

A perpetuale infamia e depressione degli malvagi uomini d'Italia che commendano lo volgare altrui e il loro proprio dispregiano, dico, che la loro mossa viene di cinque abominevoli cagioni. La prima, è cecità di discrezione. La seconda, maliziata scusazione. La terza, cupidità di vanagloria. La quarta, argomento d'invidia. La quinta e l'ultima, viltà d'animo, cio è pusillanimità. E ciascuna di queste reità ha sì gran setta che pochi son quelli che sieno da essi liberi. Della prima si può così ragionare. Siccome la parte sensitiva dell' anima ha i suoi occhi co' quali apprende la differenza delle cose in quanto elle sono di fuori colorate, così la parte razionale ha il suo occhio, col quale apprende la differenza delle cose in quanto sono ad alcun fine ordinate, e questa è la discrezione. E siccome colui che è cieco degli occhi sensibili va sempre secondo che gli altri, così colui che è cieco del lume della discrezione, sempre va nel suo giudizio secondo il grido o diritto o falso. Onde qualunque ora lo guidatore è cieco, conviene che esso e quello anche cieco che a lui s'appoggia vengano a mal fine. Però è scritto ch' il cieco al cieco farà guida e così caderanno amendue nella fossa. Questa guida è stata langamente contro a nostro volgare per le ragioni che di sotto si ragioneranno. Appresso di questa i ciechi sopra notati, che sono quasi infiniti, con la mano in su la spalla a questi mentitori sono caduti nella fossa della falsa opinione, della quale uscire non sanno. Dell' abito di questa luce discretiva massimamente le popolari persone sono orbate, però che occupate dal prin-

cipio della loro vita ad alcuno mestiere, dirizzano sì l'animo loro a quella persona della necessità che ad altro non intendono. E però che l'abito di virtù, sì morale come intellettuale, subitamente avere non si può, ma conviene che per usanza s'acquisti, e elli la loro usanza pongono in alcuna arte, e a discernere l'altre cose non curano, impossibile è a loro discrezione avere. Perchè incontra che molte volte gridano viva la lor morte e muoja la lor vita, pur che alcuno cominci. E questo è pericolosissimo difetto nella loro cecità. Onde Boezio giudica lo popolare gloria vana perchè la veda senza discrezione. Questi sono da chiamare pecore e non uomini. Che se un'a pecora si gettasse da una ripa di mille passi, tutte le altre l'anderebbono dietro. E se una pecora per alcuna cagione al passare d'una strada salta, tutte l'altre saltano, eziandio nulla veggendo di saltare. E io ne vidi già molte in un pozzo saltare per una che dentro vi saltò, forse credendo saltare un muro, non ostante ch'il pastore piangendo e gridando con le braccia e col petto dinanzi si parava. La seconda setta contro al nostro volgare si fa per una maliziata scusa. Molti sono che amaro più d'essere tenuti maestri, che d'essere; e per fuggire lo contrario cio è di non essere tenuti, sempre danno colpa alla materia dell'arte apparecchiata, ovvero allo strumento. Siccome il mal fabro biasima il ferro appresentato a lui; e lo mal Cetarista biasima la cetra;—cre- dendo dar la colpa del mal coltello e del mal suonare al ferro e alla cetra, e levarla a sè. Così sono alquanti, e non pochi, che vogliono che l'uomo gli tenga dicitori, e per scusarsi del non dire, o dal dire male, accusano e incolpano la materia, cio è lo volgare proprio, e commendano l'altro, lo quale non è loro richiesto di fabricare. E chi vuole vedere come questo ferro si dee biasimare, guardi che opere ne fanno gli buoni e perfetti artefici e conoscerà la maliziata scusa di costoro che biasimando lui si credono scusare. Contro questi cotali grida Marco Tullio nel principio d'un suo libro che si chiama libro del fine de'beni. Però che al suo tempo biasimavano lo latino romano, e commendavano la grammatica Greca. E così dico per somiglianti cagioni che questi fanno vile lo parlare Italico; e prezioso quello de' Provenza, &c. &c.

The lyric poetry of Italy was not indeed invented or perfected, though greatly improved, by Dante. It is mentioned by himself in his prose works, that 'lyric composition had been introduced above a century before, by Sicilian poets, into Italy;' from which time it was gradually cultivated, down to Guido Cavalcanti, who produced some very fine essays—the finest until those of Dante, who in that kind was, in his turn, surpassed by Petrarca. But still the germs of all that is most enchanting in the strains of Laura's lover, may be found in the verses which had previously celebrated Beatrice. The following is the opening of the canzone which his friend Casella so courteously sang to him in Purgatory.

*Amor che nella mente mi ragiona  
 Della mia donna sì soavemente,  
 Move cose di lei meco sovente  
 Che l'intelletto sovr' esse disvia :  
 Lo suo parlar sì dolcemente suona,  
 Che l'anima che l'ode e che lo sente  
 Dice ; oh me lassa ! ch' io non son possente  
 Di dir quel che odo della donna mia :*

*hè il nostro pensier non ha valore  
 Di ritrar tutto ciò che dice amore.*

One of his sonnets begins with these four exquisite lines,—to which nothing equal can be found in Petrarca in his happiest moments.

*Ne gli occhi porta la mia donna amore  
 Perche sì fa gentil cio ch'ella mira :  
 Ognun che passa presso lei, sospira ;—  
 E a chi saluta fa tremar lo core !*

Unwearied reading, and a profound knowledge of the Italian language, and of the rise and progress of Italian civilization, are the essential requisites for illustrating the age, the genius, and the works of Dante. It requires active and persevering industry to ransack libraries, and peruse manuscripts of the 13th and 14th centuries, not even yet brought to light. We would further recommend, that the age of Dante should be accurately distinguished from that of Boccaccio and Petrarca. This distinction has never been observed in the literary history of Italy ; and the consequence has been, that notions the most different have been confounded with each other. It was about the decline of Dante's life that the political constitution of the Italian Republics underwent a total and almost universal change, in consequence of which a new character was suddenly assumed by men, manners, literature, and the church.

It may be observed, that Dante, notwithstanding the number of his biographers, has not yet had a historian. Among the pieces relating to this poet, either unpublished or but little known, which we have had occasion to see, is an interesting letter, which we shall subjoin with the same orthography in which it may be read in the Laurentine library at Florence. \*

About the year 1316, the friends of Dante succeeded in obtaining his restoration to his country and his possessions, on condition that he should pay a certain sum of money, and, entering church, there avow himself guilty, and ask pardon

\* Those who wish to see the original, may find it in that library, by the following references. *Pluteum 29, Codex 8, page 123.*

of the Republic. The following was his answer on the occasion, to one of his kinsmen, whom he calls 'Father,' because perhaps he was an ecclesiastic; or, more probably, because he was older than the poet. 'From your letter, which I received with due respect and affection, I observe how much you have at heart my restoration to my country. I am bound to you the more gratefully, that an exile rarely finds a friend. But, after mature consideration, I must, by my answer, disappoint the wishes of some little minds; and I confide in the judgment to which your impartiality and prudence will lead you. Your nephew and mine ~~have often~~ to me, what indeed had been mentioned by many other friends, that, by a decree concerning the exiles, I am allowed to return to Florence, provided I pay a certain sum of money, and submit to the humiliation of asking and receiving absolution; wherein, my Father, I see two propositions that are ridiculous and impertinent. I speak of the impertinence of those who mention such conditions to me; for, in your letter, dictated by judgment and discretion, there is no such thing. Is such an invitation to return to his country glorious for Dante, after suffering in exile almost fifteen years? Is it thus then they would recompense innocence which all the world knows, and the labour and fatigue of unremitting study? Far from the man who is familiar with philosophy, be the senseless baseness of a heart of earth, that could do like a little sciolist, and imitate the infamy of some others, by offering himself up as it were in chains. Far from the man who cries aloud for justice, this compromise, by his money, with his persecutors. No, my Father, this is not the way that shall lead me back to my country. But I shall return with hasty steps, if you or any other can open to me a way that shall not derogate from the fame and honour of Dante; but if by no such way Florence can be entered, then Florence I shall never enter. What! shall I not everywhere enjoy the sight of the sun and stars? and may I not seek and contemplate, in every corner of the earth under the canopy of heaven, consoling and delightful truth, without first rendering myself inglorious, nay infamous, to the people and republic of Florence? Bread, I hope, will not fail me.' †

† In litteris vestris et reverentia debita et affectione receptis, quam repatriatio mea cure sit vobis ex animo, grata mente, ac diligenti animaversione concepi, etenim tanto me districtius obligastis, quanto rarius exules invenire amicos contingit. ad illam vero significata respondeo: et si non eatenus qualiter forsam pusillanimitas appeteret aliquorum, ut sub examine vestri consilii ante Judicium, affectuose depono. ecce igitur quod per litteras vestri mei: que nepotis, non aliorum quamplurium amicorum significatum est mihi. per ordinamentum nuper factum Florentie super absolutione bannitorum. quod si solvere vellem certam pecunie quantitatem, vellemque pati notam oblationis et absolvi possem et redire at presens. in quo qui-

Yet bread often did fail him. Every reader of his works must know by heart the prediction addressed to him by the shade of his ancestor in Paradise. (Parad. Cant. 17.) 'Thou shalt prove how salt is the taste of the bread of others, and how hard the road is going up and down the stairs of others.' But there is another passage in which, with designed obscurity, and a strength of expression and feeling which makes the reader tremble, he discovers an exact portrait of himself in a man who, *stripping his shame, and, trembling in his very vitals, places himself in the public way, and stretches out his hand for charity.* \* It was by such sacrifices he preserved his principles and sustained the magnanimity of his character.

ART. III. *Mélanges d'Histoire et de Littérature.* 8vo. pp. 454. Paris. 1817.

THIS volume has never, we understand, been published; and it is accompanied by no preface or notice which might lead the reader to a knowledge, either of the author, or of the grounds for believing in the authenticity of its contents. But having accidentally obtained a copy, and been informed at the same time of its history, we feel justified in giving our readers an account of it, which there is no reason for believing will prove offensive in any quarter.

dem duo ridenda et male perconciliata sunt. Pater, dico male perconciliata per illos qui tali expresserunt: nam vestre litere discretius et consultius clausulate nicil de talibus continebant. estne ista revocatio gloriosa qua d. all. (i. e. DANTES ALLIGHERIUS) revocatur ad patriam per trilustrium fere perpersus exilium? hecne meruit conscientia manifesta quibuslibet? hec sudor et labor continuatus in studiis? absit a viro philosophie domesticq̃ temeraria terreni cordis humilitas, ut more cujusdam cioli et aliorum infamiam quasi vinctus ipse se patiatur offerri. absit a viro predicante Justitiam, ut perpersus injuriarum inferentibus. velud benemerentibus, pecuniam suam solvat. non est hec via redeundi ad patriam, Pater mi, sed si alia per vos, aut deinde per alios invenietur que fame d. (*Dantis*) que onori non deroget, illam non lentis passibus acceptabo. quod si per nullam talem Florentia introitur, nunquam Florentiam introibo. quid ni? nonne solis astrorumque specula ubique conspiciam? nonne dulcissimas veritates potero speculari ubique sub celo, ni prius inglorium, imo ignominiosum populo, Florentineque civitati me reddam? quippe panis non deficiet.

\* See Purgat. Cant. 11. towards the end.

The editor and compiler is Mr Quintin Crawford, a very respectable gentleman, of a Scotch family, but who has long been settled at Paris, where he is alike known for his hospitality and for the elegance of his literary leisure. Having become possessed of the original papers, which form the groundwork of this volume, he appears to have justly thought that the press furnished the best means of preserving them; and we trust that he will be further prevailed upon to allow the public at large access to them. Some of them are indeed curious and interesting, to a high degree, to the lovers of Literary History. Those tracts which are not expressly stated to be the productions of others, we presume are written by Mr Crawford himself.

The first piece relates to Abelard and Eloisa, and the Paraclete. It consists of two modern letters upon the story of those unfortunate persons, written by a person whom Mr Crawford praises highly as a sound and sagacious critic, but does not name; and of two antient epistles from Petrus Venerabilis, Abbot of Quini, to Eloisa, together with a catalogue and short account of all the Abbesses of the Paraclete, to the number of twenty-nine, justly regarded by the editor as only interesting to the families from which those holy persons sprung, and a few Papal Bulls respecting the same establishment. The author of the two critical letters, rather triumphs a little too much over his unfortunate predecessors—upon his superior felicity and discernment in the rectification of certain points of much antiquarian importance, chiefly connected with the grand matter of dates: But this is by immemorial usage the undoubted right of all criticks and antiquaries; and we must allow him the praise of adding considerably to the knowledge hitherto possessed on the subject. The common story, indeed, of Abelard being employed as a tutor to Eloisa, and his being punished as soon as her uncle knew of her dishonour, is exceedingly remote from the truth. It is well known that Abelard was a person of the very highest eminence in philosophy and all the literature of his age;—that he became enamoured of Eloisa, and tempted the avarice of the old Canon, Hubert, with whom she lived, by offering him a large board on condition of his taking him into the house;—that the Canon added to the bargain, the further obligation of instructing his niece;—and that upon her proving with child, they both made their escape, she lying-in at his sister's, and he soon after returning—apparently without any loss of respect—to prosecute his studies, and continue his school of philosophy.

Our author fixes the date of her delivery in the year 1118, when she was eighteen, and he thirty-eight years old. He soon found means to appease Hubert, by promising marriage; but Eloisa,

(as we know from one of those exquisite letters which Pope has imitated), \* in a fit of romantic attachment, refused to be any thing more (or less) than his mistress,—and would not listen to a project which, according to the customs of the age, would have put an end to the principal occupation of his life. A secret marriage was then agreed upon, to satisfy the uncle, with whom she continued to reside; while the lover pursued his ordinary occupations—seeing her very seldom. At length some worthy nuns began to gossip, and to complain of the reverend canon's complaisance. He assured them of the marriage, which the lovers denied; and this produced a quarrel with Hubert, and a second elopement of his niece. Our author judiciously suggests, that the extreme unwillingness of Abelard to terminate all their difficulties by a public marriage, and his suffering Eloisa to sacrifice herself for his advantage, may show that (as not unfrequently happens in such attachments) there was more love on her side than on his. The catastrophe followed in all probability soon after the second elopement; and five persons were engaged in it, beside Hubert, and a treacherous servant of Abelard's. Of these, only one and the servant were taken; they suffered by the *létalions*, and had their eyes put out besides; and Hubert's goods were confiscated to the Church.

Abelard, resolving now to retire from the world, made his unfortunate mistress do the same; though she seems not to have finally made up her mind for two years. She took the veil in 1122, at Argenteuil, after the usual noviciate of a year; and he soon after professed at St Denis. Being of a turbulent, austere, and even quarrelsome disposition, he could not remain long in this fraternity, but retired to a wild forest, near Nagent-sur-Seine, where he founded the Paraclete, sometime between 1128 and 1130. Although, at first, he had only a log-house for a chapel, and a few miserable huts for habitations, his great fame attracted

\* The closeness of the imitation in many places approaches to translation.—Wharton has cited part of the original of the celebrated passage alluded to in the text; but he has stopt short where the resemblance becomes strongest.—‘Etsi uxoris nomen sanctius et validius videtur, dulcius mihi semper extitit Amicæ vocabulum, aut si non indigneris, Concubinæ vel Scorti. Deum testem invoco, si me Augustus, universo præsidens mundo, matrimonii honore dignaretur, totumque mihi orbem confirmaret in perpetuo præsidendum, charius mihi et dignius mihi videtur tua dici Meretrix quam illius Imperatrix.’ Many of the amplifications of Pope upon the various parts of the original are to be found in the Count Bussy Rabutin's publication of the Letters, and in the *Histoire d'Héloïse et d'Abelard*, Hague, 1693— if we may judge from the citations in Bayle.



scholars, who flocked around him, and led the life of hermits, to receive his instructions. In this situation, he was chosen Abbot of St Gildas de Ruyr, whither he immediately repaired. Meantime Eloisa's convent was dissolved, by the appropriation of its lands to another house; and Abelard invited her to become Abbess of the Paraclete, where she established herself with some other refugees, among whom were two nieces of his. At St. Gildas, to which he returned as soon as he had put Eloisa in possession of the Paraclete, he, as usual, associated with his monks:—his misfortunes, indeed, seem to have soured his temper, naturally irritable. Peter of Cluni afforded him a retreat; and he died in that monastery, of a cutaneous disease, in April 1142, at the age of sixty-three. Eloisa survived him twenty years, and died at the same age. Their only child, who, from his extraordinary beauty, was named Astrolabe, took orders, obtained a canonry through the interest of the good Abbot of Cluni, and survived his father; but has left no further traces of himself in history. Some of Eloisa's letters speak of her anxiety for his advancement in the Church, with her characteristic earnestness and warmth of affection.

The remains of Abelard were transported to the Paraclete by Eloisa's desire, and she was herself buried in the same coffin. The bodies were afterwards separated, but in 1779 they were again united; and, in opening the coffins, it was then observed that Abelard's bones were reduced to dust, except the skull, which was of an extraordinary thickness; that Eloisa's were much better preserved; that her skull was also peculiarly thick, and the teeth of a beautiful whiteness. These remains were, during the Revolution, carried to Paris, and were, till lately, in the Museum of Ancient Monuments; but the piety of the restored government has consigned them to a more consecrated place in the cemetery of Pere Lachaise. The following account of the Paraclete, when visited by our author, may interest the curious reader; but we give it as an example of better regulations than are usually to be found in such establishments; and we may add, that the narrative confirms an opinion entertained by many, that such cloisters might, under proper management, be productive of excellent effects, even in our times, provided voluntary residence could be reconciled with the infirmities of the human temper. The reader will perceive, that some particulars are quite at variance with the account of a similar excursion given in the Annual Register for 1768,—for instance, the statement in the latter, that none of the inhabitants seemed to know any thing about the founders, or their adventures.

En entrant dans le parloir ou salle de compagnie de l'abbesse, les yeux sont frappés par plusieurs portraits gravés d'Abbeillard et

d'Heloise ; elle les a sur sa tabatiere et dans toutes les pièces de son appartement, même au chevet de son lit. J'entrai dans plusieurs cellules des religieuses, où les mêmes portraits dominent parmi les crucifix et les reliques. Le Paraclet est, je crois, dans le monde, l'unique convent où les plaisirs et les malheurs de deux amans soient un sujet continuel de reflexions et de discours.

Le monaster est chef d'ordre, soumis à la regle de St Benoit, qui ne prescrit aucune austerité, et qui fût d'ailleurs adoucie par les modifications qu'y apportât Abeillard. Les religieuses sont proprement logées, les murs bien blanchis, les parquets et les meubles d'un travail assez grossier, mais cirés avec le même soin que la plus belle marqueterie. Les lits m'ont paru bons ; on les garnit l'été des rideaux de toile de coton blanche ; et l'hiver, de serge bleue. Les religieuses sont bien nourries, portent des chemises de toile quand elles les preferent à celles de laine, se couchent à huit ou neuf heures, se lèvent à quatre heures du matin en été, et à six heures en hiver, et ont en tout cinque ou six heures d'offices, à différentes époques de la journée. Le vêtement des religieuses, sem-  
blait-on à celui que portoit Heloise, est assez agreable ; et quoiqu'elles aient la tête rasée, leur genre de coiffure ne deplait pas.

Lorsqu'une fille se presente pour être reçue au Paraclet, elle commence selon l'usage par un noviciat ; après lequel on l'exhorte à bien consulter sa vocation ; et afin de lui donner une idée infiniment juste du monde qu'elle veut quitter, on lui en fait, autant qu'on le peut dans ce lieu, éprouver tous les agrements. D'abord on la laisse promener, autant qu'il lui plaît, dans une garenne voisine du convent. L'abbesse la mene diner chez le curé d'Avant, village à une lieue du Paraclet, et qui leur fait la meilleure chere qu'il peut. C'est de ce curé lui-même que je tiens ces details qu'il me les raconta en riant. Quand la novice a ainsi passé le terme de son noviciat, si sa vocation se soutient, on l'admet à faire profession, et à prononcer les vœux. Ces victimes volontaires ne m'ont paru ni tristes ni farouches.

Our author adds, that the tradition of the place is not very favourable to the amenity of Eloisa's temper and manners in her retreat, however exalted a notion it may give of the charms of her conversation—charms to which all accounts bear witness ; and, indeed, the remains of her correspondence themselves impress us with an extraordinary sense of her merits. The best judges, as is here remarked, have given to her style the preference over that of her friend and master, for purity and natural grace. Her temper, like his, was in all likelihood affected by their calamities.

The letters of Peter of Cluni are curious specimens of monkish correspondence. They are translated from the Latin, and begin, "Peter, humble Abbot of Cluni, wishes the eternal life which God has promised those who love him, to the venerable Abbess Eloisa, his very dear sister in Jesus Christ." He ex-

presses the greatest admiration of her, and the most entire devotion to her service; but his holy gallantry is of a very different complexion from Abelard's,—for it is the graces of the spirit alone that he has in contemplation. He appears to have made a visit to the Paraclete, and to have returned impressed with a wonderful reverence for her sanctity and talents.\* We know not, however, if the minute particulars respecting Abelard, which he details in one of the letters, are wholly due to pious enthusiasm. The good abbot probably felt, that he could not more acceptably serve his venerable sister than by dwelling on a subject so dear to the woman as well as the nun.

\* La Providence qui dispose de tout avec sagesse, en nous refusant cette faveur (viz. qu'Héloïse fût de l'ordre de Cluni), nous en a accordé une semblable, en nous envoyant un autre vous-même; c'est assez designer le Maître, † ce grand sectateur de la philosophie de Jesus-Christ. J'ai incessamment son nom à la bouche, et toujours je le prononce avec un nouveau respect. La divine Providence l'avoit conduit à Cluni dans les dernières années de sa vie; c'est le plus précieux présent qu'elle pouvoit nous faire. Il me faudroit un long discours pour vous rendre l'impression qu'a faite sur tous nos frères sa conduite aussi humble qu'édifiante: Non, je ne crois pas avoir un son semblable en humilité, tant pour les vêtemens que pour le maintien; je l'obligeois à tenir le premier rang parmi notre nombreuse communauté, et il paroissoit le dernier de tous par la pauvreté de son habit. Dans les processions comme il marchoit devant moi, suivant la coutume, j'admirois comment un homme d'une si grande réputation pouvoit s'abaisser de la sorte et se mépriser lui-même. Il observoit dans la nourriture et dans tous les besoins du corps la même simplicité que dans ses habits, et condamnoit par ses discours et par son exemple, non-seulement le superflu, mais tout-ce qui n'est pas absolument nécessaire. Il lisoit souvent, prioit beaucoup, gardoit un silence perpétuel, si ce n'est quand il étoit forcé de parler, ou dans les conférences, ou dans les sermons qu'il faisoit à la communauté. Il offroit fréquemment le sacrifice, et même presque tous les jours, depuis que par mes lettres et par mes sollicitations il avoit été reconcilié avec le Saint-Siège. Que dirai-je davantage? Son esprit, son cœur, toutes ses facultés étoient occupées de la méditation, ou de l'exposition et de l'enseignement des vérités de la religion ou de la philosophie.

\* It is remarkable, that her person is by no means spoken of in raptures by him who should have prized it most highly. “Cum perfacile non esset infima, per abundantiam litterarum erat suprema,” says Abelard himself.

† It was thus that Abelard was always named by the singular veneration of the age in which he lived, notwithstanding the broils in which his temper involved him.

He then describes his having been removed when he fell ill, for a change of air, to the neighbourhood of Chalons. His malady increased; but he continued the same holy life; and, at last, yielded up his breath in the midst of pious men, and in the performance of devout offices. ‘Avec quelle pitié’ (adds the good Abbot), ‘avec quels sentimens de religion il fit d’abord sa confession de foi, puis celle de ses péchés! Avec quelle sainte avidité il reçut le saint viatique! Avec quelle foi il a recommandé à notre Seigneur son ame et son corps! Il y a eu autant de témoignages de ces pieux sentimens, qu’il y a de religieux dans le monastère de Saint Marcel. Ainsi (he concludes) termina sa carrière ce fameux Docteur, qui du haut de sa chaire a fait retentir sa voix jusqu’aux extrémités de la terre.’ We trust it may not be deemed a crime in the courts of romance, if we add, that this distinguished sage and gallant, in point of fact, died of the itch of mange. ‘Plus solitô scabie et quibusdam corporis infirmitatibus gravabatur,’ says the account in his works. It is remarkable that no notice is taken of Astrolabe by Bayle;—Moreri makes mention of him.

The next of these pieces is a dissertation apparently by the editor himself, upon that *questio vexata* the *Man in the Iron Mask*. All the evidence upon this subject is collected, and the different opinions are stated and discussed. Among these, one is truly astonished to find, that one so absurd as the conjecture of its being the Duke of Monmouth could have found a single supporter among men of any pretensions to historical knowledge; for none but the class of literary men, of course, ever took part in this controversy. The prisoner was detained in custody from 1661 till the time of his death in 1703; while Monmouth was going about in the English court and army till 1685, when he was publicly executed in London; and, supposing the difficulty of the date to be got over, what possible reason could the French Court have for confining him in order to secure the tranquillity of England and strengthen the title of King William and Queen Anne, with both of whom France was at war,—with the latter, indeed, at the moment of the prisoner’s death?—Common sense rejects some of the other explanations as plainly as the most ordinary historical knowledge does the supposition of Monmouth. Thus, who can listen to the notion of a certain Duc de Beaufort second son of the Duc de Vendome, a bastard of Henry IV. by the celebrated Gabrielle? Still more ridiculous is the fancy broached by Mr Dutens in his *Correspondance Interceptée*, that it was a minister of the Duke of Mantua, who had shown great skill in negotiations against the French interests, and whom, on that account, the French ambassador carried off,

having invited him to a shooting party. It is manifest that such theories would be absurd in the highest degree, even if supported by the most plausible appearances of external evidence; because nothing can overcome the incredibility of the Court taking the steps known to have been pursued towards this unhappy personage, without some adequate motive;—and that can only be found in the supposition of his having been a man of such importance as to create extreme alarm to the Government. All the probabilities are certainly in favour of his being a brother of Louis XIV., so like him that his resemblance would have made the dangerous disclosure. But whether he was a twin brother legitimately born, or an adulterous child of Anne of Austria, or her natural son born so soon after Louis XIV.'s death as to render his legitimacy possible, we can have no means of deciding. Our author inclines towards the last opinion. The solution of the question is not of very high importance: But it is of great moment to reflect on the state of a country subject to a government like that which could with impunity shut up in distant dungeons, and afterwards in the heart of its metropolis, during a period of above forty years, an individual so distinguished, that his jailor, always a person of high rank and trust, served him with his own hands; that during so long a time this victim should have been compelled to hide his face\* on pain of instant death, which the guard had orders to inflict by firing on him when he went to mass if he showed himself; that no public mention should ever have been made of the incident, until Voltaire, many years afterwards, told the story; that though many persons saw acts of violence committed in securing him, the subject should have so long been confined to whispers; and that several persons should have been found dead suddenly, after accidentally being placed in situations where they *might* have made the important discovery. This is the state of things to which many of our wise politicians bid us cast our eyes as tranquil and happy; this is the kind of government which is deemed by them as far preferable to any change, and most of all to the change effected by the Revolution.

This dissertation upon the Iron Mask is followed by a number of short pieces, containing anecdotes and reflections upon various political and historical subjects. There is none of these tracts that require particular attention, unless it be one upon the fortunes amassed by Ministers of State in France. An exact calculation makes the sums got and spent by Cardinal Mazarin during his administration, including his buildings, foundations,

\* The mask was not of iron, but of black velvet clasped with steel and a hinge, by means of which he could eat.

portions to relations, and money left to his heirs, amount to the enormous sum of 8,333,333*l.* Sterling, (two hundred millions of livres). Dubois, at his death, enjoyed an income of above 110,000*l.* a year, in which our author includes a pension of 40,000*l.* from England, which he appears, we know not upon what authority, to think was unquestionably paid to this profligate wretch. How nobly does Fleury appear among such scenes of rapacity, confining himself to 5000*l.* a year, with all the revenues of the State and Church at his disposal during a long and prosperous ministry! It seems even the virtuous Sully had above 30,000*l.* a year, in places and church preferment held by him notwithstanding his being a protestant; a sum equal to 60 or 70,000*l.* in the present day. Colbert, from the many high offices united in his person, is reckoned to have had nearly as much; beside the large sums which he occasionally received from the King, and which were equal to his other appointments. Le Tellier and his had revenues and emoluments upon the same enormous; and our author estimates the gains of five ministers including Colbert, during forty-two years of Louis XIV.'s reign, at two hundred millions. These men are above all suspicion of having owed their fortune to peculation or illegal exactions; but the result is, that they and Mazarin together, received from the people of France for their ministerial services about seventeen millions sterling, being a sum equivalent perhaps to fifty millions in this country and at the present day. A cardinal who had no legitimate family whose inheritance could gratify his vanity, might now and then seek to perpetuate his name by endowments of a charitable and religious kind; but laymen spent the sums thus obtained in the usual ways. Thus, Louvois spent above half a million upon a house. It is probable that Milton may have had these things in his eye, rather than what he saw at home, when he said that the trappings of a monarchy would suffice to set up a commonwealth. It seems, however, that such gains were reserved for the Prime Minister;—in Louis XV.'s reign, at least, we find the salary of Secretary of State only about 6000*l.* a year, and those of Comptroller-General, Chancellor, and Keeper of the Seals, at from 5500*l.* to 6500*l.*

We now come to the last, the longest, and by far the most curious of these miscellaneous pieces. It is a kind of irregular Journal kept by a certain Madame du Hausset, femme-de-chambre of the celebrated Madame Pompadour, and occupies about 170 pages of this volume. The Editor properly introduces it by stating the manner of obtaining it. M. Marigni, it seems, brother of the royal favourite, was one morning burning some old papers, when a friend of his, M. de Senac de Meilhan, called

upon him. 'The former happening to say, 'Here is a journal of my sister's waiting-maid, who was a very worthy person,'—M. de Senac saved it from the flames, and asked him for it, to which he assented. Mr Crawford purchased it from this gentleman; and found it ill written and badly spelt, without any arrangement, and, as might be supposed, full of defects in style; for, though a gentlewoman, Mad. du Hausset was but ill educated. In the present publication nothing has been changed except the orthography, and some of the proper names, which were confounded. She begins by mentioning, that she kept the Journal at the request of a friend, who was a woman of talents, and who wished her to write a book after the manner of Mad. de Caylus's *Souvenirs*. Her intention was to give her friend the Journal, that it might be made more like its model. But we cannot help rejoicing that things took another course; for the work appears now in all the simplicity of its original composition; and one advantage, among many, which it derives from thence, is the air of *naïveté* and honesty that pervades it all, and gives the reader an entire confidence in its truth.

Of course we do not mean to give any general account of the King's private habits—of his decorous visits in secret to Mad. de Pompadour—of his seraglio at the Parc aux Cerfs, where he generally carried on intrigues of an inferior description—of his mistress's alarms lest other persons of rank might supplant her, while she had hardly ever any jealousy of those low amours—or of the kind of life generally which was led by the principal persons who are mentioned in this piece. We shall only select some of the most interesting particulars which are to be found in it; preferring those which throw light either upon remarkable men, or upon the administration of the French government in former times, to those passages which only gratify an idle curiosity.

One of the fortunate circumstances attending this journal is, that Mad. du Hausset happened to be mistress of the celebrated Quesnay, the founder of the sect of the Economists. He was, as is well known, a distinguished physician, and began to practise physic at Nantes, from whence he accompanied the Duc de Villeroy to Paris, as his medical attendant. There, as Mr Crawford informs us in a valuable note, he happened to be in the Duke's carriage when Mad. d'Estrades, M. de Pompadour's favourite, and d'Argenson's mistress, was taken ill with an epileptic attack; and being called in, he concealed the nature of the malady with such discretion from all the family, that she recommended him to her powerful friend, who made him her physician, and obtained for him a place at Court, as well as

apartments at Versailles. He was the son of a ploughman; and having passed his early years in the country, retained for its pursuits a strong predilection, which perhaps helped to bias his political doctrines. His disciples or followers, the Economists, revered him as the ancient philosophers did the founders of their sects; they called him '*le Maître*,' and used to say '*le Maître l'a dit*.' Of a most active and indefatigable nature, he required new food for his mind, and began to cultivate the mathematical sciences with success, when he was upwards of seventy. He died in 1774, at the age of eighty: and the Marquis de Mirabeau (distinguished by the name of Mirabeau here from his well-known son) pronounced a funeral discourse upon him to a great assembly of Economists in deep mourning. Our author terms it a '*chef-d'œuvre d'absurdité et de ridicule*.' He adds the following particulars respecting this celebrated personage.

Quesnay avoit beaucoup de gaieté et de bon hommie; il se plaisoit à la conversation à faire des especes d'apologues qui avoient en butte pour principe quelque objet de la campagne. Il dissertoit avec beaucoup de chaleur sans envie de briller. Logé dans un petit appartement qui tenoit de tres pres à celui de Mad. de Pompadour, il y recevoit quelques gens de lettres et quelques personnes de la cour. On y parloit tres-librement, mais plus des choses que des personnes. Le roi l'appeloit *son penseur*: il lui accorda des lettres de noblesse; et voulant lui-même composer ses armes, il fit mettre sur l'ecusson la fleur appelée *pensée*.

It is singular how complete an account of a man, pleasing and even delightful in society, these few particulars contain; and that this character was possessed by the founder of the Economists, we were certainly little prepared to expect. Every thing relating to him in the Journal, however, confirms the remarks of the Editor, and only makes us regret that more is not known of Quesnay,—perhaps, too, that he did not apply himself more to lighter studies. Mad. du Hausset introduces him to our notice at the very beginning of her narrative, with her usual simplicity. 'J'étois devenue en peu de temps l'amie du docteur Quesnay, qui venoit souvent passer deux ou trois heures avec moi. Il recevoit chez lui des personnes de tous les partis, mais en petit nombre, et qui toutes avoient une très grande confiance en lui. On y parloit très-hardiment de tout; et ce qui fait leur éloge et le sien, jamais on n'a rien repeté.'—'Quelquefois, mais rarement, j'ai voyagé dans sa voiture avec le docteur, à qui Madame (de Pompadour) ne disoit pas quatre paroles, quoique ce fût un homme d'un grand esprit.' Mr Crawford mentions the Doctor's way of amusing himself in society, by conveying his



arguments, or giving instructions, in the form of fables. Mad. du Hausset has in this Journal preserved one of these, which is interesting enough, from the economical tinge of the ideas. We shall extract the passage, as it shows, moreover, the way in which this singular little groupe, the King, the mistress, the maid and the philosopher, all lived together.

‘ Le Roi sortit pour aller à la figuerie avec Madame, et bientôt après entra Quesnay, ensuite M. de Marigni. Je parlai avec mepris de quelqu’un qui aimoit beaucoup l’argent ; et le docteur s’étant mis à rire, dit : “ J’ai fait un drôle de rêve cette nuit. J’étais dans le pays des anciens Germains ; ma maison étoit vaste, et j’avois des tas de blé, des bestiaux en grand nombre, et de grands tonneaux pleins de cervoise ; mais je souffrois du rhumatisme, et ne savois comment faire pour aller à cinquante lieues de là à une fontaine dont l’eau me queriroit. Il falloit pas chez un peuple étranger. Un enchanteur parut et me dit : “ Je suis touché de ton embarras ; tiens, voilà un petit paquet de poudre de *Prelinpinpin* ; tous ceux à qui vous en donneras, te logeront, te nourriront et te feront toutes sortes de politesses. Je pris la poudre et le remerciai bien.” Ah ! comme j’aimerois la poudre de *prelinpinpin*, lui dis-je, j’en voudrois avoir plein mon armoire. “ Eh bien, dit le docteur, cette poudre, c’est l’argent que vous meprisez. Dites moi de tous ceux qui viennent ici quel est celui qui produit le plus d’effet ? ” Je n’en sais rien, lui dis-je. “ Eh bien ! c’est M. de Montmartel \* qui vient quatre ou cinq fois l’an ”—Pourquoi est-il considéré ? “ Parce qu’il a des coffres plein de *prelinpinpin* ” (il tira quelques Louis de sa poche) “ tout ce qui existe est renfermé dans ces petites pieces, qui peuvent vous conduire commodément au bout du monde. Tous les hommes obeissent à ceux qui ont cette poudre, et s’empressent de les servir. C’est mepriser le bonheur, la liberté, les jouissances de tout genre, que de mepriser l’argent. ” Un cordon bleu passa sous les fenestres ; et je dis : Ce, seigneur, est bien plus content de son cordon que de mille et mille de vos pieces—“ Quand je demande au roi une pension reprit Quesnay. “ C’est comme si je lui disois : Donnez moi un moyen d’avoir un meilleur diner, d’avoir un habit plus chaud, une voiture pour me garantir de la pluie, et me transporter sans fatigue. Mais celui qui lui demanda ruban, s’il oloit dire ce qu’il pense, disoit : “ J’ai de la vanité, et je voudrois bien, quand je passe, voir le peuple me regarder d’un œil bêtement admirateur, et se ranger devant moi ; je voudrois bien, quand j’entre dans une chambre, faire un effet et fixer l’attention de gens qui se moqueront peut-être de moi à mon depart, je voudrois bien être appelé Monseigneur par la multitude. Tout cela n’est-il pas du vent ? Ce ruban ne lui servira de rien dans presque tous les pays ; il ne lui donne aucune puissance : mais mes

\* Alors banquier de la cour, qui laissa une fortune de trente-deux millions à son fils le Marquis de Brunoy.—Ed.

pieces me donnent partout les moyens de secourir les malheureux. Vive la toute-puissante poudre de *prelinpinpin* !” A ces derniers mots on entendit rire aux éclats dans la piece d'à coté, qui n'étoit separée que par une portiere. La porte étant ouverte, le roi entra avec Madame, et M. de Gontant. Il dit, *Vive la poudre de prelinpinpin* ! docteur, pourriez vous m'en procurer ? Le roi étoit entré, et il lui avoit pris fantaisie d'ecouter ce que l'on disoit. Madame fit des grandes amitiés au docteur, et le roi, riant et parlant de la poudre avec eloge, sortit. Je m'en allais et le docteur aussi. Je me mis aussitôt à écrire cette conversation. On me dit depuis que M. Quesnay étoit fort instruit de certaines choses qui ont rapport aux finances, et qu'il étoit un grand *Economiste* : Mais je ne sais pas trop ce que c'est. Ce qu'il y a de certain c'est qu'il avoit beaucoup d'esprit ; il étoit fort gai et fort plaisant, et tres habile médecin.

The sect of Quesnay, as is well known, were very far from being enthusiasts on certain subjects which fill ordinary men with anxiety and delight; they were no lovers of liberty; on the contrary, a regular despotism, ‘*despotisme legal*,’ was the government of which they rather approved. So ignorant has been the clamour raised against them by senseless partisans in this country, and even in France, where they have been ridiculously confounded with the promoters of the Révolution. But, erroneous as their views were upon some of those great questions which most nearly concern the happiness of mankind, they could ill brook, in the government, any base or sordid artifices, inconsistent with, and inimical to publick morals. Quesnay is represented as always ready boldly to bear testimony to the truth on such matters, even within the precincts of the court. Thus the Journal, giving a pretty minute detail of the method pursued systematically by the government to obtain the contents of letters sent by post, and which had grown into a regular department, with a superintendant and six or seven clerks, Mad. du Hausset adds—‘Le docteur Quesnay, plusieurs fois devant moi, s’est mis en fureur contre cet infame ministere, comme il l’appelloit; et à tel point que l’écume lui venoit à la bouche. Je ne dinerois plus volontiers avec l’intendant des postes qu’avec le bourreau, disoit le docteur.’ ‘Il faut avouer (she adds naturally enough), que dans l’appartement de la maitresse du roi il est etonnant d’entendre de pareils propos; et cela a duré vingt ans sans qu’on en ait parle. C’etoit la probité qui parloit avec vivacité, disoit M. de Marigni, et non l’humeur ou la malveillance qui s’exhaloit.’

Upon another occasion, she relates some information which she had from this upright and able man, respecting what had recently passed between the King and several of his most powerful ministers. At the time, no doubt, the anecdote bore the high-

est value; but the ministers and their master too are now almost forgotten; and the anecdote has lost its interest, or only retains any importance from the circumstance of a truly eminent person having related it, and being ~~thus~~ accidentally brought into our view. 'Voilà (says the Journalist), ce que le roi avoit dit, à ce que me confia mon ami Quesnay, qui étoit, par paranthese, un grand genie suivant l'opinion de tous ceux qui l'avoit connu, et de plus un homme fort gai. Il aimoit causer avec moi de la campagne; j'y avois été élevée, et il me faisoit parler des herbages de Normandie et du Poitou, de la richesse des fermiers, et de la maniere de cultiver. C'étoit le meilleur homme du monde, et qui étoit éloigné de la plus petite intrigue. Il étoit bien plus occupé à la cour de la meilleure maniere de cultiver la terre que de tout ce qui s'y passoit.' She adds, that M. de la Riviere was the man whom he esteemed the most, and whose capacity he thought the highest; deeming him the only fit person for the administration of the finances. The reader is aware, that this able minister, who had been *Intendant* at Martinique, was the most early, and among the most distinguished followers of Quesnay.

Quesnay appears, like the rest of his sect, to have been impressed with a peculiar dislike and dread of the bigotted party in France. When they had failed in their attempt to make the King dismiss Madame de Pompadour, after the affair of Damiens, they meanly paid the utmost court to her, though in private: They came in great numbers to wait upon her; and female devotees were peculiarly anxious to show their respect. 'The doctor made himself very merry, says our authoress, with this change of operations; and, when I urged in defence of those good ladies, that they might, after all, be sincere, Aye, said he, but then they must take care how they ask for any thing;'—a sagacious remark, which we recommend to the attention of our statesmen in the present day, to those especially who may turn their minds towards the political history of the rat species. About this time, Mad. du Hausset relates a curious conversation respecting the Dauphin, afterwards Louis XVI., occasioned by the fears of the philosopher, that persecution would revive. 'Un jour j'étois chez le docteur Quesnay pendant que Madame étoit à la comédie. Le Marquis de Mirabeau y vint; et la conversation fût quelque tems fort ennuyeuse pour moi, n'y étant question que du *produit net*; enfin on parla d'autres choses.' As the alarms which occupied them have been more than falsified by the event, we need not give the conversation; but Quesnay's opinion of the Dauphin is worth recording. He thought him virtuous and full of good intentions, and a man of parts, but likely to be ruled by the bigots; and he expected that the *Molinist* and *Jansenists*

would unite against the philosophers, and be supported by the new Queen, Marie Antoinette. A saying of M. du Muy, that Voltaire deserved the punishment of death, alarmed him with the prospect of a persecuting reign; and he added, that he hoped he should not live long enough to see those evil days. There is much good sense in Mirabeau's remark upon this occasion. He said, the philosophers on their side were pushing matters too far; and they both agree in commending a late saying of Ducloux—' Ces philosophes en feront tant qu'ils me forceront à aller à vêpres et à la grande messe.' They all agreed, too, in regarding the continuance of Louis XV.'s reign as of extreme importance to the cause of toleration and liberality; but a little incident occurred, which one should have thought calculated to give them some doubts of that monarch's gentleness, where he was himself concerned, and even to create a suspicion, that their favourite form of government, absolute monarchy, was not always safe for philosophers, any more than for the bulk of mankind. One day Quesnay came in all in despair. Mirabeau had been suddenly carried off by the agents of the best of possible systems, and shut up in the castle of Vincennes, for some expressions in his work on Taxation. The constitutional means of redress adopted on this melancholy occasion, according to the true principles of the most perfect government, are worthy of notice; the more so, because, as extremes often meet, it happens, that, in our times, some of the lowest and most ignorant understandings in the world are recommending France to renew the very same order of things, which they agree with the truly enlightened Economists in holding to be the purest kind of constitution. First, Mad. de Mirabeau was to 'throw herself at Mad. de Pompadour's feet;'—these are Quesnay's own expressions. Then he himself, through the *femme-de-chambre*, interceded with the same illustrious lady for his noble and philosophical friend; and the conversation is given at full length. At first, the worthy concubine was pleased to speak favourably of the Marquis, and to observe, that his work *L'Ami des Hommes* had done him credit. At this moment opportunely entered the Lieutenant of the Police, of whom she asked whether he had read the new book on Taxation. Yes, said the Lieutenant,—but justly deeming himself officially an object of suspicion, he added, that it was not he who had denounced the author. Being further asked his opinion of it, he cited the passage which seems to have caused the arrest. It is simply a remark, that the King, with 20 millions of subjects, could not obtain their services for want of money. At this the dear lady takes the alarm—' Quoi! il y a cela, docteur?' she exclaims. He tries

to soften her, and succeeds;—the King arrives, and the doctor retires, leaving her to urge his suit. She found the King, we are told, furious against Mirabeau, but did all she could to appease him, and was seconded by the Lieutenant.

It seems that ~~Quesnay~~ never was easy in the King's presence,—not from bashfulness, but from a kind of fear, which is thus described: 'Un jour le roi lui parlant chez moi, et le docteur ayant l'air tout troublé, après que le roi fût sorti, je lui dis—' Vous avez l'air embarrassé devant le roi, et cependant il est si bon ! '—' Madame, m'a-t-il répondu, je suis sorti à quarante ans de mon village, et j'ai bien peu d'expérience du monde, auquel je m'habitue difficilement. Lorsque je suis dans une chambre avec le roi, je me dis, voilà un homme qui peut me faire couper la tête, et cette idée me trouble.' She urges consolatory topics, taking his expressions literally—' Mais la justice et la bonté du roi ne devroient-elles pas vous rassurer ? ' He answers, that the affair is one of feeling, and not of reason:—and the Editor, in a note, seems to take it much in the sense of the *femme-de-chambre*, only that his remedy is of a more constitutional description: he argues that, by law, no King of France can cut off any man's head without a trial. It is singular enough, that neither Mad. du Hausset nor Mr Crawford should have reflected on the preceding story of Mirabeau's arrest for putting the King in a passion by a remark upon the principles of taxation; they might there have perceived the ground of Quesnay's alarms, which he described with a little jocose exaggeration.

We trust our readers will easily pardon us for having dwelt so long upon the subject of this excellent person. The services which he has rendered to science and to mankind are worthy of a greater fame than he enjoys. Without adopting the opinions of the sect which he founded, opinions in many respects erroneous, but chiefly from being pushed too far, we cannot hesitate in ascribing to his theory the high merit of having first given to political economy the form of a regular science; of having begun the destruction of the mercantile system, which Dr Smith completed; of having turned the attention of statesmen, as well as theorists, to the paramount importance of agriculture; and, above all, of having first put rulers out of conceit with too much governing. The ridicule cast upon Quesnay's school by persons ignorant of its great merits, chiefly by mere men of the world, would be hardly worth our notice, but that it shows itself a little in some of Mr Crawford's comments. The sight of a real sect of philosophers, acknowledging a master, bound together by a community of principles, as well as by private friendship, and devoted to the pro-

pagation of those tenets with enthusiasm, had in it something strange, which easily became ludicrous, in the polished and gay court near which they sprung up. But while superficial men made themselves merry at their expense, the more rational observer could not fail to respect them for their merits and their virtues, and to be interested in the revival of a kind of connexion little known in modern times, but famous for having first planted and cultivated philosophy among mankind. The Economists were, in reality, and not merely in appearance, a sect of philosophers; they acted from honest zeal for the truth, and not from fashion, eccentric tastes, or the love of singularity; their sole object was to enlighten and improve mankind; and to them, among political inquirers, belongs the rare praise of having first pointed out the natural order of things, or the observed course of nature in the conduct of the world, as the example and guide of human polity.

*Secta fuit servare modum, finemque tueri,  
Naturamque sequi, vitamque impendere vero,  
Nec sibi sed toto genitum se credere mundo.*

In the course of this article we have seen several notable illustrations of the manner in which the most important affairs were managed under the tranquil, regular and legitimate government of the Bourbons as long as they owed their crown solely to divine right, and had no occasion to think of their subjects. The sycophants of those days, as well as of the present, called it *paternal*; but it should seem that the interests of the dear children were somewhat less attended to than the whims of the *mistress*, a sort of stepmother whose power was so great and whose interference so continual, that we marvel no one ever started against the phrase *gouvernement paternel*, that of *gouvernement de marâtre*. The following passage deserves to be extracted as carrying with it decisive evidence of the gross mismanagement of publick affairs, wherever the people have no voice. It is a specimen of the manner in which the wheels of government are moved when left to the Prince's sole direction. It is in fact the history (but, of course, the secret history, for in such states there can be no other) of a great change of ministry; the dismissal of a Keeper of the Seals, and a chief Minister of State. We therefore humbly recommend it to the diligent perusal of the Lords Eldon and Castlereagh, who are supposed to feel our rustic mode of governing by parliaments, trials by jury and a free press, as somewhat cumbrous and burthensome. By way of preface, we should mention that the *time* when the following drama begins, is immediately after Damien's attempt on the King's life, when the efforts made by the *parti dévot* to procure the favourite's dismissal had nearly succeeded. The *place* is the

favourite's room; the actors speak for themselves, and the action takes up about two days. All the rules of the drama are well observed. As the language of the original is not the Law French known to the Chancery, it differs as widely, both in genders, grammar, and vocabulary from that French which our Foreign Secretary is said to talk with great fluency and imperturbable boldness—being in short still further removed from his Lordship's French than his parliamentary discourse is from the vulgar tongue, we feel the necessity of departing from our usual plan, and giving a translation of the original scene, for the benefit of those noble personages; but it shall be a faithful and even a literal one.

\* (Enter, first, Mad. La Marechale de Mirepoix, confidante of Pompadour; and on coming in she immediately begins)—

*Mad. de M.* What's the matter, Ma'am? What are all those packages? Your servants say you are going.

*Mad. de Pompadour.* Alas! My dear friend, the Master\* will have it so, according to Mons. de Machant. †

*Mad. de M.* And what advice did he give the King?

*Mad. de P.* That I should go without delay. Hausset! (calling to the Maid—who comes in and undresses her, that she may be more at her ease upon the sofa.)

*Mad. de M.* He wishes to have it all his own way, this Keeper of ours, and he is betraying you; whoever leaves the table loses the game.

(Enter the Abbé de Bernis, M. de Soubise and M. de Marigni—who all remain closetted with the ladies for an hour. Then

*exeunt.* Then follows a scene between M. de Marigni and the Maid.)

*M. de Marigni.* She remains; but *mum mum*. ‡ She'll pretend to go, that her enemies may be quieted—'Tis the little Marechale has decided the matter, but her Keeper will pay the reckoning. (Enter Dr Quesnay—who tells a fable of a fox, who being at table with other beasts, persuaded one of them that his enemies were in pursuit of him, in order to fall heir to his share of the food.) The rest of the piece, its denouement, we must give in the narrative of Mad. du Hausset.

\* I did not see my mistress again till late at night, when I put her to bed. She was more composed; things were going on better and better for her and Machant; her faithless friend was dismissed. The King returned to his former habits of frequenting her apartment. I learnt from M. de Marigni that the abbé had been to M. d'Argenson (the Minister of War) to persuade him to live on a more amicable footing with my mistress, and that he had met with a cold reception.

\* Not Dr Quesnay—but the King.

† Keeper of the Seals and of Mad. de Mirepoix, as well as Minister of the Marine.

‡ Orig. *Motus*, which is a vulgar word for silence—and may be of use to our great negotiator at the impending Congress.

"He is puffed up with Machant's dismissal, said the abbé, as it leaves the field open to the ablest and most experienced; and I fear a dreadful struggle may ensue." The next day my mistress having ordered her chair, I was curious to know where she was going, as she seldom went out except to church, or to some of the ministers. I learnt that she went to M. d'Argenson's. An hour afterwards, she returned, and appeared to be very much out of sorts. She stood leaning over the chimney-piece, with her eyes fixed on the jambs. The abbé came in. I waited while she took off her cloak and gloves—she kept her hands in her muff. The abbé looked at her for some minutes, and then said—"You have the air of a sheep in a reverie." She roused herself and answered, throwing her muff on the sofa—"It's the wolf that throws the sheep into a reverie." I left the room. The King came soon after, and I heard my mistress sobbing. The abbé came and bid me bring some Hoffman's drops. The King himself prepared the cordial with sugar, and gave it to her with the most gracious air possible—she candidly smiling and kissing his hands. I left the room; and heard early in the morning, the next day but one, that M. d'Argenson was banished. It was all his own fault; and this is the greatest proof of her influence my mistress ever gave. The King was extremely fond of M. d'Argenson; and the war both by sea and land required those two ministers to have remained in office. Such, at least, was the prevailing opinion, at the time, among all classes.

We may add to this, that her protégé M. de Soubise was kept in the command of the army by her influence, while he ruined the campaign. The battle of Rosbach, accordingly, threatened to shake her ascendancy, and attempts were made to dismiss her; but some trifling success soon after was gained by the Marshal, and she was confirmed in favour; although our journalist mentions a cruel mortification that happened, from some one to whom Mad. de Pompadour was talking of the 'great victory' of her friend, never having heard of it.

There is no reason whatever to doubt the accuracy of all Mad. du Hausset's details; for, beside the strong internal evidence of the style, and the testimony borne to her character by M. de Marigni, the coincidences of her story, with the narratives of other writers, who were in all probability unknown to her, wherever they touch on the same subject, afford irrefragable proof of her correctness. This remark applies also to the *Mémoires Secrets* of Duclos, which were not published till after Mad. du Hausset's death. The dismissals, for instance, of which we have just seen the secret springs, are mentioned by him (tom. II. p. 441, 516.) in terms quite consistent with the statement of the Journal, as far as he knew the cause of that change; except that he speaks of Machant as Minister of the Marine only, and does not mention the *Seals*. He adds, that never



was there any thing worse timed than turning out those experienced ministers, more especially as their successors were persons of the most manifest incapacity. Indeed, this author (and be it recollected, that he ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> a gossiping waiting maid, but the Historiographer of France) seems to have been abundantly sensible of the pernicious influence enjoyed by Royal mistresses at the old legitimate Court of Versailles. To Madame de Maintenon he ascribes in detail, the change of Lewis XIV.'s plan of campaign, when she procured the dismissal of Chamillart; and indeed her power during a period of thirty-five years, was generally admitted by all Europe. Mad. de Pompadour exercised an equal sway: Perhaps, from the character of the King, and the complexion of the times, her influence was more important. Duclos ascribes to it entirely the alliance with Austria, and the war of 1756, admitted by all French politicians to have been the greatest error ever made in foreign affairs, and the cause of all the mischiefs that happened previously to the Revolution. The flatteries of Maria Theresa, and the vanity of being thought her personal friend, were the sole cause of this line of policy.

A trifling anecdote in the Journal shows the trifling causes which were supposed to influence so important a matter as the patronage of the ministers. Mad. du Hausset obtained a military post for a relation, from a person of high rank, on the condition that she made her mistress give the latter a part to play at their private theatricals, which had only a few lines to recite. It must be admitted, however, that these pages are full of proofs showing how generally and cordially the favourite was hated by the publick. The fear of this breaking out in some act of violence, seems now and then to have restrained her; it was indeed the only obstacle to her absolute sway; and it certainly had this effect upon her worthy and philosophical brother, M. de Marigni, who, greatly to her chagrin, constantly resisted all offers of promotion, whether by place, rank or marriage, saying, that for himself he loved a quiet life, and for her, it would be far worse if he acceded to her earnest wishes—'as the Royal mistresses are always sufficiently hated on their own account, without sharing in the odium belonging to ministers.'

At the period to which the Journal refers, Turgot was a young man entering into publick life; but there is one passage relating to him which we shall transcribe, although of no very remarkable interest.

Un jour que j'étois à Paris j'allois dîner chez le docteur. Il avoit assez de monde contre son ordinaire, et entre autres un jeune maître des requêtes d'une belle figure, qui portoit un nom de terre dont je

ne me souviens pas, mais qui étoit fils du prévôt des Marchands, Turgot. On parla beaucoup d'administration, ce qui d'abord ne m'anima pas; ensuite il fût question de l'amour des François pour leur roi. M. Turgot ~~ne la parla~~ et dit—"Cet amour n'est point aveugle, c'est un sentiment profond et un souvenir confus de grands bienfaits. La nation, et je dirai plus l'Europe et l'humanité, doivent à un roi de France, (j'ai oublié le nom) \* la liberté; il a établi les communes et donné à une multitude immense d'homme une existence civile. Je sais qu'on peut dire avec raison, qu'il a servi son intérêt en les affranchissant; qu'ils lui ont payé les redcvances, et qu'enfin il a voulu par là, affaiblir la puissance des grands et de la noblesse: Mais qu'en résulte-t-il? Que cette opération est à la fois utile, politique et humaine."—Des rois en general, on passa à Louis XV.; et le même M. Turgot dit que son règne seroit à jamais celebre pour l'avancement des sciences, le progres des lumieres et de la philosophie. Il ajouta qu'il manquoit à Louis XV. ce que Louis XIV. avoit de trop, une grande opinion de lui-même; qu'il étoit instruit; que personne ne connoissoit mieux que lui la topographie de la France; qu'au conseil, son avis étoit toujours le plus juste; qu'il étoit facheux qu'il n'eut pas plus de confiance en lui-même, et ne plaçât pas sa confiance dans un premier ministre approuvé de la nation. Tout le monde fût de son avis. Je priai M. Quesnay d'écrire ce qu'avoit dit le jeune Turgot, et je le montrai à Madame. Elle fit à ce sujet l'éloge de ce maître des requêtes; et en ayant parlé au roi, il dit, "c'est une bonne race."

Perhaps, without intending to throw the slightest imputation of an artifice or an intrigue upon M. Turgot, we may be permitted to suspect, that this conversation was designed to reach the royal ear, through the faithful Mad. du Hausset. These are necessarily the means of influencing courts and their policy in an arbitrary government. In England, M. Turgot would have attacked the ministry openly in Parliament, or through the press. In France, he was obliged to *speak at the waiting-woman of the King's mistress.*

There are many traces in this Journal, of the alarms which thinking men felt, even at that time, at the state of publick affairs, and their conviction that some dreadful catastrophe would one day be rendered inevitable by the blind obstinacy of the Court, and its pertinacious refusal of all propositions for a reform of abuses. After some short and inefficient administrations had succeeded to that of d'Argenson and Machant, the Duc de Choiseul, as is well known, was appointed, and carried on the war for the last four years, to the ruin and discomfiture of the French arms,

\* Philippe-le-Long.

He was, however, the greatest of all *Mad. de Pompadour's* favourites. Different persons view the same character in various lights. A grave writer describes him as a '*petit-maître sans talens et sans instruction, qui a un peu de phosphore dans l'esprit.*' But our *Journalist*, seeing him with her lady's eyes, explained at once the cause of the favour he enjoyed, and of his remaining so long in the three highest offices of the state, in spite of his constant failures. '*Ses manières avec elle étoient les plus aimables du monde, respectueuses et galantes; il n'étoit pas un jour sans la voir.*' Her brother and her physician thought very differently of him; they agreed with the grave writer.

'Ce n'est qu'un petit-maître, dit le docteur, et s'il étoit plus joli, fat pour être un favori d'Henri III. Le Marquis de Mirabeau entra avec M. de la Rivière. Ce royaume, dit Mirabeau, est bien mal; il n'y a ni sentimens énergiques, ni argent pour les suppléer. Il ne peut-être regénéré, dit la Rivière, que par une conquête comme à la Chine, ou par quelque grand bouleversement intérieur. Mais malheur à ceux qui s'y trouveront; le peuple François n'y va pas de main morte. Ces paroles me firent trembler, et je m'empressai de sortir. M. de Marigni en fit de même, sans avoir l'air d'être affecté de ce qu'on disoit. Vous avez entendu, me dit-il; mais n'ayez pas peur; rien n'est répété de ce qui se dit chez le docteur; se sont d'honnêtes gens quoiqu'un peu chimeriques; ils ne savent pas s'arrêter. Cependant ils sont je crois dans la bonne voie; le malheur est qu'ils passent le but. J'écris cela en rentrant.

But the King, and the former favourites of either sex, received a very solemn warning to the same effect, in a remarkable anonymous letter sent to them mysteriously, as well as to the Police. Our Journalist has kept a copy of this piece, which is written with a force and clearness worthy of Junius, but perhaps in a more chaste style, and with less of *mannerism*. We conclude our extracts with the introduction of the letter, which is addressed to the King.

'Sire—This address proceeds from one who is zealous in your service. Truth is always unpalatable, especially to princes. Habituated to flattery, they only see objects in those colours which are pleasing to their eyes. But I have meditated and read much; and I here offer to your Majesty the result of my reflexions. You have long been living invisible in the hands of persons who had an interest in preventing you from being seen, and making you afraid to speak. All direct communication is thus cut off between the sovereign and his people. Shut up in the recesses of your palace, you become daily more like the eastern emperors; but think, Sir, I beseech you, of their fatal fate. You will probably rely on your troops; and so did they. But he who trusts to this resource, and makes himself only the king of his soldiers, is doomed, ere long, to see those soldiers feel their power, and abuse it. Your finances are in the utmost disorder, and

most states have owed their ruin to this cause. The ancient commonwealths were maintained by the spirit of patriotism, which united all their citizens together for the general safety. In our times, money has become its god, and this is now the universal agent, and we have it not. The spirit of purse-pride infects all parties, and doctors at court; every thing has become venal, and all ranks are confounded. Since the dismissal of Messrs d'Argenson and Machant, your ministers are without genius, and without capacity for business. You alone are blind to their inefficiency, because they bring to you the work of clerks somewhat abler than themselves, and pass it for their own. They carry on the business by experiments from day to day; but there is nothing like a government. The army is disgusted with the changes in the military administration; and the best officers are retiring from it. A seditious spirit shows itself in the Parliaments; you betake yourself to the resource of corruption, and the remedy is worse than the mischief; it is introducing vice into the sanctuary of Justice, and infecting the noble parts of the State. Would a corrupted Parliament ever have braved the fury of the league to preserve the crown for its rightful sovereign?

We here must close our account of this curious Journal, and of the volume to which it belongs. If, in the course of our remarks upon French intrigue in former times, we may seem to have dwelt much upon the vices of the old Government, it is only because we feel the importance to France and to England of correct notions being entertained upon the subject. There is a senseless and a profligate party in both countries, whose efforts are, without intermission, directed to the praise of the old, and the disparagement of the new order of things, established among our neighbours. Nothing but the grossest ignorance can obtain a hearing for such miserable folly on either side of the Channel. But it is the duty of every friend of his country, and of human improvement, to contribute his efforts towards withstanding and exposing the attempts thus made to effect a counter-revolution, which could only, if it succeeded, lead, through confusion and slaughter, to a renewal of systematic misgovernment and oppression. Happily, indeed, its success now seems wholly out of the question; but the attempt would ensure vast temporary misery to France herself, and would endanger the peace of all her neighbours. How far the present government of that country is the best of which the nature of things will admit, is another question, into which we forbear entering on this occasion. We are disposed, however, to regard it with a very favourable eye, and to give all credit to those who have of late so steadily administered it. Certainly its prodigious superiority over the former constitution is too manifest to admit of a doubt; and those who are impatient to see it still

more nearly resemble our own, should reflect, that ours was not the work of contrivance, but of time; that there is an essential difference in the present political character and habits of the two nations; and that the ~~peaceful continuance of the existing~~ order of things, by ~~preparing our neighbours for a still greater~~ share of liberty, will, in all human probability, ensure to them the possession, with the capacity of enjoying it.

ART. IV. 1. *Observations on the Geology of the United States of America.* By WILLIAM MACLURE. Philadelphia, 1817. 8vo. pp. 127.

2. *An Elementary Treatise on Mineralogy and Geology.* By PARKER CLEAVELAND, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, and Lecturer on Chemistry and Mineralogy, in Bowdoin College. Boston, 1816. 8vo. pp. 668.

IN a former Number, \* we gave an account of a new Mineralogical Journal, published in America by Dr Bruce of New York. We hailed the appearance of this work as a proof of the attention that had been excited to this interesting branch of science, in a field so sure to yield an abundant harvest; and it was with regret that we learned, that a Journal which promised so well at its outset, had very soon been discontinued.

We have now great pleasure in introducing to the notice of our readers, two very excellent publications, which abundantly prove that the study of Mineralogy is pursued with no less eagerness and success in the United States, than it has been for some years past in most of the countries of Europe. There is not perhaps any department of science which, at the present time, merits a greater degree of attention in that great and prosperous country, from its various practical applications to some of the most important sources of national wealth and power; and the more especially that, from the limited researches already made, Nature appears to have added, in abundance, some of her most valuable mineral productions to the other internal resources which she has lavished in that part of the world.

The geological part of Mr Maclure's book was first published in the sixth volume of the *American Philosophical Transactions*; in the present edition there are some additions and corrections, besides two new chapters, which the author informs us in his Preface, are "an attempt to apply Geology to Agricul-

\* Vol. xvii. p. 114.

ture, in showing the probable effects the decomposition of the different classes of rocks may have on the nature and fertility of soils. It is the result of many observations made in Europe and America, may perhaps be found more useful in the United States than in one, as more of the land is in a state of nature not yet changed by the industry of man.

Mr Maclure appears to be very thoroughly conversant with his subject, and to have studied with great attention the geological structure of a considerable part of Europe. He is a disciple of Werner; but we recognise him as such, more by the descriptive language he employs, than by his theoretical opinions. His general views are much more enlarged and philosophical, than is usually met with in the geologists of that school; and, like most of those who have had opportunities of extensive observation, he has found that the theory of the Freyberg professor is of a very limited application. The following remarks in his Preface are a sufficient proof that his geological creed is not that of Werner.

'In all speculations on the origin, or agents that have produced the changes on this globe, it is probable that we ought to keep within the boundaries of the probable effects resulting from the regular operations of the great laws of nature, which our experience and observation have brought within the sphere of our knowledge. When we overleap those limits, and suppose a total change in Nature's laws, we embark on the sea of uncertainty, where one conjecture is perhaps as probable as another; for none of them can have any support, or derive any authority from the practical facts wherewith our experience has brought us acquainted.'

While we acknowledge the valuable information which this little work conveys, we cannot bestow any praise on the manner in which the materials are put together. There is a great want of method and arrangement; for, although the author has laid down a very good plan, he has not adhered to it, but has mixed up one part of his subject with another, so as to cause considerable confusion; and, were it not for the accompanying coloured map, it would often be very difficult to comprehend his descriptions. In attempting to give a sketch of the contents of the book, as we cannot afford the same assistance to our readers, we shall not follow the author in these deviations, but preserve the order in which it appears to have been his original intention that his observations should be set down.

Along the eastern side of the Continent of North America, there runs an extensive range of mountains, generally called the Alleghany, in a direction nearly NE. and SW. between the rivers St Lawrence and Mississippi. The most elevated parts of the range are in the North-eastern States: the White Hills

in New Hampshire appear to be the most lofty, and their height is somewhat more than 6000 feet above the level of the sea. The most elevated parts, as well as the greatest mass of this range, consist of primitive rocks; but, ~~as it approaches the~~ Hudson river, and where it traverses the State of New Jersey, these rocks decrease in height and breadth. In Pennsylvania and Maryland, the primitive rocks occur sparingly, the highest parts of the range consisting of transition rocks, with some intervening valleys of secondary. In Virginia, the primitive rocks increase in breadth and in height; and they form the greatest mass, as well as the most elevated points, of the range of mountains in the States of North Carolina and Georgia, where it takes a more westerly direction.

' Besides this great range, there is an extensive district, occupied by primitive rocks on the west side of Lake Champlain, having that Lake, and Lake George for a boundary on the east, joining the primitive rocks in Canada to the north and north-west, and following a line from the Thousand Islands in St Lawrence, running nearly parallel to the Mohawk river, until it meets Lake George on the south-west. These primitive rocks run across the Mohawk at the Little Falls, and near Johnstown on the Mohawk, where they are covered by limestone; they occupy all the mountainous country between Lake Champlain, the St Lawrence, and Lake Ontario.' p. 38. \*

' From near Kingston on Lake Ontario, to some distance below Quebec, the country is principally primitive; and, from all the information I could collect, that great mass of continent lying to the north of the 46th degree of latitude, for a considerable distance to the west, consists mostly of the same formation: from which it is probable, that on this continent, as well as in Europe and Asia, the Northern regions are principally occupied by the primitive formation.' p. 38.

Throughout the greatest part of the northern and north-eastern States, the sea washes the primary rocks; but at Long Island there commences an alluvial formation, which, increasing in breadth as it stretches southward, covers a great part of both the Carolinas and Georgia, and almost the whole of the two Floridas and Lower Louisiana. This vast alluvial formation is bounded on the east by the ocean, and by a line commencing at the eastern end of Long Island and passing through Philadelphia, Washington, Richmond in Virginia, Halifax in North Carolina, Columbia in South Carolina, Augusta on the Savannah, and thence to Natchez on the Mississippi. The tide water enters in all the rivers from the Mississippi to the Roanoke at the distance of from thirty to one hundred and twenty miles from the western limits of the alluvial formation; from the Roanoke to the Delaware, the tide penetrates through the alluvial, and is stopped by the primitive rocks. In all the northern and east-

ern rivers, the tide runs a small distance into the primitive formations. In the Southern States the alluvial formation is elevated considerably above the level of the sea; but as it approaches the north, it rises very little above it.

On the western side of the great range of mountains, there is a long narrow zone of transition rocks, beginning on the eastern side of Lake Champlain, and extending in an undulating line in a south-westerly direction, to a point between the Alabama and Tombigbee rivers, in latitude about 34 N. and longitude about 85 W. It is generally broadest where the primitive formation is narrowest, and *vice versa*, and runs from twenty to a hundred miles in breadth.

On the north-west of those transition rocks commences an immense region of secondary rocks, extending beyond Lake Superior to the north, and some hundred miles beyond the Mississippi to the west, not far distant from the foot of the Stony Mountains, forming an area of about fifteen hundred miles from east to west, and about twelve hundred miles from north to south.

The Volcanic Fires which constitute so grand a feature in the Geological History of South America, have not extended their dominion to the northern continent, nor have any productions been discovered which indicate that volcanoes have at any time existed there.

The direction of the stratification in the primitive rocks runs nearly north and south, eastward of the State of New York, with an eastern dip. In the State of New York and to the south and west, the stratification runs nearly NE. and SW., the dip still continuing to the east. The dip is generally at a greater angle than 45°, and sometimes the strata are almost vertical. The direction of the strata in the Transition rocks is also from north and south to north-east and south-west, dipping generally to the north-west, at an angle in most places under 45°. On the edge of the primitive rocks, there is a deviation in some places from this general rule; the dip being, for a short distance, to the south-east. The outline of the mountains of this formation is almost a straight line, with few interruptions, bounding long parallel ridges of nearly the same height, declining gently towards the side where the stratification dips from the horizon, and more precipitous on the opposite side where the edge of the stratum breaks out to the day.

Of the primitive rocks Granite forms but a small part; but it is found both on the tops of the mountains and in the plains. There are many varieties of it, in regard to the size of its constituent parts; and it is occasionally mixed with hornblende.



This latter variety, by some geologists, would be called a Sienite; but its geological position is the same as the compound of quartz felspar and mica, which, by the same geologists, is considered as the only true primitive granite. In mentioning this variety, Mr Maclure remarks, that

'The rounded globules of felspar and hornblende found in the great masses of granite of the Alps, in Cornwall and in this country, could not be distinguished, in hand specimens, from the Sienite of Werner, though the one is placed in the Wernerian system as the oldest, and the other among the newest of the primitive rocks.'

The granite generally divides into rhomboidal masses, and, except in some very small-grained varieties, there is no appearance of stratification. It is frequently so far decomposed as to have lost the adhesion of its particles, to the depth of 30 or 40 feet below the surface; each crystal is in its place, and looks as if it were solid; but when you take it up, it falls into sand.

Gneiss extends over a half of the primitive formation. It includes in a great many places beds from three to three hundred feet thick, of a very large-grained granite, which run in the same direction, and dip as the gneiss does. These beds are mixed, and alternate occasionally in the same gneiss, with primitive limestone, beds of hornblende and hornblende slate, serpentine, felspar rocks, and magnetic iron ore. In some places the gneiss contains so much mica as to run into mica slate; in others, large nodules of quartz or felspar, and, in others, hornblende takes the place of mica.

'Though the primitive formation contains all the variety of primitive rocks found in the mountains of Europe, yet neither their relative situation in the order of succession, or their relative heights in the range of mountains, correspond with what has been observed in Europe. The order of succession from the Clay slate to the Granite, as well as the gradual diminishing height of the strata, from the granite through the gneiss, mica slate, hornblende rocks, down to the clay slate, is often so inverted and mixed, as to render the arrangement of any regular series impracticable.' p. 16.

Within the limits of what may be termed the primitive country, there are found several partial and detached formations of the transition and secondary rocks. A transition formation occupies nearly the whole of Rhode Island, and runs from Rhode Island to Boston, fifteen miles broad. There is a range of secondary rocks, extending, with some intervals, from the Connecticut to the Rappahannock rivers, a distance of nearly four hundred miles; and in width, generally from fifteen to twenty-five miles. It appears to belong to the old red sandstone formation of Werner. A formation of transition rocks runs near-west from the Delaware to the Yadkin river, from two

to fifteen miles broad, consisting of beds of blue, grey, red, and white small-grained limestone, alternating with beds of greywacke and greywacke slate, quartzose granular rocks, and a great variety of the transition class. Much of this limestone contains much small-grained sand, so as to resemble a dolomite; and, in many places, considerable beds of fine-grained white marble, fit for the statuary, occur. About ten or twelve miles west of Richmond in Virginia, there is a coal formation, lying upon, and surrounded by primitive rocks. It is situated in an oblong basin, from twenty to twenty-five miles long, and about ten miles wide, having the whitish freestone, slaty clay, &c. with vegetable impressions, as well as most of the other attendants of that formation.

Great varieties of mineral substances are found in the primitive formation; and, from the number already found, in proportion to the limited researches that have been made, it is probable, that, in so great an extent of rocks of a crystalline structure, almost every mineral substance discovered in similar situations elsewhere, will be found in this country. Metallic substances are found in considerable abundance in the primitive rocks—iron, copper, manganese and cobalt. The general nature of metallic repositories in this formation appears to be in beds, disseminated through the rock, or in lying masses. Veins to any great extent have not been discovered in any part of this formation.

• The transition rocks consist of a small-grained limestone, of all the shades of colour, from white to dark blue, in some places intimately mixed with strata of greywacke-slate; lime spar in veins and disseminated; in many places an intermixture of small-grained particles, so as to put on the appearance of a sandstone, with excess of lime cement. This occurs in beds from fifty to five thousand feet in width, alternating with greywacke and greywacke-slate. Near the borders of the primitive is found a siliceous aggregate, having particles of a light blue colour, from the size of a pin's head to an egg, disseminated in some places in a cement of a slaty texture, and in others in a quartzose cement; a fine sandstone, cemented with quartz in large masses, often of a slaty texture, with small detached scales of mica intervening; a rock not far from the borders of the primitive, partaking both of the porphyry and the greywacke, having both felspar crystals and rounded pebbles in it, with a cement of a kind of dull chlorite slate in excess; another, though rarer, with pebbles and felspar crystals, in a compact petrosiliceous cement, and a great variety of other rocks, which, from their composition and situation, cannot be classed but with the transition.

• The limestone, greywacke, and greywacke-slate, generally occupy the valleys, and the quartz aggregate the ridges. There are many

and extensive caves in the limestone, where the bones of various animals are found.

'Beds of coal blende, or anthracite, accompanied by aluin slate and black chalk, have been discovered in this formation, on Rho Island, the Lehigh and ~~Sasquehannah~~ rivers, and aluin slate on Jackson's river, Virginia; many powerful veins of the sulphate of barytes cross it in different places.'—'Iron and lead have as yet been the principal metals found in this formation; the lead in the form of Galena, in clusters, or what the Germans call *Stockwerk*, as at the lead mines on New river, Wyeth county, Virginia; the iron disseminated in pyrites, hematitic and magnetic iron; or in beds; and considerable quantities of the sparry iron ore in beds, and disseminated in the limestone.' p. 51.

The immense basin to the west of the Alleghany mountains, through which so many mighty rivers flow, is wholly composed of secondary rocks, without having their continuity interrupted by any other formation, except the alluvial deposits on the banks of the large rivers. The stratification is almost perfectly horizontal.

'Immense beds of limestone, of all the shades, from a light blue to a black, intercepted in some places by extensive tracts of sandstone, and other secondary aggregates, appear to constitute the foundation of this formation, on which reposes the great and valuable coal formation, which extends from the head waters of the Ohio in Pennsylvania, with some interruption, all the way to the waters of the Tombigbee, accompanied by the usual attendants, slaty clay and freestone, with vegetable impressions, &c.; but, in no instance that I have seen or heard of, covered by, or alternating with, any rock resembling basalt; or indeed any of those called the newest floetz trap formation.

'The limestone of this formation contains irregular pieces in nodules and bands, of a kind of black flint (like what is called *Chert* in England), scattered in all forms and directions, often resembling the limestone in colour, in which case it is with difficulty they can be distinguished; they abound on the banks of Lake Erie, on the banks of St Lawrence, whence it runs from Lake Erie, and, generally, through the whole stratification of limestone.

'Along the south-east boundaries, not far from the transition, a rock salt and gypsum formation has been found. On the north fork of the Holstein river, not far from Abingdon, Virginia, and on the same line south-west from that, in Greene county and Pigeon river, state of Tennessee, it is said quantities of gypsum have been discovered; from which, and the quantities of salt licks and salt springs found in the same range, so far north as lake Oneida, there is some probability that this formation is upon the same great scale that almost all the other formations have been found on this continent,—at least rational analogy supports the supposition; and we may hope one day to find an abundance of these two most useful substances,

which are generally found mixed, or near each other, in all countries that have hitherto been carefully examined.' p. 35.

There are a great many detached masses of granite and sienite, scattered over the surface of that part of the basin which lies to the north of the Ohio river, but runs to the south; from which it is probable that they have come from the north, perhaps from the primitive mountains north of the great lakes.' p. 120.

The alluvial country, eastward of the Alleghany mountains, is composed of beds of sand, gravel and clay, differing in their nature, according to that of the adjoining rocks, from the disintegration of which they have been produced. They contain both animal and vegetable remains, which are found to the depth of nearly a hundred feet below the surface. Considerable banks of shells, mostly bivalves, run parallel to the coast, imbedded frequently in a soft clay or mud, resembling that in which the living animal is now found on the sea shore, and which makes the supposition probable that they are of the same species.

There is also a bank of shell limestone beginning in North Carolina, parallel to, and within the distance of from twenty to thirty miles of the edge of the primitive, through South Carolina, Georgia, and part of the Mississippi territory. In some places this bank is soft, with a large proportion of clay; in others hard, with a sufficiency of the calcareous matter to be burnt for lime. Large fields of the same formation are found near Cape Florida, and extending some distance along the coast of the bay of Mexico. In some places the calcareous matter of the shells has been washed away, and a deposit of siliceous flint, in which they were imbedded, is left, forming a porous flinty rock, which is used with advantage for millstones.

In the alluvial of New Jersey, about ten or twenty feet under the surface, there is a kind of greenish blue marl, which they use as manure, in which they find shells, as the Ammonite, Belemnite, Ovulite, Cama, Ostrea, Terebratula, &c. Most of these shells are similar to those found in the limestone and greywacke of the transition, and equally resemble those found in such abundance in the secondary horizontal limestone and sandstone; from which it would follow, that the different classes of rocks on the Continent cannot be distinguished by their shells, though the different strata of the same class may be discovered and known by the arrangement of the shells found in them.

Considerable deposits of bog iron ore occupy the lower situations; and many of the more elevated and dividing ridges between the rivers are crowned with a sandstone and puddingstone, the cement of which is bog iron ore.

From the interesting and instructive sketch which Mr MacLure has given of the Geology of so large a portion of the continent of North America, we obtain an important addition to the evidence we already possess in proof of the uniformity of

structure which seems to prevail over the whole surface of our globe. No new formation has been discovered, nor any predominant rock which this experienced geologist has had any difficulty in recognising as identical with what he had seen in every part of the Continent of Europe. There are, however, two remarkable peculiarities in the country our author has described, which distinguish it from any other of the same extent with which we are acquainted. These are, the very rare occurrence of the trap-rocks and porphyries, and the great extent to which the same series of rocks stretch, without undergoing any change in the uniformity of their composition, and without any disturbance in the regularity of their stratification. When we combine this undisturbed state of the strata with the absence of a class of rocks which are almost invariably accompanied, in other countries, by a dislocation and confusion of the adjoining strata, it must be considered an argument of considerable weight in support of that theory of the origin of the trap-rocks, which supposes them to have been ejected from below, and to have broken up and insinuated themselves among the superincumbent strata. But this is a point of theory supported by so great a body of evidence, that we presume there is now no geologist so bigotted to the aqueous creed as to refuse his assent to it.

The *Elementary Treatise* of Mr Cleaveland is a work of considerable merit. He has derived his materials, as he informs us, chiefly from the works of Haüy, Brochant, Brongniart, Lucas, Kirwan, and Jameson; but he has adopted Brongniart as his model; and, in doing so, we think he has followed the most judicious and most useful of all the mineralogical writers who have preceded him. We entirely concur in the following remarks on the *Treatise* of Brongniart by the author in his Preface.

Many of the writers of the French and German schools appear to have indulged an undue attachment to their favourite and peculiar system, and have hereby been prevented from receiving mutual benefit; the one being unwilling to adopt what is really excellent in the other. But it is believed, that the more valuable parts of the two systems may be incorporated, or, in other words, that the peculiar descriptive language of the one may, in a certain degree, be united to the accurate and scientific arrangement of the other. This union of descriptive language and scientific arrangement has been effected with good success by Brongniart, in his *System of Mineralogy*—an elementary work, which seems better adapted both to interest and instruction, than any which has hitherto appeared.

Although this book is necessarily compiled, in a great degree, from the writings of others, it contains much valuable in-

formation respecting the mineral productions of the United States. It is to this part of the work that we shall confine our remarks; and we feel disposed, for the sake of our general readers, to dwell chiefly on the information Mr Cleaveland conveys respecting those mineral substances that are connected with the advancement of that active and enterprising people in wealth and political importance, rather than upon the rarer productions, which are only interesting to the mineralogist.

There is one merit of Mr Cleaveland's book that ought not to pass unnoticed; we mean the form in which it is published. It is printed upon excellent paper, with a neat and perfectly distinct small type; and the same matter is contained in one volume, which, in England, would have been scattered over the surface of three. We should be glad to see it reprinted exactly upon the plan of the original; and we have no doubt that it would be found the most useful work on mineralogy in our language.

Coal exists in several parts of the United States in great abundance. We have already spoken of the vast series of coal strata westward of the Alleghany range, and of an extensive coal formation near Richmond in Virginia. In Pennsylvania, it is found on the west branch of the Susquehannah; in various places west of that branch; also on the Juniata, and on the waters of the Alleghany, and Monongahela. In Connecticut, a coal formation, commencing at Newhaven, crosses Connecticut river at Middletown, and, embracing a width of several miles on each side of the river, extends to some distance above Northampton, in Massachusetts. There are also indications of coal in the States of New York and New Jersey. In Rhode Island, anthracite is found, accompanied by argillaceous sandstone, shale with vegetable impressions, &c. similar to the usual series of coal strata. The coal at Middletown, in Connecticut, is accompanied by a shale which is highly bituminous, and burns with a bright flame.

It abounds with very distinct and perfect impressions of fish, sometimes a foot or two in length; the head, fins and scales, being perfectly distinguishable. A single specimen sometimes presents parts of three or four fish, lying in different directions, and between different layers. The fish are sometimes contorted, and almost doubled. Their colour, sometimes grey, is usually black; and the fins and scales appear to be converted into coal. The same shale contains impressions of vegetables, sometimes converted into pyrites.

Neither Mr Cleaveland nor Mr Maclure give us any information respecting the extent to which the coal has been wrought in any of the numerous places where it has been found, or the

thickness of the seams. A scarcity of wood for fuel must be felt before coal will be sought after with much spirit; and there is probably still wanting in the United States that profusion of capital which can be risked in the uncertain operations of mining.

Iron is found in the United States in a great variety of forms, and is worked to a considerable extent. In the year 1810, there were five hundred and thirty furnaces, forges, and bloomeries, in the United States, sixty-nine of which were in the State of New York; and the iron manufactured at Ancram, New York, is said to be superior, for many purposes, to the Russian and Swedish iron. It is made from a hematitic brown oxide. Mr Maclure informs us, that there is a bed of magnetic iron ore, from eight to twelve feet thick, wrought in Franconia, near the White Hills, New Hampshire; that there is a similar bed in the direction of the stratification, six miles north-east of Philipstown, on the Hudson river; and, still following the direction of the stratification, that the same ore occupies a bed nearly of the same thickness at Ringwood, Mount Pleasant, and Suckusanny, in New Jersey; losing itself, as it approaches the end of the primitive ridge, near Blackwater—a range of nearly three hundred miles. This immense deposit of iron ore is contained in gneiss, and is accompanied by garnet, epidote, and hornblende. In the State of New York, magnetic iron ore is found in immense quantities on the west side of Lake Champlain, in granitic mountains. The ore is in beds, from one to twenty feet in thickness, and generally unmixed with foreign substances: large beds of this ore extend, with little interruption, from Canada to the neighbourhood of New York. Clay ironstone is met with in considerable quantities. In Maryland, there are extensive beds of it three miles SW. of Baltimore, composed of nodules formed by concentric layers. Bog iron ore occurs in such abundance in many places, as to be smelted to a great extent.

Copper in the native state, and most of its ores, have been found in different parts of the United States; but there are no mines of this metal except in New Jersey, and these do not appear to be worked with much success.

Lead has been discovered in a great variety of forms; and there are several extensive mines of it. In Upper Louisiana, at St Genevieve, on the western bank of the Mississippi, there are about ten mines. The ore, which is a sulphuret, is found in detached masses of from one to five hundred pounds, in alluvial deposits of gravel and clay, immediately under the soil; and sometimes in veins or beds, in limestone. One of the mines

produces annually about 245 tons of ore, yielding  $66\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. There are mines also at Perkiomen, in Pennsylvania, 24 miles from Philadelphia. The ore is chiefly a sulphuret; but it is accompanied by the carbonate, phosphate, and molybdate. In Massachusetts, there is a vein of galena, traversing primitive rocks, six or eight feet wide, and extending twenty miles from Montgomery to Hatfield. The ore affords from 50 to 60 per cent. of lead.

Gold has only been found in North Carolina. It occurs in grains or small masses, in alluvial earths, and chiefly in the gravelly beds of brooks, in the dry season; and one mass was found weighing 28 lib. In 1810, upwards of 1340 ounces of this gold, equal in value to 24,689 dollars, had been received at the mint of the United States.

Native silver, in small quantities, is met with at different places, but in no other form. Mercury and tin have not been found. Cobalt occurs near Middletown, in Connecticut; and a mine of it was at one time worked. Manganese and antimony are found in several situations. Sulphuret of zinc is found in considerable quantity in Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Massachusetts. In New Jersey, a new variety of this metal has been discovered, in such abundance, that it promises to be a very valuable acquisition to the United States. It is a red oxide, composed, of zinc 76, oxygen 16, oxides of manganese and iron 8. It is reduced without difficulty to the metallic state.

The chromate of iron, both crystallized and amorphous, occurs in different situations; particularly near Baltimore, and at Hoboken, in New Jersey. This mineral is employed to furnish the chromic acid, which, when united with the oxide of lead, forms chromate of lead—a very beautiful yellow pigment, of which there is a manufactory at Philadelphia. It is sold under the name of chromic yellow, and is employed for painting furniture, carriages, &c.

In the former part of this article, we have noticed the vast extent of limestone of different species that is spread over the United States. Mr Cleaveland enumerates several varieties of the primitive limestones in the Eastern States, which are used as marble in ornamental architecture and in sculpture; but he remarks, that the state of the arts has not yet caused them to be extensively quarried, or even sufficiently explored. Some of the Vermont marbles are as white as the Carrara, with a grain intermediate between that of the Carrara and Parian marbles. At Middlebury, in Vermont, during the years 1809 and 1810, 20,000 feet of slabs were cut by one mill, containing 65 saws;



and the sales of marble, during the same period, amounted to about 11,000 dollars. In Rhode Island it is found snow white, of a fine grain, translucent, and perfectly resembles the Carrara marble.

Gypsum, or plaster stone, is found in Virginia, Maryland, and Connecticut. It is very abundant in several parts of the State of New York, particularly in Onondago and Madison counties; also in the vicinity of Cayuga lake, whence, in 1812, 6000 tons of it were exported to Pennsylvania. In many parts of the United States, it has been found an important article of manure in the cultivation of grasses, roots and grain.

Rock salt has not hitherto been discovered; but there are numerous salt springs. These sometimes flow naturally; but are more frequently forced by sinking wells in those places where the salt is known to exist, as in certain marshes and in salt licks, so called from having been formerly the resort of wild animals to lick the clay impregnated with the salt. These springs are chiefly found in the country westward of the Alleghany mountains, near the rivers which flow into the Ohio. They occur also in the State of New York, near the Onondago and Cayuga lakes, associated with the great gypsum formation already noticed. This brine is strong, and yields about 300,000 bushels of salt annually. The whole quantity of salt annually obtained from saline springs in the United States, exceeds 600,000 bushels.

Nitrate of potash, or saltpetre, is met with in considerable abundance. Mr Cleaveland gives the following description of the situations where it is principally obtained.

'The calcareous caverns which abound in the State of Kentucky, furnish large quantities of nitre. The earths which exist in these caverns, and which contain both the nitrate of potash and the nitrate of lime, are lixiviated; and the lixivium is then made to pass through wood ashes, by the alkali of which the nitrate of lime is decomposed. \* After due evaporation, the nitre is permitted to crystallize. One of the most remarkable of these caverns is in Madison county, on Crooked Creek, about sixty miles SE. from Lexington. This cavern extends entirely through a hill, and affords a convenient passage for horses and waggons. Its length is 646 yards, its breadth is generally about 40 feet, and its average height about 10 feet. One bushel of the earth in this cavern commonly yields from one to two pounds of nitre; and the same salt has been found to exist at the depth of 15 feet: even the clay is impregnated with nitrate of lime.

\* It appears that two bushels of ashes, made by burning the dry wood in hollow trees, contain as much alkali as eighteen bushels of ashes obtained from the oak.

‘ Kentucky also furnishes nitre under a very different form, and constituting what is there called the *rock ore*, which is in fact a sandstone richly impregnated with nitrate of potash. These sandstones are generally situated at the head of narrow valleys which traverse the sides of steep hills. They rest on calcareous strata, and sometimes present a front from 60 to 100 feet high. When broken into small fragments, and thrown into boiling water, the stone soon falls into sand, one bushel of which, by lixiviation and crystallization, frequently yields 10 lib. and sometimes more than 20 lib. of nitrate of potash. The nitre obtained from these rocks contains little or no nitrate of lime, and is said to be superior for the manufacture of gunpowder to that extracted from the afore-mentioned earths. ’

‘ Masses of native nitre, nearly pure, and weighing several pounds, are sometimes found in the fissures of these sandstones, or among detached fragments. Indeed, it is said that these masses of native nitre sometimes weigh several hundred pounds. Similar caverns occur in Tennessee, and in some parts of Virginia and Maryland. ’

With the exception of the red oxide of zinc, and the native magnesia, the discovery of which by Dr Bruce we noticed in our account of his *Mineralogical Journal*, no simple minerals have hitherto been discovered in the United States that were not already known to exist in other parts of the world. There are some of the simple minerals, however, which are found in a state of great perfection, such as the cyanite, green tourmaline and rubellite, melanite, precious serpentine, garnet and beryll. A mass of native iron has recently been found near Red River in Louisiana. The form is irregular; its length being three feet four inches, and its greatest breadth two feet four inches—its weight exceeds 3000 lib. Its surface is covered with a blackish crust, and is deeply indented. It is very malleable and compact; but is unequally hard, some parts being easily cut by a chisel, while others have nearly the hardness of steel. Its specific gravity is 7.40. It contains nickel, and is less easily oxidated than purified iron. This is rendered particularly interesting, by its containing in its interior octahedral crystals, which may be easily cut by a knife, and are striated like magnetic iron. The largest crystal is more than half an inch in length.

We look forward with great hopes to the active exertions of our Transatlantic brethren in this interesting field of scientific inquiry; and we shall expect to see the great outline they have traced, filled up by those detailed examinations of particular districts, where the nature and mutual relations of the different rocks have been diligently and accurately studied. The country occupied by the Granite deserves particular attention, from the fun-

damental point of theory connected with the history of this rock :—whether, in those situations where it appears to be the lowest rock, there is any evidence of its having been formed subsequently to the strata that cover it ;—if any veins are seen to proceed from the great body of the granite, and to penetrate with numerous ramifications the superincumbent rocks, as has been observed in most situations where granite occurs. The great alluvial formation will doubtless afford many valuable illustrations of the changes which the surface of our globe has undergone, from the animal remains with which it is said to abound ; and we trust that this important subject of inquiry will be investigated with the attention it deserves. We should be glad to hear of the establishment of a Geological Society, to excite the zeal, and unite the labours of the Geologists of America, and to be the organ of communication between them and the rest of the Scientific World.

ART. V. 1. *Voyage of H. M. Ship Alceste along the Coast of Corea, to the island of Lewchew ; with an Account of her subsequent Shipwreck.* By JOHN M'LEOD, Surgeon of the Alceste. Second Edition. London, J. Murray, 1818.

2. *Naufrage de la Frigate la Meduse, faisant Partie de l'Expedition du Senegal en 1816 ; Relation contenant les Evenements qui ont eu lieu sur le Radeau, dans le Desert de Sahara, à St Louis, et au Camp de Daccard ; suivi d'un Examen sous les Rapports Agricoles de la Partie Occidentale de la Cote d'Afrique, depuis le Cap Blanc jusqu'à l'un Bouchere de la Gambie.* Par ALEXANDRE CORREARD, Ingenieur-Geographe, et J. B. HENRI SAVIGNY, Ex-Chirurgien de la Marine ; tous deux Naufrages du Radeau. Seconde Edition, entièrement refondue, et augmentée des Notes de MONS. BREDIF, Ingenieur des Mines ; avec le Plan du Radeau, et le Portrait du Roi ZAIDE. Paris, 1818.

**I**N every age and every country, since the foundation of society, events have been occurring, of which, though too minute and fugitive for the vast and rapid page of general history, we must regret that no record has been preserved. It has been said, that the true characters of men are best seen in trifles—in those little acts which require no premeditation, and are not of importance enough to call for dissimulation or restraint. Considering the greater deliberation with which Governments usually conduct their public transactions, this is at least as true of nations

as of individuals; and it is much to be regretted, therefore, that there should be so few memorials of those less formal and guarded proceedings, in which national character may be supposed most fairly to disclose itself.

It is this kind of interest, we think, that belongs to the events related in the two narratives which stand at the head of this article. Each of them contains the account of a shipwreck—the one of an English, the other of a French frigate; catastrophes so common, as to attract no permanent notice, and whose memory scarcely outlives the tempest by which they are caused. We had not, however, read many pages of these volumes, before we were struck with the different conduct of the English and French sufferers, in similar circumstances; and we thought that a plain statement of the facts might prove interesting to our readers, and call their attention to some points of Character, which, from their generality, we cannot but consider as national.

On the 17th of June 1816, the *Medusa* French frigate, commanded by Captain Chaumareys, and accompanied by three smaller vessels, sailed from the island of Aix for the coast of Africa, in order to take possession of some colonies which we had captured in 1808, though, as we are sneeringly told by Mons. Savigny, not by force of arms, but by treachery; and which we restored to the French, by the treaties of 1814 and 1815. The first accident she encountered, was after she had doubled Cape Finisterre—when one of the crew fell into the sea; and, from the apathy of his companions, their want of promptitude in manœuvring, together with the absence of every precaution, he was left to perish. On the tenth day of sailing, there appeared an error of thirty leagues in her reckoning. But the recollection of these accidents, which, in the British navy, would be deemed most disgraceful, is lost in the transports and exultations of one of the crew at the sight of Teneriff. ‘There it was,’ he exclaimed, ‘that a numerous fleet, commanded by one of the bravest admirals of England, was beaten off by a handful of Frenchmen. Ah! if, at Trafalgar, our Villeneuve had not been betrayed, we would have completed what we had here begun; and who can say what might have been the consequences!’

As the *Medusa* lay off St Cruz, a boat was sent on shore to procure some necessaries; and it was discovered, that six Frenchmen, who had formerly been detained there as prisoners of war by the Spaniards, had, since their liberation, implored in vain of every ship of their nation which touched there during eight years, to give them a passage to their native land;—and not one would receive them on board. The *Medusa* was as obdurate as the rest; and the six Frenchmen were again thrown, by their own coun-

trymen, upon the mercy of a nation which, in the very teeth of bigotry and despotism, is one of the most noble, brave, and generous in existence.

On the 1st of July the *Medusa* entered the Tropics; and there, with a childish disregard to every danger, and knowing that she was surrounded by all the unseen perils of the ocean, her crew performed the ceremony usual upon such an occasion, while the vessel was running headlong on destruction. The captain presided over the disgraceful scene of merriment, and had abandoned the ship to the command of a *Mons. Richafort*, who had passed the ten preceding years of his life in an English prison. A few persons on board, more aware of the consequences than the rest, remonstrated, but were not attended to; and, though it was ascertained that the *Medusa* was on the bank of Arguin, she continued her course, and heaved the lead, without slackening sail. Every thing denoted shallow water; but Mr Richafort persisted in saying, that there were one hundred fathoms. In that very moment only six fathoms were found; and the vessel struck three times, being in about sixteen feet water; and the tide full flood. At ebb tide, there remained but twelve feet water; and, after some manœuvres, which were perfectly of a piece with the preceding conduct of the crew and officers, all hopes of getting the ship afloat were abandoned.—So much for the first act of the French tragedy. Let us now see how the English one sets off.

On the 9th of February, 1816, the *Alceste*, Captain Murray Maxwell, sailed from Spithead, with the British ambassador, to China, and on the 4th of March following she too, upon crossing the line, had her visit from old Neptune, to the tune of Rule Britannia; but not while she knew herself to be surrounded by danger. It was upon returning from a very beautiful and interesting voyage; in which a spirit of moderation, firmness and good faith, highly creditable to the expedition, was eminently displayed, that the *Alceste* met with her misfortune.

‘A course was now shaped,’ says Mr M<sup>r</sup> Leod, ‘to avoid the numerous rocks and shoals, not well defined, which lie in that part of the Chinese sea more immediately to the westward of the Philippines, and to the northward of Borneo; and having, by the 14th, passed the whole, and got into the usual track for the passage of either of the straits of Banco or Gaspar, it was resolved to proceed through the latter, as being more direct, and less subject to calms than the former—and considering them equally safe, from the latest surveys and directions being on board, some of them by those who had personally examined them. At day-light in the morning of the 18th, we made Gaspar Island, exactly at the time expected, and, passing it, stood in for the strait. As is customary, in approaching any coast or

passage whatever, but more especially one that all are not familiarly acquainted with, the utmost precaution was taken, by keeping the leads going in both chains, men looking out at the mast-heads, yard-arms and bowsprit-end; the Captain, master, and officer of the watch, on whom the charge of the ship, at such a time, more particularly devolved, having been vigilantly on deck during the whole of the previous night, and this morning. Steering under all these guarded circumstances, the soundings exactly corresponding with the charts, and following the express line prescribed by all concurring directions, to clear every danger, (and the last of this sort between us and England), the ship, at about half past seven in the morning, struck, with a horrid crash, on a sudden reef of rocks, and remained immoveable.

It was soon found that all attempts to get her off would be followed by immediate destruction; and nothing remained to be done, but to save as much as was possible of the wreck. Even in these first scenes, we think the points of contrast are sufficiently striking; but the most remarkable are yet to be stated.

When the French frigate struck, she had on board six boats of various capacities, all of which, however, were not sufficient to contain the crew and passengers; and a raft was constructed. The scene which took place, when the signal was given for the men to quit the wreck, was most dreadful. All scrambled out of it, without order or precaution. The first who reached the boats, refused to share their chance of safety with their fellow-sufferers—though there was still ample room for more. Some, who apprehended that a plot had been formed to abandon them in the vessel, flew to arms. Captain Chaumareys stole out of a port-hole into his own boat, leaving a great part of his crew to shift for themselves in the ship. No one would give the least assistance to his companions; but all were occupied in making false representations of each other's situation, in order to create an undue share of pity for themselves. At length, however, they put to sea, their intention being to steer for the sandy coast of the Desert, there to land, and thence to proceed with a caravan to the island of St Louis.

The raft had been constructed without the least foresight or intelligence. It was about 65 feet long, and 25 broad; but the only part of it which could be depended upon, was the middle; and that was so small, that fifteen persons could not lie down upon it. Those who stood upon the floor were in constant danger of slipping through between the planks; and the sea flowed in on all sides. When the 150 passengers, destined to be its burden, were on board, they stood like a solid parallelogram, without a possibility of moving; and they were up to their waists in water. The plan originally adopted was, that as much pro-

visions as possible should be put upon this raft; that it should be taken in tow by the six boats; and that, at stated intervals, their crews should come on board of it to receive their rations. As they were about to leave the ship, Mr Correard inquired, whether all the necessary articles had been put on board, such as charts, instruments, seastore, &c., and was assured, by an officer, that he himself had seen that nothing was wanting. 'And who is to command us?' 'I am to command you,' answered he, 'and will be with you in a moment.' The officer, however, with these words the last in his mouth, went on board one of the boats, and returned no more.

This desperate squadron had only proceeded about two leagues, when a faulty, if not treacherous manœuvre, broke the tow-line which joined the Captain's boat to the rest; and this became the signal to all to let loose their cables. The weather was calm. The coast was known to be but 12 or 15 leagues distant; and land was, in fact, discovered by the boats on the very evening of the day on which they abandoned the raft. They were not, therefore, driven to this measure by any new perils; and the cry of '*Nous les abandonnons!*' which resounded through the line, was the yell of a spontaneous and instinctive impulse of cowardice, perfidy, and cruelty; and dreadful to relate, the impulse was as unanimous as it was diabolical.

The raft then, such as we have described it, was left to the mercy of the waves; and as, one after another, the boats disappeared, despair became general. *Not one of the promised articles*, no provisions, except a very few casks of wine, and some spoilt biscuit, sufficient for one single meal, were to be found. A small pocket compass, which chance had discovered, and which was their last guide in a trackless ocean, fell between the beams into the sea, and was lost. As the crew had taken no nourishment since morning, some wine and biscuit were distributed; and this day, the first of thirteen which they passed upon the raft, was the last on which they tasted any solid food—except such as nature shudders at. One sentiment, however, kept alive their hopes, and animated their courage; and that sentiment was, the ardent wish to be revenged of those who had treacherously abandoned them. It was in this mood, that their hearts and prayers, as our authors ingeniously say, were lifted up, in piety, to heaven!

The first night was stormy; and the waves, which had free access, committed dreadful ravages, and threatened worse. When day appeared, twelve miserable creatures were found crushed to death, between the openings of the raft, and several more were missing; though the number could not be ascertained, as many of the soldiers had taken the billets of the dead, in

order to obtain two, or even three rations of food. The second night was still more dreadful, and many were washed off into the sea; although the crew had so crowded together, that some were smothered by the mere pressure. To sooth their last moments, the soldiers drank immoderately; and, in their fury, attempted to cut the cables, which held together the spars and beams of the raft. A general conflict ensued, between those who attacked, and those who defended it. Many of the former were killed; and one, who affected to rest himself upon the side, but who, in fact, was treacherously cutting the ropes, was thrown into the sea. Another, whom Mr Correard had snatched from the waves, turned traitor a second time, as soon as he had recovered his senses; but he too was killed. At length the revolted, who were chiefly soldiers, being repulsed, they threw themselves upon their knees, and, with the utmost abjectness, implored mercy. At midnight, however, they rebelled again. Those who had no arms fought with their teeth; and thus it was, that many severe wounds were inflicted. One man, in particular, was most wantonly and dreadfully bitten above the heel, while his companions were beating him on the head with their carabines, previously to their throwing him into the sea. The raft was strewed with dead bodies, after innumerable instances of treachery and cruelty; and from 60 to 65 perished that night. The force and courage of the strongest began to yield to their misfortunes; and even the most resolute laboured under mental derangement. In the conflict, the revolted had thrown two casks of wine, and all the remaining water, into the sea; and it became necessary to diminish each man's allowance.

A day of comparative tranquillity now succeeded. The survivors erected their mast again, which had been wantonly cut down in the battle of the night; and endeavoured to catch some fish, but in vain. Then it was, that they were reduced to the last resource, the most repugnant to human nature;—and the bodies of their dead companions became their sustenance. A third night followed, which was interrupted only by the plaintive cries of wretches, exposed to every kind of suffering, ten or twelve of whom died of want, and awfully foretold the fate of the remainder. The following day was fine. Some flying fish were caught in the raft; which, mixed up with human flesh, afforded one scanty meal.

A new insurrection, still for the insane purpose of destroying the raft, broke out on the fourth night; and this too was marked by perfidy, and terminated in blood. Most of the rebels were thrown into the sea. The fifth morning mustered but 30 men alive; and these, in the most wretched state, sick and



wounded, and the skin of the lower extremities corroded by the salt water. Two soldiers were detected, drinking the wine of the only remaining cask; and were instantly thrown into the sea, according to a law which had been enacted among themselves, to that effect. One boy died. There remained therefore 27. Of these, but 15 appeared capable of outliving their present fatigue. A council of war, presided by the most horrid despair, was held; and it was resolved, that, as the weak consumed a part of the common store, without hope of surviving, they should be thrown into the sea. This sentence was immediately put in execution!—and all the arms on board, which now filled their minds with horror, were with the exception of a single sabre, committed to the deep. 3

In such a situation, distress and misery increase with a very accelerated ratio; and, even after the desperate measure of destroying their companions, and eating the most nauseous aliments, the surviving fifteen could not hope for more than a few days existence. A butterfly lighted on their sail the ninth day; and, though it was held to be the harbinger of good, many a greedy eye was cast upon it. Some sea-fowl also appeared; but it was not possible to catch any of them. The misery of the survivors increased with a rapidity which cannot be described; and they even stole from each other little goblets of urine,\* which had been set to cool in the sea water, and which was now considered as a luxury. The most trifling article of food, a lemon, a small bottle of spirituous dentifrice, a little garlick, became causes of contention; and every daily distribution of wine awakened a spirit of selfishness and ferocity, which common sufferings and common interest could not subdue into more social feelings.

Three days more passed over in inexpressible anguish, when they constructed a smaller and more manageable raft, in the hope of directing it to the shore; but, upon trial, it was found to be insufficient. On the 17th, the masts of a brig were seen; which, after exciting all the vicissitudes of hope and fear, proved to be the Argus sent out in quest of the Medusa. 'C'est donc à des François,' exclaimed they, 'qu' nous devons notre salut!' And, pray, to whom did they owe their disasters? The inhabitants of the raft were all received on board the Argus, where they were again very near perishing, from a fire which broke out in the night.

\* Mr Savigny made two physiological observations on this subject, which are not without interest. The urine of some was much more agreeable (*suave*) than that of others; and, in all cases, this beverage proved an instantaneous and powerful diuretic.

The six boats, after their treacherous exploit of cutting the cables, made all the way they could for the coast of Africa, which they reached in safety; and, after many dangers and fatigues among the Moors, through which we cannot follow them, the survivors of the different crews arrived at St Louis. The conduct of all was marked by the same characteristics as those which we have seen on the raft; and, though their sufferings did not provoke them to the same horrible enormities, it is easy to recognise in them the same spirit of selfishness, cowardice and perfidy. Having now conducted the French sufferers to a place of safety, and handed them over to their friends and countrymen, we must return to the English.

As soon as all hope of saving the *Alceste* was given up, the boats were hoisted out, and a raft was constructed; and the Embassy, which of course was the first object of interest, was carried to the island, where it was with some difficulty landed. Every hand was at work on board the frigate, to save all that could be saved; but, as very little provisions had as yet been obtained from her, Lord Amherst assembled his people, and told them, that a gill of water, with half a gill of rum, was to be the daily allowance of himself, and all. The boats could not contain half of the crew; and it was resolved, that as the season was favourable, the Embassy should proceed to Batavia, where vessels might be despatched to convey away the remainder of the crew from the island where all had now been landed. Two hundred men, and one woman, were left behind; and Captain Maxwell, after stationing a party to dig a well, removed their quarters to the top of a hill, where the air was cooler. Every hand was employed. Some were busied in searching out a spot for an encampment. Others carried up the hill, the little store of provisions, over which a strict guard was set. All began to suffer much from thirst. A bottle of muddy water was at length obtained from the well; and the rush toward it was so great, in the first moment, that it was found advisable to place sentries. Every drop of rain was collected, and bathing was used. On the 20th, Captain Maxwell assembled his men, and stated to them, that they were still subject to the Navy laws, and that he was resolved to enforce the strictest discipline; but that all must submit to the greatest privations. On the 21st, a party which had been left to clear the ship, was surrounded by the Malay proas well armed; and had only time to save themselves by flight. An immediate attack was expected on the island; and the same apprehension kept them on the alert, during the remainder of their stay. It was at this moment, that the British fortitude shone in its best lustre. The most regular discipline, as in a

town besieged, was established and perfectly maintained. Every precaution was taken to avoid a rupture; every means were employed to repel an assault. We cannot enter into the particulars. Suffice it to say, that the crew of the *Alceste*, after seeing their vessel burnt before their faces, reduced to very short allowance, in great doubt of ever escaping from the island, were exposed to daily attacks, from very superior numbers of the most merciless and perfidious savages in existence; at the same time that they were annoyed by the presence of serpents, wild beasts and monkies; and that not a single instance of bad fellowship, not a single breach of discipline occurred during a detention of 19 days upon this miserable island. Church service was regularly performed; and the Malays were no less surprised than gratified at seeing one of their dead companions, who had been brought on shore, decently buried.

'Awful as our situation was, and every day becoming more so, starvation staring us in the face on one hand, without a hope of mercy from the savages on the other, yet there were no symptoms of depression or gloomy despair. Every mind seemed buoyant; and if any estimate of the general feeling could be collected from countenances, from the manners and expressions of all, there appeared to be formed in every breast, a calm determination to dash at them, and be successful, or to fall, as became men, in the attempt to be free.'

A sail, however, the *Fernate*, sent out to their relief, was at length discovered from the look-out tree. On the 5th of March, Messrs Ellis and Hoppner two of their former companions, returning from Batavia, came on shore; and were received, with heartfelt acclamation, by the whole garrison under arms; and on the 7th Capt. Maxwell, after seeing the last man of his crew out of the island, arrived safe on board the *Fernate*. And here the sufferings of the crew of the *Alceste* terminated.

But it was far otherwise with the miserable creatures who had escaped from the raft of the *Medusa*; and we have events to relate, which, though not so terrific, are if possible more disagreeable.

The survivors, from all quarters which the shipwrecked of the *Medusa* had reached, being now collected at St Louis, it was expected that the colony should be evacuated by the English. But the Governor, Mr Beurthonne (Burton?) refused so to do; and ordered all the French away to the mainland. Our authors exhaust a large store of uncharitable conjectures, in search of the cause of his refusal, which, like true Frenchmen, they refer to the habitual Machiavelism of the British government; and to which we shall make no answer—because we are very well convinced it would be an easy matter to refute them. It was resolved, however, to despatch a ship to the *Medusa*, to carry

away the money and provisions—‘ And the men also,’ observed Mons. Correard to the French Governor Schmaltz. ‘ Bah, il n’en reste pas trois. ’—‘ N’en resta-t-il qu’un; sa vie est préférable à tout ce qu’on peut retirer de la frégate,’ replied Mons. Correard; ‘ et il sortit indigné de la chambre. ’ A goalette sailed in search of the *Medusa*; but being prudently furnished with provisions only for eight days, she was forced to return. She put to sea again, but in such a disabled state, that, after beating about for 15 days, she came back a second time. Ten days were employed in repairing her; and, at length, having lost 33 days to no purpose, she reached the *Medusa*, on the 52d day after the frigate had struck upon the bank of Arguin; when, dreadful to relate, three miserable sufferers were found alive. Our readers will recollect that Captain Chaumareys had made his escape furtively out of the *Medusa*. As soon as he was in safety he sent a boat to take away a few men, who, he said, still remained in the wreck. But what was the surprise of the lieutenant, when he found that *sixty* men had been abandoned there! All of these, however, were carried off, with the exception of 17, some of whom were drunk, and others refused to leave the frigate. As long as their provisions lasted, these 17 remained at peace. Twelve of them embarked on a raft of their own construction, the remains of which were thrown upon the coast of Sahara; but the persons on board were never heard of. Another ventured to sea in a chicken-coop; but sunk immediately. Four remained behind; one of whom had expired of hunger and fatigue. The other three lived in separate corners of the wreck, and never met, but *to run at each other with drawn knives*. They were put on board the goalette, with all that could be saved from the *Medusa*.

This little vessel was no sooner seen returning to the island, than every heart beat high with joy at the hope of recovering some property. The men and officers of the *Medusa* jumped on board, and asked whether any had been saved? ‘ Yes,’ replied their brother officers of the goalette, ‘ but it is all ours now—*tout cela est maintenant de bonne prise*; ’—and the naked Frenchmen, whose calamities had found pity from the Moors of the Desert, were now deliberately plundered by their own countrymen. A ship, bearing the commission of his most Christian Majesty, and which had been despatched by the governor of one of his colonies to save all she could from the wreck of one of his own royal frigates, turned pirate, and robbed the shipwrecked crew of all their property!—We should not believe this upon any foreign testimony.

A fair was immediately held in the town, and lasted eight days. The clothes, furniture, and all the necessary articles of

life, belonging to the men and officers of the *Medusa*, were publicly sold before their faces. We could not avoid smiling to find, in the midst of this barbarous scene, some ludicrous ejaculations, in the true bombast style of French honour and glory. ‘*Mais une chose sacrée, respectée de tout homme qui sert avec honneur, ce signe de ralliement, sous lequel on doit trouver la victoire ou la mort, le Pavillon enfin, qu’est-il devenu ?—Il a été sauvé—Est-il tombé entre les mains d’un Français ? Non ; celui qui avilit ce signe ne peut être Français.*’—Eh bien—this precious rag fell, by right of purchase, into the hands of Sophia, the governor’s negress, and of Margaret, his scullion, from whom none of the Frenchmen thought fit to redeem it, and who consequently employed it to scour their dishes ! Captain Chaumereys was as severely handled as the others ; and he recognised, at the French governor’s table, two of his own vases, which had been presented by the plunderers to the wife and daughter of Mr Schmaltz, who thus became an accomplice in the public robbery.

Such of the French as were in a condition to do so, proceeded to the camp at Daccard, and the sick remained at St Louis. The French governor had promised them clothes and provisions, but sent none ; and, during five months, they owed their existence to strangers—TO THE BRITISH. Here, again, are some complaints against Mr Beurthonne, whom we shall leave to clear himself, as we have very little doubt he can. His faults, however, if any such there were, were redeemed by the generous efforts of the other British officers ; who no sooner heard of the situation to which the French had been reduced, than they gave them every necessary comfort ; and, with the most refined and delicate attentions, constituted them inmates of their mess. Mr Correard alone was, by some accident, forgotten ; and although, as he ingenuously tells us, he had many *friends* among the French officers and passengers at the camp of Daccard, he was left in the most wretched state. Major Peddy, however, who commanded the British expedition to the interior of Africa, came to his relief ; as did Major Campbell, Captain Chesame, (James ?) Lieutenant O’Mara, Adjutant-Major Grey, and Ensign Beurthonne (Burton ?)—no relation to the governor—and Addam (Adams ?)—On the 24th of August a French officer died, and was buried with military honours and religious decency by the English ; which surprised the French, no less than a similar occurrence had astonished the Malays.—But while the utmost harmony reigned at St Louis between the two nations, dissension raged at Daccard.

Mr Savigny returned to Europe in July. Mr Correard remained in the colony till November. We shall conclude our

account of these men by one more instance of the good faith and humanity with which they acted towards each other. The vessel in which Mr Correard, who boasts of having so many friends at Daccard, had embarked, was becalmed as she passed the bar; and the passengers, who were exposed to every kind of inconvenience, agreed to go on shore till the wind should permit them to sail. Mr Correard was, at that moment, in the last stage of a fever, lying on the deck, exposed to a tropical sun. 'Il éprouvoit avec cela, des vomissemens douloureux, produits par la chaleur, et par une indigestion de poisson dont il avoit fait son déjeuner, avant son départ.' As he was lying in this situation, he heard his companions say among themselves—'Here is one who never will see France.' Yet they went on shore to take shelter and amuse themselves; and had not the charity to help him to accompany them, or even to raise an awning over him; but left him to expire upon a bed of pitch and cables. He, however, did reach France in tolerable health; and is since recovered. On finding himself in the hospital at Rochefort, he exclaimed, 'Enfin j'ai trouvé des hommes sensibles à mes malheurs;'—so soon did this grateful Frenchman forget the English of St Louis, the presents, and the still more noble offers of Major Paddy and his brother officers.

We must do the French nation the justice to say, that they seemed to be heartily ashamed of the figure they made in these transactions, and to have used every method to prevent their publication; and Messrs Correard and Savigny, by making them known, incurred the displeasure of their superiors; which, like all the spiteful displeasure of the petty powerful, had very serious consequences. Answers and counter-memorials were drawn up, to refute them; signatures were extorted, by promises and threats, from their fellow-sufferers, who afterwards retracted them with very little shame, or remorse, or loss of public esteem. The return of the crew had been preceded by various defamatory reports, of which Mademoiselle Schmalz is accused of being a principal author—'*Humani ingenii proprium est sese quem lesceat*:'—And Mr Dubouchage, the then Minister of Marine, cannot be expected to have forgiven the men, who exposed to the public the incapacity which had caused their misfortunes.

The very abridged extracts we have given of our originals, present so much matter for reflection, that we know not where to begin. Never was there a contrast so striking, as in the conduct of the English and French sailors. On the one side, all is great, and calm, and dignified. On the other, page rises above page, and event towers above event, in horror and de-

pravity. We shall, however, attempt to bring together, in one point of view, the objects which may be the best confronted with each other.

In making this estimate, we most conscientiously declare, that we are actuated by no malignant feelings; and that we adopt this mode of investigation, because we hold comparison, in general, to be one of the surest roads to knowledge. The whole system of daily intercourse, throughout the world, is carried on by it. The most exact of the sciences obtains its positive results by no other means. It is so general in practice, that men unconsciously refer to it, upon every occasion;—so accurate in its conclusions, that, in a condition where nothing is absolute, it is the *ultima ratio rerum*. To say that comparisons are invidious, unless when they are invidiously pursued, would be puerile. No man, when he learns that the three angles of every triangle are equal to two right angles, ever thought of saying, that the series of comparisons by which that truth is demonstrated was invidious; neither has the fate of those interesting portions of space ever been deemed particularly hard, for having been subjected to such an investigation.

It might indeed be invidious and unfair, to bring under comparison events which had happened at distant periods in the history of mankind, when the progress of civilization may not have been alike. But, when occurrences of the same date, in two neighbouring and rival countries, are examined, no such charge can be made. The presumption is, that knowledge and humanity are upon a similar footing in both; and, should they not, the least enlightened, and the least humane nation of the two, can excuse itself, only upon the plea that it had played the truant, or squandered away its time and efforts in a wrong direction. A general debility of mind might, as well, be pleaded in mitigation for a single act of weakness; or habitual intemperance, as an excuse for casual intoxication.

It is by comparison with the *Medusa* that the conduct of the officers and crew of the *Alceste* have become so striking; for the British navy have made acts of heroism so familiar to us, that little room is left, in our minds, for surprise at any thing great or good on their parts. In the whole naval history of Europe, perhaps, no example could be found which could so well have taught us the advantage of courage, discipline and order, by showing the misery which must result from a want of them, as the narrative of Messrs Correard and Savigny.

All who, for the last 20 years, have been in the habit of admiring the campaigns and prowess of the French, from the 40th to the 60th degree of latitude, will be not a little surprised, to

hear the charge of cowardice brought against any part of the nation. The first thing, however, which struck us, in the account of the *Medusa*, was the want of true courage; of that presence of mind, which perceives the extent of danger, only to bring a proportionate remedy, and finds resources, where others see despair. The panic terror of the French crew, as soon as the ship was stranded, was the more striking, as contrasted with their preceding levity and disregard to every prudent warning; with their rejecting every precaution, and refusing to listen to the voice which told them that destruction was inevitable. The most fatal anarchy had reigned on board the ship, during her whole navigation. All legitimate discipline was lost. Each man gave his advice, his orders, and none was obeyed. The Captain was employed upon ~~anything~~ but his duty. The ship's course was altered, without consulting him. The *Echo* corvette, one of the squadron, warned the *Medusa* of her danger by signals, of which he was not even informed. The officers were playing a part in the scenic exhibition of the '*Bonhomme Tropicque*;' and wrapt up in a cloak of ignorant and presumptuous vanity, which kept them buoyant, amid rocks and quicksands. But no sooner had the vessel touched the bank, than universal consternation prevailed. Every countenance was changed—'*Quelques personnes étoient méconnaissables. Ici on voyoit des traits retirés et hideux; là un visage qui avoit pris une teinte jaune, et même verdâtre; quelques uns étoient foudroyés, anéantis; d'autres, enchaînés à leurs places, sans avoir la force de s'en arracher, restoient comme pétrifiés. Il sembloit que le terrible Gorgone, dont nous portons le nom, eut passé devant nous.*' The only two persons who remained unmoved, were the wife and daughter of the governor.

The British ship, on the contrary, neglected no precaution, although she had no particular reason to apprehend that danger was near; and, when she struck upon the fatal reef, she showed no symptoms of extravagant fear. Equally removed from temerity before, and from dejection after her accident, her crew did not show themselves, in the one case, to be more than men, and in the other to be less than women. Their minds were free to think; their nerves were strong to execute. The pusillanimity of the French exposed them to unheard-of calamities, and excited among them the most demoniacal feelings. It caused the death of nine-tenths of the wretches who had embarked upon the raft; and was near to prevent the return of the survivors, from a distance, which the frail barks of Hanno the Carthaginian had often passed. The intrepidity of the British saved the entire crew, (with the exception of a single man



who had strayed into the woods), and brought them home in safety, from the Chinese Archipelago; and through seas which have immortalized the man who first traced the road which leads to their entrance.

The courage of the French is of a peculiar quality, and so different from that of most other nations, that it struck the bravest of the ancients, and attracted the attention of the most speculative of Roman historians, near two thousand years ago. And we cannot help thinking, that a juster estimate was formed of it, in those days, than in the present; and a truer picture drawn of the exaltations and abasements, which the spirit of that changeful people is perpetually undergoing.

No nation is so enthusiastically fond of glory, so essentially enterprising, ambitious and warlike, as the French. But the impetuosity of their courage exposes them to reverses, in which they are as much depressed and as abject, as in prosperity they are arrogant and headlong. Their history, accordingly, is more chequered with triumphs and misfortunes, than that of other nations; and shows them suddenly elevated, by their military prowess, to the height of power, from which they are as suddenly dislodged by their want of moderation in success. They are the most rapid in conquest, the most precipitate in retreat; and the grand campaign of Turenne, in which his chief glory was, that he avoided engaging his enemy, is a phenomenon of which they could produce no second example. The most difficult thing for a Frenchman, in the field of war, is to remain stationary. Nimbleness is so inherent in his constitution, and his propensity to move in double quick time is so great, that this instinct of his nature is equally satisfied, whether it be that he runs forwards or backwards, whether he skip after or before an enemy. But the bravery of a Frenchman is not an independent sentiment. It requires extraneous aid, and must be supported by relations which are foreign to it. It is like the courage of the war-horse, roused by the sound of the trumpet and the drum, by the roar of cannon, by the shouts of the victors, and the cries of the wounded; and riots over the bodies of the slain. The most essential of all things, to its maintenance, is success; for success secures applause, and applause is glory. Take away from a Frenchman this most powerful of all the incitements which his nature owns, and you make a mere coward of him, less than woman. It is the only bond which unites his valour to his mind, and gives it the characteristics of a moral feeling. One modification of courage, however, it cannot bestow upon him; and that is fortitude, the courage of the soul; that union of feeling and of patience, of sensibility and of resignation, which strengthens

noble minds, gives dignity to fallen greatness, and serenity to the deposed and desolate.

The courage of the English is, in all respects, different from this. It is neither so buoyant in prosperity, nor so dejected in reverses. It is, like all our other qualities, accompanied by reflexion; and where the valour of a Frenchman begins to fail, the courage of an Englishman rises, from the resources he finds within his mind and heart. He is circumspect while the tempest only threatens; but intrepid when it bursts upon him. He requires no motive, but danger, to be brave; and his fortitude does not abandon him, even when his courage can be of no avail.

In the present instance, the French had no conquest to make, no glory to win; their plan would have been that which is bestowed upon men who calmly do their duty; and this was not enough for them. No triumph attended their success; no laurels would have crowned them, as when returning from victory; and their courage, no longer pampered by the licentious stimulant of vanity, desponded and despaired.

The resources of the two frigates, immediately after they were stranded, were much alike; but the sentiments which governed the Frenchmen, deprived them of the advantages of their united efforts; while the minds of the English were wholly directed to the general good, and bent upon the means of saving one and all. A beautiful and admirable property of civilization is, that it unites men by one common feeling, and makes them rally around the ideal centre, which bears the magic name of country. The most powerful of all links, that which, more than any other, binds the hearts of civilized men together, is misfortune. In proportion as the social system approaches to perfection, the tie of common misery is more strongly felt. But, when the progress of improvement is founded upon physical enjoyments, and the heart is employed in the search of luxurious gratifications, the preponderating object of our affections is self; and society claims a share of our interest, only as it contributes to our pleasures and amusements.

Now the French nation has always indulged in sensual, more than in rational enjoyments; and luxury has been the constant object of her study. The combined advantages of her soil and climate, have placed the attainment of physical pleasures easily within her reach; and, to them, she is eminently devoted. But, happily for the moral character of England, we must labour, before we can enjoy; and the penury of nature has bound the inhabitants of Great Britain together, for their common interest, with a stronger chain, than any which her prodigality

could forge. The advantages of union in the hour of misery ; of partnership to stem the adverse current ; of social combination, which divides affliction, and multiplies prosperity, never, in any age, or any country, were so strongly felt as in this island :—and they have grown as she has grown, and strengthened as she has become enlightened.

The French, in the present, as in many other instances, do not seem to have learned, that the worst of governments is better than anarchy. The vanity of each individual is always present, to suggest to him, that he alone is worthy to command ; and that all who oppose his will are traitors to the general good. The very impulses which act attractively among other men, and make their hearts expand with kindness and benevolence, are repulsive in their natures. In the day of sympathy affection is changed to hatred, and pity is converted into envy. They prefer their own destruction to the safety of their fellow-sufferers, and crush to atoms, under their own feet, the plank which divides them from eternity ; rather than allow their companions in misfortune the hope of ever seeing land again.

Our authors, with a strange simplicity, say, that the *moral* of their companions was singularly altered. But this assertion we cannot admit ; and we must altogether deny the general principle upon which it is founded. The circumstances of our lives, the misfortunes or happiness we encounter, do not really change the moral character. They bring to light qualities which appear to be new, because they had before been unperceived. Passion never yet created any sentiments in the soul, though it may awaken those which were dormant. It opens a new page of the heart, but a page already written. All the passions which the situation of the sufferers on the raft exposed to the broad day, bad as they were, did not spring up in that fatal abode of wretchedness. They were carried thither ; carried in the hearts of those where long depravity had given them deep and lasting roots : and the daily sunshine of triumphant vice, had made their growth exuberant. Neither were the calmness, fortitude and humanity of the British, new creations in their souls. They had, from a very early period, been kept in constant action, by all the causes which long have made this nation moral and humane.

Disgusting and painful as the subject is, we cannot help adducing one or two more instances, of the contrast between English and French generosity and good faith, as exemplified in these narratives. We do not mean to speak of the dignified conduct of Lord Anherst, compared to the selfishness of Governor Schmaltz ; or to set the noble devotedness of Sir Murray

Maxwell, in opposition to the pitiful cowardice of Captain Chaumareys. We shall look for examples more general, and among the lower orders,—where the features of national character retain a greater portion of their original stamp. We have already stated, that the survivors on the raft took possession of the billets of the dead, in order to defraud their companions of an undue portion of food. We have seen them pillering each other, stealing from the common stock of provisions, nay wantonly throwing into the sea, the casks of water and of wine, in order to deprive their companions of the only sustenance they had. Among the crew of the *Alceste* ONE man was discovered *endeavouring* to get two rations of beer; and it is interesting to hear how Mr M'Leod expresses himself on the occasion.

‘ Truth requires it to be stated, and it may naturally be supposed, that, among so many, one or two proggings sort of people might be observed, who had no disinclination to get a little more than their just allowance; but the general feeling was too fine and manly, to admit of contamination.’

• Two persons, belonging to the boats which had landed on the coast of Africa, had agreed with the Moors, for a stipulated sum, to convey them to St Louis. The bargain, as may be supposed, was hard upon the Frenchmen; but, as one of them prudently observed, ‘ Once among our own countrymen, we shall be the strongest; and can give them what we please.’—The English, at one moment, apprehended that it might become necessary, if no succour arrived, to force some of the Malays to pilot them to the nearest friendly port; and it was resolved that, in that case, they should be dismissed in safety, and with ample remuneration.

The French expedition to Africa was two years in preparation; and it is fair to conclude, that it was composed of men distinguished, not only for nautical skill and ability in other branches of knowledge, but for their moral qualities. Yet Messrs Correard and Savigny assert, that many of those upon the raft were the very scum of bagnios, and the refuse of prisons. How the fact may be, we cannot tell. The misfortune is, that the misconduct was *universal*. But, admitting the explanation in its utmost latitude, what a view does it present of a Government which employed so much time to select such men, for such an expedition! And how low a value must be set on moral qualifications among a people whose rulers so flagrantly overlook them on an occasion where they were obviously of extraordinary importance!

To all general reflexions, respecting the characters of the English and French, drawn from the narratives of these two

shipwrecks, it may, no doubt, be objected, that the crew of a single ship cannot be an adequate representative of a nation; and most certainly this is a consideration which is entitled to no small attention—and it would be equally atrocious and absurd to maintain, either that all Frenchmen are as bad as the crew of the *Medusa*, or all Englishmen as good as that of the *Alceste*. There are, undoubtedly, many amiable and generous—and many mean and ferocious persons in both countries.—But there is something national, for all that, in the conduct of the two crews;—and we cannot help believing, that while it would be difficult to find such a ship's company as that of the *Alceste* in France, no accident could ever bring together in England such a set of ruffians and wretches as constituted that of the *Medusa*.—We do not wish to carry our conclusion any further.

To what causes this greater proclivity to vice is owing, we cannot presume to determine.—We have no great faith, we confess, in the materialist doctrine of temperament; and, among the moral causes, there are none that occur so readily as the long tyranny of the government to which this lively and ambitious people has been subjected,—the impossibility of attaining to honourable distinction by merit alone, and the shameless profligacy by which its appropriate rewards were habitually bestowed as the price of mean and guilty compliances.—When the natural connexion between desert and advancement is thus dissolved, and *honour* itself transferred to those successes which are best attained by dishonourable means, it cannot but happen that a general spirit of selfishness should pervade the whole society—and that the nobler aims which exalt men's characters in free states, should give place to those low and sensual pursuits which give birth not only to meanness but ferocity.—It is true, that the same causes have not produced the same effects in Spain and other countries.—But there, the body of the people were too low in civilization and intelligence, to be aware of the gross injustice of the Government, or in danger of being infected with the debasing vices of the Court.—Let us hope, that the mental cultivation and social accomplishments that render arbitrary governments thus pestilent to national virtue, may soon produce, in France, their better and ultimate fruit of improved government—and that, under their new system of representative legislation, and regulated freedom, our neighbours may speedily attain to those moral honours to which we cannot conscientiously say that they have hitherto been entitled.

ART. VI. *An Account of Experiments for Determining the Length of the Pendulum Vibrating Seconds in the Latitude of London.* By Captain HENRY KATER, F. R. S. From the Philosophical Transactions. London, 1818.

THE end of the last century, and the beginning of the present, have been distinguished by a series of Geographical and Astronomical measurements, more accurate and extensive than any yet recorded in the history of science. A proposal made by CASSINI in 1783, for connecting the Observatories of Paris and Greenwich by a series of triangles, and for ascertaining the relative position of these two great centres of Astronomical knowledge by actual measurement, gave a beginning to the new operations. The junction of the two Observatories was executed with great skill and accuracy by the geometers of England and France: the new resources displayed, and the improvements introduced, will cause this survey to be remembered as an Era in the practical application of Mathematical science.

A great revolution had just begun to take place in the construction of instruments intended for the measurement of angles, whether in the heavens or on the surface of the earth; and was much accelerated by the experience acquired in this survey. One part of this improvement consisted in the substitution of the entire circle for the quadrant, the semicircle, or other portions of the same curve, as the unity and simplicity of the entire circle, distinguish it above all figures, and give it no less advantage in Mechanicks than in Geometry. Circular instruments admit of being better supported, more accurately balanced, and are less endangered from unequal strain or pressure, than any other. The dilatation and contraction from heat and cold, act uniformly over the whole, and do not change the ratio of the divisions on the circumference.

A geometrical property of the same curve contributes also much to the perfection of those instruments, in which the whole circumference is employed; and though it be quite elementary, and has been long known to geometers, it was first turned to account by artists about the time of which we now speak. The proposition is, that two lines intersecting one another in any point within a circle, cut off opposite arches of the circumference, the sum of which is the same as if they intersected one another in the centre. Hence it follows, that, in a circular instrument, whether the centre about which the index turns be the true centre or not, the mean of the two opposite arcs is the exact measure of the angle to be found. This gives a complete cor-

rection for one of the great sources of inaccuracy in the construction of mathematical instruments, since, by opposite readings off, the error in the centering is always corrected. RAMSDEN, to whom the art of constructing mathematical instruments owes so much, was the first among modern artists who made an astronomical circle of considerable size. A theodolite, also, which he made for General ROY, who conducted the survey just referred to, was, of its kind, the most perfect instrument yet constructed, and was furnished with the best telescope that had been employed in geodetical observations.

In France, also, the entire circle was introduced, and with a great additional improvement, that of repeating or multiplying the angle to be measured any required number of times. The consequence of this is, that the *mean* taken by dividing the multiple angle at last obtained by the number of the repetitions, gives the angle with an exactness which would have required a great number of observations, and a great length of time, if other instruments had been used.

The first idea of this excellent contrivance occurred to TOBIAS MAYER of Gottingen, whose name is so well known in the history of Astronomy. The instrument was afterwards reconstructed and highly improved by the Chevalier BORDA. In 1787, when the Astronomers of Paris met those of England toward the conclusion of the survey, they were furnished with repeating circles, which was the first time that this instrument had been employed in similar observations.

As an evidence of the increased accuracy now obtained, it may be observed that it was in the survey of the ground between Greenwich and Dover that the excess of the angles of a triangle above two right angles arising from the curvature of the surface on which the angles were observed, first became an object of actual measurement. On this quantity which has been called the *spherical excess*, and was measured also by the repeating circle, LE GENDRE, with the ready invention that easily accommodates itself to new circumstances, grounded an admirable rule for reducing the solution of small spherical triangles under the power of plane trigonometry. The accuracy now expected was such, that an error of as many seconds in the measure of an angle as was formerly allowed of minutes, was no longer to be tolerated.

To Great Britain, the operations now entered on were attended with a further advantage, Government having been induced to continue a work so auspiciously begun, by extending a trigonometrical survey over the whole island, so as to ascertain its topography with more precision than had yet been done with

respect to any tract of equal extent on the surface of the Earth. The survey has accordingly been continued to the present time, and is now carrying on in Scotland under the able direction of Col. MUDGE, and by the meritorious exertions of Capt. COLBY, an indefatigable and accurate observer, instructed by much experience, and supported by a zeal and firmness of which there are but few examples.

It was not long after the commencement of this survey, that a system of Trigonometrical and Astronomical operations of still greater extent was undertaken by the French Government.

The want of system in the Weights and Measures of every country; the perplexity which that occasions; the ambiguous language it forces us to speak; the useless labour to which it subjects us, and the endless frauds which it conceals, have been long the disgrace of civilized nations. Add to this, the perishable character thus impressed on all our knowledge concerning the magnitude and weight of bodies, and the impossibility, by a description in words, of giving to posterity any precise information on these subjects, without reference to some natural object that continues always of the same dimensions. The provision which the art of printing has so happily made for conveying the knowledge of one age entire and perfect to another, suffers in the case of magnitude a great and very pernicious exception, for which there is no remedy but such reference as has just been mentioned. Philosophers had often complained of these evils, and had pointed out the cure: but there were old habits and inveterate prejudices to be overcome; and the phantom of innovation, even in its most innocent shape, was sufficient to alarm governments conscious that so many of their institutions had nothing but their antiquity to recommend them. At the commencement of the French Revolution the National Assembly was avowedly superior to the last of these terrors, and the Philosophers of France considered it as a favourable opportunity for fixing, with the support of Government, a new system of measures and weights, on the best and most permanent foundation.

Of the quantities which nature preserves always of the same magnitude, there are but few accessible to man, and capable at the same time of being accurately measured. The choice is limited to a portion of the earth's circumference, or to the length of the pendulum that vibrates a given number of times in the course of a solar or syderial day, or any portion of time accurately defined by some of the permanent phenomena of nature. The choice of the French mathematicians fell on the first of these, and was accompanied with this great benefit to science, that it enforced a very diligent and scrupulous exami-



nation into the magnitude and figure of the earth. The quadrant of the terrestrial meridian was the unit of linear extension which they proposed to assume, and the ten millionth part of it was the standard to which all linear measures were to be referred. The series of difficult and nice observations undertaken with a view to this improvement, carried on in the midst of much intestine disorder with signal firmness and perseverance, and finished, in spite of every obstacle, with all the accuracy that the new instruments and new methods could afford, has raised to the men of science \* engaged in it, a monument that can never be effaced. The meridian of Paris continued to Dunkirk, on the one hand, and Solicure on the other, and afterwards extended beyond the latter to the southernmost of the Balearic Isles, amounting nearly to an arc of 12 degrees, afforded means more than sufficient for computing the quadrant of the meridian, and thus fixing the standard on sure and invariable principles.

In consequence of this, the figure, as well as the magnitude of the Earth, came to be better known than they had ever been before, because of the new *data* afforded for entering into combination with the lengths of degrees already measured in different countries. The extent of the arc of the meridian, thus determined, is also about to receive a great increase, by the addition from the British survey, of an arc extending from the parallel of Dunkirk to that of the most northerly of the Shetland Isles; so that the distance between this last parallel and that of Fermentera, nearly a fourth part of the quadrant of the meridian will become known by actual measurement.

But while it is possible to interrogate Nature in two different ways concerning the same thing, curiosity is not to be satisfied without having both her responses. The pendulum, as is well known, affords the means of determining, not indeed the magnitude, but the figure of the earth; that is, its compression at the Poles, or the oblateness of the spheroidal figure into which it is formed. At the Equator, gravitation is weaker than at the Poles; both on account of the centrifugal force which is greatest at the former, and vanishes altogether at the latter, and of the greater distance of the circumference of the Equator from the centre of the mass. If the earth were quite homogeneous, NEWTON demonstrated, that the same fraction, viz.  $\frac{1}{185}$  would denote the oblateness of the earth, and the diminution of gravity from the Pole to the Equator. There is, however, good reason to believe, that the earth is very far from

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\* DELAMBRE, MECHAIN, BIOT, ARAGO.

being homogeneous, and is much denser in its interior than at its surface. CLAIRAUT, therefore, did an unspeakable service to this branch of science, when he showed, that in every case the two fractions just mentioned, though not equal to one another, must always, when added together, constitute the same sum, that is,  $\frac{2}{3}\frac{1}{2}$ , or  $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}$ . Hence the oblateness appearing from the measurement of degrees to be  $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}$ , the increase of gravity from the equator to the poles, or, which is the same, the shortening of the pendulum, must be  $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}$ . We must have recourse to experiment, then, to discover, whether this be agreeable to the fact, or whether evidences thus brought together from such different regions, conspire to support the same conclusion. LAPLACE, accordingly, from an examination of 37 of the best observations made in different latitudes, from the equator as far as the parallel of 67 degrees, had obtained a result that agreed very well with the conclusions from the measurement of degrees. But these observations had been most of them made long ago, before the present extreme precision was introduced, and even before the means of comparing the lengths of two rules, or two rods of wood or of metal, was completely understood. It was therefore extremely desirable, that a series of new observations of the same kind should be made in different countries. The National *Institution* had begun the series at Paris; it had made a part of the *Système Métrique*, to determine the relation between the seconds pendulum and the *metre*; and a number of experiments for that purpose were made by BORDA and CASSINI, with every precaution that could ensure exactness.

After quiet was restored to Europe, England had leisure to attend to other objects than those in which the ideas of defence or of conquest were concerned. France and a great part of the Continent had adopted the scheme of uniform measures; in England a plan for the same had been often thought of; it had been more than once undertaken, but never on a right system; and had always fortunately, though perhaps weakly, been abandoned. It was now begun apparently under better auspices; a bill for the purpose was brought into Parliament; and our readers may remember, that it was thrown out in the House of Peers by the opposition of a noble Lord, more remarkable for the ingenuity than the soundness of his opinions. It happened here, however, as appears to us, that his Lordship was entirely in the right; the bill was a crude and imperfect scheme, prepared without due consideration of the various bearings of so nice a question, and consulting partial or present expediency at the expense of permanent and general utility; having withal

no dependence on any of those magnitudes which Nature herself has taken pains to secure against vicissitude and change.

The attention of the men of science about London was now naturally turned to the experiments by which the length of the pendulum may be accurately determined. The nature of the apparatus best fitted for that object is by no means obvious. The French Academicians, just referred to, had indeed employed a very simple one, which seems capable of great exactness. It consisted of a ball of platina suspended by a fine wire, and vibrating about a knife edge, which served as its axis. The vibrations counted by the person who conducted the experiment, were compared with those of a clock, placed close by, and regulated according to mean solar time. After a sufficient number of such comparisons, the length of the pendulum from the knife edge to the centre of oscillation of the ball, was partly measured and partly calculated; and thus the quantity required was determined.

Though this method is susceptible of great accuracy, and, in the hands of such men as BORDA and CASSINI, could not fail to lead to a satisfactory conclusion, yet it is right to have so important an element in our researches as the length of the pendulum, or the intensity of gravitation, ascertained by experiments made with different instruments; made according to different methods, and particularly not so dependent on the mathematical theory of the centre of oscillation as to be without the possibility of verification by experiment. It must not be supposed, that in laying down this last condition, we mean any thing so absurd, as to question the force of mathematical demonstration. A conclusion purely mathematical, when applied to an object that is also purely mathematical, one that partakes of the same immaterial and impassible nature with itself, is above receiving additional evidence from any source whatever, and despises alike all attempts to increase or diminish its authority. But the same is not exactly the case when the conclusion is applied to a material body; it then partakes of the imperfection of the subject; and thus, in a sphere even of gold or platina, the actual centre of oscillation may not coincide to the ten thousandth part of an inch, with the point which the calculus has determined. In such instances the verification by experiment, if it cannot be called necessary, is at least highly satisfactory.

Among the Mathematicians who endeavoured to resolve the problem on a principle of this kind, the author of the paper which is the subject of this article, came soon to be particularly

distinguished. Captain KATER, to the profession of a soldier, seems early to have united the pursuits of science, and to have acquired uncommon skill and accuracy both in philosophical experiment, and astronomical observation. We understand that in India, when a very young man, he assisted Colonel LAMBTON in the trigonometrical survey of Hindostan, and was extremely useful in a very nice and important part of the work, the selection of the stations where the observations were to be made, and of the summits to be intersected, a matter which requires great judgment; one which, in a mountainous country, and under a vertical sun, must be full of difficulty and danger, and from which we have been sorry to understand that his health had materially suffered.

Captain KATER having returned to England, and resumed the pursuits of science, began to consider how the experiment of the pendulum might best be made in a way to admit of verification by a reverse experiment; and a cylindric rod of brass or of iron readily occurred to him as a body well adapted to that purpose. The impossibility, however, of finding a rod or bar of metal so homogeneous that its centre of oscillation could be determined merely from its dimensions, made him quickly despair of succeeding by such means. It happily occurred to him, in this uncertainty, that there was one property of the centre of oscillation by which its place might be made manifest, whatever were the irregularity in the figure, or the density of the vibrating body.

HUYGENS, the profound and original author of the Theory of the Pendulum, had demonstrated that the centres of suspension and oscillation are convertible with one another; or that, if in any pendulum the centre of oscillation be made the centre of suspension, the time of vibration will be in both cases the same. Hence, conversely, said Captain KATER, if the same pendulum with different points of suspension can be made to vibrate in the same time, the one of these points must be the centre of oscillation when the other is the centre of suspension; and thus their distance, or the true length of the pendulum is found. It is curious to remark, that a proposition, so well known, and affording so direct a solution of the difficulty in which experimenters on this subject had always found themselves involved, was never before, at least in as much as we have been able to discover, applied to a purpose for which, now that the secret is known, it seems so excellently and so plainly adapted. But it is one of the prerogatives of true genius, to find the highest value in things which ordinary men are trampling under their feet,

To reduce the principle just mentioned into a tangible form, some further contrivance was still necessary. We copy the author's description of his convertible pendulum.

' The Pendulum is formed of a bar of plate brass, one inch and a half wide, and one-eighth of an inch thick. Through this bar two triangular holes are made, at the distance of 39.4 inches from each other, to admit the knife edges that are to serve for the axes of suspension in the two opposite positions of the pendulum. Four strong knees of hammered brass, of the same width with the bar, six inches long, and three quarters of an inch thick, are firmly screwed by pairs to each end of the bar; so that when the knife edges are passed through the triangular apertures, their backs may bear steadily against the perfectly plane surface of the brass knees, which are formed as nearly as possible at right angles to the bar. The bar is cut of such a length that its ends fall short of the extremities of the knee-pieces about two inches.

' Two slips of deal, 17 inches long, are inserted at either end, in the spaces thus left between the knee-pieces unoccupied by the bar, and are firmly secured by screws. These slips of deal are only half the width of the bar; they are stained black, and a small whalebone point inserted at each end indicates the extent of the arc of vibration.

' A cylindrical weight of brass, three inches and a half in diameter, and weighing about two pounds seven ounces, has a rectangular opening in the direction of its diameter, to admit the knee-pieces of one end of the pendulum. This weight, being passed on the pendulum, is so firmly screwed in its place as to render any change impossible.

This weight, it must be observed, is not between the knife edges, but is very near to one of them.

' A second weight, of about seven ounces and a half, is made to slide on the bar, near the knife edges, at the opposite end; and it may be fixed at any point on the bar by two screws, with which it is furnished. A third weight, or slider, of only four ounces, is moveable along the bar, and is capable of nice adjustment, by means of a screw and a clasp. It is intended to move near the centre of the bar, and has an opening, through which may be seen divisions of twentieths of an inch engraved on the bar.'

It is by means of this moveable weight that the direction of the vibrations in the two opposite positions of the pendulum are adjusted to one another; after which it is secured immovably in its place.

The knife edges, or prisms, which make so important a part of this apparatus, and are to serve alternately as the axes of motion, are made of the steel prepared in India, and known by the name of *wootz*. The two planes which form the edge of each prism are inclined to one another nearly at an angle

of 120 degrees. Every precaution was used to render the edges true, or straight, and to give the hardest temper to the steel; and a long series of experiments proves fully that they have been successful. Every precaution was also taken to give stability to the axes of suspension, when the experiments were made: But for the details of these, we find it necessary to refer to the paper itself.

We come now to the very ingenious method which Captain KATER adopted for determining the number of vibrations made by his pendulum in twenty-four hours. It is no doubt sufficiently understood, from what has been already said, that the pendulum was not to be applied to a clock, nor to receive its motion from any thing but its own weight. When experiments of this kind were attempted, it was for a long time supposed that the pendulum might safely be permitted to receive the continuance of its motion from machinery; and that, as it was then in no danger of coming to rest, the results were more to be depended on. This conclusion, however, proceeded on a great mistake as to the part which the machinery of the clock performs on such occasions. That machinery is hardly ever, we believe, so nicely adjusted as accurately to restore to the pendulum the motion it loses in each vibration, (from friction about the centre, and from the resistance of the air), without either allowing any defect, or producing any excess. A clock, in general, accelerates the natural motion of the pendulum, and forces it to vibrate faster than it would do if impelled only by its own gravity. In experiments, therefore, where the relation of the length of the pendulum to the time of vibration is to be determined, the clock can only be used to measure out a given portion of time, or to assist in numbering the vibrations.

The manner in which this last can be done, is not so obvious as may be imagined. The mere counting of the vibrations one by one, and marking the number at stated intervals of time, would be a very inconvenient and imperfect way of going to work. As the experiment must be long continued, and frequently resumed, the *tedium* and irksomeness of counting the vibrations would become great, and, like every labour that is tedious and irksome, must be in danger of being inaccurately performed, more especially by *mathematicians*, the persons into whose hands the operation is most likely to fall. Even if no error were committed, there would still be an insecurity which nothing could remove. It is, indeed, the business of every experimenter to throw as great a share of the responsibility as he can on his apparatus, or on the physical agents he employs; and as little as possible on himself and his *living* assistants.

Different means have accordingly been used for avoiding the above inconveniences; and of those that we are acquainted with, we think Captain KATER's is the best, the least tedious, and the most infallible.

BOSCOVICH, in the 5th volume of his *Opera Opt. et Astr.* gives an account of a method which he had employed, and which he ascribes to MAIRAN.

A clock being well regulated, according to mean time, and having its case open, the experimental pendulum was placed right before it at a little distance, with its point of suspension firmly supported. The position of both was such, that, in their state of rest, the pendulums were seen by a person placed in front of them, coinciding with one another, and with a vertical line drawn on the clock-case behind the pendulum. That this coincidence might be more distinctly seen, when it happened to the moving bodies, it was viewed through a hole in a piece of paper fixed to the back of a chair on the opposite side of the room. The two pendulums having been put in motion, and not vibrating exactly in the same time, one would gain upon the other, and after a while they would be seen through the hole in the paper to coincide with another, and with the first line on the body of the clock. The instant of this coincidence must be noted. When they next coincide, the difference of the times of their vibrations must have amounted to one entire vibration. This is also to be noted; and thus the information of the clock will give the ratio of the time of its own vibrations to the time of those of the pendulum. This experiment must be often repeated, and a mean taken, that if there are any accidental errors, there may be a probability of their balancing one another.

The method of numbering the vibrations in the experiments of BORDA and CASSINI, was similar, in many respects, to the preceding, and may have been suggested by the same to which BOSCOVICH refers, that of their ingenious countryman MAIRAN.

The pendulum was placed, as in the former example, right before the clock with which it was to be compared, so that the wire by which the platina ball was suspended, bisected the ball of the clock pendulum when at rest; the middle point of this last being marked by the intersection of two white lines drawn on a black ground. The two pendulums were viewed through a small telescope, fixed on a stand on the opposite side of the room, and a screen was also placed before the pendulums, the edge of which just covered the wire of the platina pendulum, and therefore concealed behind it one half of each of the balls. The platina pendulum was nearly 12 feet long; so that it made about one vibration while the pendulum of the clock made two.

Suppose, now, that when the pendulums were put in motion, the wire disappeared behind the screen, before the cross; as the times of the vibrations are not supposed accurately as 2 to 1, it would happen that the interval between the disappearances would decrease, till at length both objects came to pass behind the screen at the same instant. The instant of this first coincidence was observed; the oscillations then began to disagree, afterwards to approach, till at length a second coincidence took place. In the interval between the coincidences, the clock had gained two seconds on the pendulum; so that the ratio of the times of the vibrations of the two pendulums was given. \*

Captain KATER's pendulum was compared with two clocks, the property of H. BROWNE Esq., in whose house the experiments were made. One of these, a time-piece by CUMMING, is of such excellence, that the greatest variation of its daily rate, from the 22d of February to the 31st of July, did not exceed three-tenths of a second. The clock, however, with which the immediate comparison was made, and in front of which the pendulum was placed, was one of ANNOLD's, also of excellent construction. The pendulum was securely suspended in front of this last, and close to it, so that it appeared to pass over the centre of the dial-plate, with its extremity reaching a little below the ball of the pendulum. A circular white disk was painted on a piece of black paper, which was attached to the ball of the pendulum clock, and was of such a size, that, when all was at rest, it was just hid from an observer on the opposite side of the room, by one of the slips of deal which form the extremities of the brass pendulum. On the opposite side of the room was fixed a wooden stand, as high as the ball of the pendulum of the clock, serving to support a small telescope, magnifying about four times. A diaphragm in the focus was so adjusted as exactly to take in the white disk, and the diameter of the slip of deal which covered it.

Supposing now both pendulums set in motion, the brass pendulum a little preceding the clock, the slip of deal will first pass through the field of view at each vibration, and will be followed by the white disk. But the brass pendulum being rather the longer, the pendulum of the clock will gain upon it; the white disk will gradually approach the slip of deal, and at length, at a certain vibration, will be wholly concealed by it. The instant of this total disappearance must be noted. The pendulums will now appear to separate; and, after a certain time, will again approach each other, when the same phenomenon will take place. The interval between the two coincidences



will give the number of vibrations made by the pendulum of the clock; the number of vibrations of the brass pendulum is greater by two.'

Thus was determined the number of vibrations made by the brass pendulum in a given interval of time; and so, by proportion, the number for a whole day. The interval between the two nearest coincidences was about  $132\frac{1}{2}$ " ; and four of these, that is, five successive coincidences, gave an interval of 530" or 8 minutes 50 seconds; after which, the arc described by the brass pendulum became too small. The pendulum was then stopped, and put in motion anew as oft as it was judged proper to repeat the observations.

Being now in possession of the means of determining, with great accuracy, the number of vibrations performed by his pendulum in a given time, Captain KATER proceeded, by reversing it, to make the vibrations equal in its two opposite positions. The sliding weight mentioned above was used for producing this equality; which, after a series of most accurate and careful experiments, was brought about with a degree of precision that could hardly have been anticipated. By the mean of 12 sets of experiments, each consisting of a great number of individual trials, with the end of the pendulum which we shall call A, uppermost, the number of vibrations in twenty-four hours was 86058.71; and, with the same end, A lowest, the mean of as many others gave 86058.72, differing from the former only by a hundredth part of a vibration. The greatest difference was .43, or less than a half. Such exactness, we believe, has never been exceeded; and would hardly be thought possible, if the data from which so satisfactory a result was deduced were not given in full detail in the paper before us.

Thus, for the first time, after having been an occasional object of research for more than 150 years, has the centre of oscillation of a compound pendulum been found by experiment alone, according to a method also of universal application, and admitting of mathematical precision. The ingenious author has therefore the honour of giving the first solution of a problem, extremely curious and interesting in itself, independently of its immediate connexion with one of the greatest and most important questions in the natural history of the Earth.

The next thing to be done, was to measure the length of the pendulum, or the distance between the knife edges, which had alternately served as the centres of suspension and oscillation, and from thence to deduce the length of the pendulum vibrating seconds in the latitude of London, which, at the spot (Mr BROWNE's house in Portland Place) where the observations

were made, is  $51^{\circ} 31' 8''.4$ . It is sufficient here to state, that no expedient has been neglected that practical or theoretical science is at present in possession of, for giving precision to this measurement, and that it was in all respects such as to correspond to the accuracy of which we have just seen so striking an example. Including the effects of temperature, of the buoyancy of the atmosphere, of the shortening of the arcs of vibration from the beginning to the end of each trial, and reducing the actual vibrations to those in arcs infinitely small, the length of the seconds pendulum from a mean of the 12 sets of experiments above mentioned, comes out 39.13829 inches, or 39.1386, reducing it to the level of the sea.\* The greatest difference between this result and any one of the 12 of which it is a mean, is .00028 of an inch; that is, less than three of the ten thousandths parts. The mean difference among these results, adding the positive and negative together, as if they had all one sign, or were all on the same side, is little more than one ten thousandth of an inch; and as the above is obviously a supposition more unfavourable than ought to be made, we think the probability is very great that the preceding result does not err so much as a unite in the last decimal place, or in that which denotes ten thousandths of an inch.

- The determination given above is considerably different from that which had been received on the authority of the older experiments. The length given to the seconds pendulum, in the bill for the equalization of weights and measures, is 39.13047,

\* The scale on which this pendulum is measured, is Sir GEORGE SHUCKBURGH's, the work of TROUGHTON, and of the highest authority. It is described by Sir George in the Phil. Trans. for 1798. Gen. ROY's scale, which is very important, as being that from which are derived all the measurements in the trigonometric survey, was compared with the preceding by Captain KATER. So also was the yard on what is called the parliamentary standard, which was laid off by BIRD, but it would seem not so carefully as might have been expected. The scales in the order in which they are now named, appear from these measures to be as the numbers 1; .99963464; 1.00000444.

In another communication from Captain KATER, in the same volume of the Phil. Trans. the length of the French metre is compared with the yard on Sir G. SHUCKBURGH's scale. He found the metre as marked by two very fine lines on a bar of platina = 39.37076 inches on his scale; as marked by the ends of a metal rod in the usual way, the metre = 39.37081. Supposing the two of equal authority, the mean length of the metre is 39.37074 inches. The temp. of the scale  $62^{\circ}$  of Fahr.

differing from that just assigned by .00813; a considerable quantity, in a matter where it appears that a ten thousandth of an inch is a distinguishable magnitude.

To the paper which ends with the *measures* just given, is added, in an Appendix, a letter from Dr THOMAS YOUNG, containing a demonstration of a very remarkable property of the pendulum recently discovered by M. LAPLACE. The property is, that if the supports of a pendulum, inverted as above described, be two cylindric surfaces, the length of the pendulum is truly measured by the distance of those surfaces. This applies immediately to the experiments we have been considering; because the knife edges, supposing them somewhat blunted, may be regarded as cylindric surfaces of very great curvature, or of very small diameter; and in this way, as Dr YOUNG very justly remarks, is removed the only doubt that can reasonably be entertained of the extreme accuracy of the conclusions. The theory of experiments made with the inverted pendulum, is therefore much indebted to the calculus of the profound mathematician above named. We have not seen his analysis; but a demonstration is sketched by Dr YOUNG, that seems sufficiently concise and simple, considering the recondite nature of the truth to be demonstrated.

Captain KATER's paper is dated in July 1817, the experiments described in it having been made previously to that time. The same apparatus that was thus perfected has been employed since, for the purpose of ascertaining the length of the seconds pendulum in different latitudes, with a view to the questions about the figure of the earth. That the precise object of the experiments may be the better understood, it may be proper to go back to the summer 1816.

After the bill for the equalization of *weights* and *measures* was thrown out, the attention of those who promoted the scheme of equalization, was naturally turned to the determination of the lengths of the pendulum; so that one of the good effects arising from the disappointment of the premature plan of equalization, was probably that of directing the ingenuity of the author of this paper to a subject in which it has been so successfully exerted. This other good effect also resulted from it. The French academicians were known to have directed a great deal of attention to this subject; the experiments of BORDA and CASSINI, so often mentioned, were the most accurate that had yet been made; and the speculations of LAPLACE had deduced, from a collection of the best experiments that he could find, some very important conclusions concerning the figure of the Earth. On this subject, however, more information was still to be

expected, when experiments of equal accuracy with those made at Paris should be repeated in different latitudes. It would then be seen, whether the lengths of the pendulum agreed in giving the same figure to the Earth with the measures of degrees of the meridian, and, if they did not, in what respects they differed. This was the more desirable, that some inconsistencies had been found in the information derived from the last of these sources, and that there was reason to think that the same causes of inconsistency might not affect the experiments made with the pendulum. The pendulum measures the intensity of gravity; but its vibrations are little affected by the direction of that force. The measures of degrees, on the other hand, are extremely sensible to whatever affects the direction of gravity, but not much to what only changes its intensity. Hence, each of these methods of inquiring into the figure of the earth contains a remedy for the imperfections of the other; each by itself is incomplete; and both, of course, ought to be employed.

It has been imagined, that the intensity of gravity suffers less alteration from the action of local causes, than the direction does; and that, on that account, the conclusions deduced from the pendulum are more likely to be free from inconsistency than those that depend on the measurement of degrees. But it must not be supposed that, with the pendulum carried to its present state of sensibility and precision, the results will be free from inconsistency, or beyond the influence of the local irregularities that may exist immediately under the surface of the Earth. Were the pendulum the same inaccurate instrument that it was a few years ago, it might not feel the influence of such causes as only increase or diminish the intensity of gravity by a very small part of the whole. But, when the length of the pendulum can

be determined to the ten thousandth of an inch, or to  $\frac{1}{134959}$  of its whole length, the force of gravity is measured with the same precision, and one part out of 134959 is rendered sensible. Now, it seems to us probable, that the variation in the density of the strata immediately under the surface, may produce a change in the intensity of gravitation; much more considerable than one part in 134959; the pendulum will not fail to be affected by this irregularity, and to give information of it. The force with which *Schehallien* disturbed the plumb-line was about  $\frac{1}{34376}$  of gravity, or nearly four parts

in 134959. We think that, without any exaggerated suppositions, by the presence of an extensive stratum of gneiss, or of hornblende schistus, or of any great body of granite imme-

diately under the surface at one place, and of chalk, common sandstone or limestone at another, a difference in the intensity of gravity, even greater than the preceding, may be readily produced. The extreme sensibility to which the apparatus of the pendulum has been brought by Captain KATER, though it adds infinitely to the value of the instrument, will not, probably, add to the consistency of its reports. On that very account, however, those reports will afford more important information concerning the constitution of the Globe; and the manner of extracting from them the most probable average result is also sufficiently understood.

We venture to throw out these conjectures before the new results have been communicated, (except those of Paris and London); and if we are wrong, we have the satisfaction to know, that our error will be soon corrected.

As the Academy of Sciences was already engaged in experiments of the same kind with those which were to be undertaken under the direction of the Royal Society of London, it was resolved by the latter, on the motion, we believe, of the PRESIDENT, to invite the former to authorize some of its members to join in the experimental and astronomical researches of which England was about to become the theatre. The invitation was accepted; the Governments of both countries signified their acquiescence, and offered their support; and the friends of science everywhere rejoiced in this mark of cordiality exchanged between two societies which the misfortunes of Europe had so long placed at a distance from one another. In the beginning of the summer 1817, M. BIOT arrived in England, furnished with an apparatus for determining the length of the pendulum, the same, we believe nearly, that was used by BORDA and CASSINI. It was agreed that observations on the length of the pendulum should be made at London, at Edinburgh, and at the northern extremity of the greatest arc of the meridian that was to be determined by the trigonometrical survey of Britain, which, as was already known, must terminate in Shetland, between the small islands of Unst and Balta. M. BIOT, accompanied by Col. MUDGE, his son Captain MUDGE, and Dr OLYNTHUS GREGORY, repaired to Edinburgh, and, having made observations at Leith Fort, embarked for Shetland. They were joined by Captain COLBY, who conducted the trigonometrical survey, and who, with the zenith sector, was about to observe the highest latitude to which his system of triangles would extend. Col. MUDGE was forced, by bad health, to return; M. BIOT and Dr GREGORY made their observations separately, but in the same small island; and the former continued till late in the season on the barren rock,

where he was almost left alone, surrounded by a stormy sea, and a dusky and inclement sky. The spirits of a man accustomed to the finer climates of the south, must have sunk in such a situation, had they not been supported by his love of science, and his zeal for promoting its interests. He has written an account of his visit to Great Britain, and particularly of his reception in Scotland and the Isles, drawn up in an excellent spirit, full of good temper, cheerfulness, and a disposition to be pleased; and abounding also in judicious remarks. The Shetland Isles seem particularly to have interested him; and the contrast between the aspects which the moral and physical world presented in that remote region, to have struck him forcibly. He was pleased with the kindness, hospitality, and intelligence of his hosts; and they, no doubt, were filled with respect for an illustrious stranger, who, from the centre of civilization, had penetrated into their distant isle, and was connecting, with the researches and the renown of Science, the obscure and sequestered corner in which Providence had fixed their habitation. He must have experienced feelings of high gratification, on considering that he had now assisted in defining both extremities of a line, extending from the most southerly of the Balearic to the most northerly of the Shetland Isles, the longest that the finger of Geometry had yet attempted to trace, or her rod to measure, on the surface of the earth;—a work that, in all ages, it will be the boast of the 19th century to have accomplished. The different aspects of nature, at the remote stations which he had successively occupied, would not fail to present themselves with all the force that contrast can bestow;—the bright sun, the cloudless skies of the south, the glowing tints and the fine colouring of the Mediterranean, compared with the misty isle on which he now stood, and the tempestuous ocean which was raging at his feet. If he turned to the moral world, the contrast was also great, but it was reversed; and he would, perhaps, think of the fierce barbarians before whom he or his companions had been forced to fly, when the lonely islander was opening his cottage to receive him, and defend him from the storm. He would not then fail to reflect, how much more powerful moral causes are, than physical, in determining the good or evil of the human character.

M. BIOT, on his return to London in the autumn, was joined by MM. ARAGO and HUMBOLDT, and, in conjunction with these illustrious associates, completed his experiments. The results have not yet, we believe, been given to the public; neither have those of Dr GREGORY. The scientific world waits impatiently for both.

During the present summer Capt. KATER has visited the same stations, as well as some others particularly connected with the trigonometrical survey, employing the apparatus above described for ascertaining the length of the pendulum. The result of observations made at six different points, from Unst in Shetland to Dunnose in the Isle of Wight, may be expected in the course of the ensuing winter. A great advantage that results from the manner in which his experiments are made, is the comparative shortness of the time that they take up. After the rate of the clock has been ascertained, the observations of the pendulum may be finished in three or four days, and the number of its vibrations in twenty-four hours, determined within a fraction of a second. Thence the length of the seconds pendulum is easily deduced, being, to that of the invariable pendulum used in the experiment, and of which the length is already accurately known, as the square of the number of vibrations performed by this last in twenty-four hours, to the square of 86400, the number of seconds in the same time. When the experiments are conducted in the way followed by the French astronomers, the length of the pendulum must be measured anew at every station. We cannot help thinking, that the frequent repetition of an operation, which it is always difficult to perform with accuracy, ought as much as possible to be avoided.

While we are concluding this article, we learn, with great satisfaction, the further progress of other operations connected with those of which we have been giving an account. Captain COLBY, after finishing his campaign among the Scottish mountains, is at this moment on his way to Dunkirk, for the purpose, as we suppose, of joining the French mathematicians, in order to examine, over again, the junction of the English and French triangles, and to determine the latitude of the extreme point of the meridian of Paris with the zenith sector—the same excellent instrument that has been used for all the celestial observations in the British survey. As this will involve a comparison between that sector and RAMSDEN'S great theodolite on the one hand, and the repeating circle on the other, it will be an experiment of great interest to astronomers; and, we believe, the conduct of it could not be in better hands than those into which it is about to be committed. Orders, we understand, have been given by LORD LIVERPOOL for preparing every thing that may be required along the coast of Britain. The liberality and steadiness with which Administration has supported the trigonometrical survey from its commencement, is deserving of the greatest praise, and is a strong claim to the gratitude of the Scientific World.

ART. VII. *Mémoires pour Servir à l'Histoire des Evénemens de la Fin du Dix-Huitième Siècle.* Par l'ÉVÊQUE M. L'ABBÉ GEORDEL. 4 vol. 8vo. Paris, 1817.

THE Abbé Georgel was born at Bruyères in the year 1731, and educated by the Jesuits. For what particular species of immorality he made himself remarkable, and in what method of confounding truth he was the most celebrated, does not appear;—but he was a favourite pupil in their academies of deceit at Dijon and Strasburgh; and great hopes were entertained of his future fraud and rising lubricity. In 1762 the patience of Europe could hold out no longer; and the Jesuits were abolished: But Jesuits always fall on their legs; and the Abbé Georgel became the protégé of Prince Lewis Rohan, afterwards the famous, or infamous, Cardinal de Rohan. This prince he seems to have served with zeal and fidelity; and to have enjoyed, under his patronage, some good snug appointments.

The first service which he appears to have rendered to the Cardinal, was in defending his right to walk out of the room before the Dukes and Peers of France;—a right highly valued by the house of Rohan, long enjoyed by them, and now sharply contested by the post-sequent Peers. He studied this weighty matter so profoundly, and reasoned it with so much heraldic acuteness, that the enemies of the Rohans were discomfited by a writ of post-secution; and those who had gone out of rooms first for so many centuries, continued to do so, till the French Revolution massacred the subjects, and abolished the sciences of heraldry and etiquette.

When Louis the Fifteenth took Madame du Barry from the public stews, and made her the despotic sovereign of thirty millions of people, the Duke de Choiseul was the prime minister of the kingdom. In the *Strumpetocracy* of France, he had risen to this post by the most servile attention to Madame de Pompadour, the predecessor of Madame du Barry. Proud of his situation, and elated with his good fortune, he began to imagine that he could act independently of his Paphian principal, and make the present mistress as dependent upon him as he had been upon the voluptuous politician who came before her. But in the ancient regime of France, every thing depended upon the skin, eyes, and teeth of particular women. *Fronti fides, crede colori*, was the motto—the Duke of Choiseul was banished—and in the Duke d'Aiguillon, a First Lord of the Treasury was found, better acquainted with the legitimate means of go-



verning the French people. Under his administration, the Cardinal de Rohan was sent ambassador to Vienna—and with him went the Abbé Georgel as Secretary to the Embassy. He seems to have passed his time at Vienna agreeably to himself, and usefully to his country. His reception by Maria Theresa was flattering and cordial. Madame de Geoffrin, the friend and correspondent of most of the crowned heads in Europe, had written in his favour to the Empress, the Prime Minister, the Prince de Kaunitz, and other distinguished persons of that Court. The account of his residence at Vienna is among the most agreeable parts of the book; and from that part of his work we shall select in their proper place, some interesting anecdotes. We next find the Abbé engaged in a lawsuit with the Marechal de Broglie, which, considering the inequality of their conditions, would of course have ended in the ruin of the Ecclesiastic—but the Ecclesiastic (an Ex-Jesuit) was known to be protected by the prime minister Monsieur de Maurepas. *Detur potentiori* was the maxim of French justice; and the Abbé gained a verdict against the Marshall for sixteen shillings and costs. In the celebrated story of the diamond necklace, the Abbé suffered with his patron, the Cardinal; and was banished to his native city of Bruyere—and utterly deserted by his Excellency, whose cause he had defended with the most heroic zeal. A short embassy to Russia in favour of the Knights of Malta, and a long expatriation in Switzerland, during the French revolution, terminate the History of the Abbé Georgel.

The circumstance of all others which seems to have produced the greatest effect upon the mind of the Abbé, is the destruction of the Jesuits. He is perpetually recurring to it, and seems inclined to attribute to that cause the greater part of the revolutionary evils with which Europe was afterwards afflicted.

‘ N'est-ce pas, ’ says the Abbé, ‘ de cette fâcheuse époque que nous devons dater l’altération et la corruption des principes qui ont fait éclore notre malheureuse révolution ? En effet, qu’est-il arrivé, quand on a eu sappé les fondemens de l’autel et du trône ? On a tellement désorganisé la France au moral et au physique, que de la nation la plus polie, la plus éclairée de l’univers, on en a fait un peuple d’athées, de scélérats et de tigres altérés de sang. ’ I. 70.

In the same spirit, the good ecclesiastic represents the Pope Clement XIV. as agitated by the most lively remorse for having consented to the destruction of the Jesuits.

‘ A peine Clément XIV. eut-il comblé les vœux du roi d’Espagne, par la ruine des jésuites, que sa vie ne fut plus qu’un tissu d’inquiétudes et de remords : les honneurs et la suprématie du pontificat devenant pour lui une source d’amertume ; pouvoit-il se dissimuler que

sa tiare étoit le prix d'un pacte criminel qui frappoit son élection d'un vice radical ? Il voyoit que la suppression des jésuites assuroit le triomphe de l'impiété, de l'hérésie et du libertinage. Ces pensées, sans cesse renaissantes, portoient le trouble dans son ame ; elles échauffoient son imagination : souvent, lorsqu'il se croyoit seul, on l'a entendu s'écrier : "*Compulsus feci ! compulsus feci ! la violence !*" "oui, la violence m'a arraché ce bref fatal qui me tourmente et me déchire !" Absorbé nuit et jour dans ces idées qui empoisonnoient tous ses momens, il devint sombre et mélancolique ; il ne trouvoit, a dit depuis un de ses plus intimes confidens, il ne trouvoit de légitif, pour calmer les agitations de sa conscience, que lorsqu'il prenoit la résolution de réparer, autant que possible, le tort qu'il avoit fait à la chrétienté. En attendant ce moment favorable, il se détermina à laisser entre les mains de son confesseur une attestation de son repentir, et une rétractation formelle et motivée du bref qu'il avoue avoir été le produit de la violence. Cette tardive rétractation n'est plus un mystère ; elle est datée du 29 juin, jour de la fête de Saint-Pierre, 1774 ; elle est écrite en latin, et rapportée tout au long dans une histoire des jésuites, écrite en langue allemande par Pierre-Philippe Wolff, imprimée à Zurich, en 1791, 3<sup>e</sup> partie, pag. 296 et suivantes.' I. 147-8.

Clement XIV., it is well known, employed four years in discussing the question of the Jesuits ; and, after calling to his aid the best understandings he could collect, deliberately acquiesced in their suppression. How this wears the air of compulsion, or what uneasiness so enlightened a man as Ganganelli could feel in putting down such a repository of consecrated swindlers, we are at a loss to understand. That a paper would be found after his death, indicating his deep repentance, was a matter of course to all who were acquainted with the Jesuits. One great cause of their destruction, indeed, was the good fortune they had so long enjoyed in finding, on all occasions, such opportune and decisive documents.

In page 83, vol. I., there is a curious anecdote of the Duke de Choiseul, and the particular circumstance which rendered him so eager in the suppression of this celebrated order.

' Cette grande animosité devoit avoir une cause ; on ne peut haïr avec cet acharnement et cette persévérance, que quand une offense personnelle a, pour ainsi dire, imbibé le cœur du fiel de la vengeance. Le duc de Choiseul justifioit ses poursuites en racontant une anecdote qu'il disoit personnelle. " J'étois, disoit-il, ambassadeur à Rome. Dans un entretien que j'eus avec le général des jésuites, quel fut mon étonnement, lorsque j'appris de lui la manière dont je m'étois expliqué sur sa société dans une conversation que j'avois eue à Paris ! Nous savons tout, m'ajouta-t-il ; nous connoissons parfaitement nos amis et nos ennemis.

et nous avons de puissans moyens pour découvrir ce qu'il nous est intéressant de savoir. Je me suis convaincu depuis que le général des jésuites, au moyen du vœu secret qui lie toutes les volontés de ses religieux à la sienne, est instruit de tout ce qui se passe, et dans les cabinets des princes, et dans l'intérieur des familles; j'ai jugé dès lors qu'une société de cette trempe étoit, dans un Etat, un mal dangereux qu'il falloit se hâter d'extirper."

The worthy Abbé thinks this statement must be exaggerated; but we have no doubt of its truth; and cannot conceive a stronger reason for aiming at the destruction of any set of men, than such an horrid system of espionage. A man kills a spider in his bedroom, not from cruelty, but because it has no business there: He chooses to live and sleep unmolested by insects; and he has a right to do so: And can there be conceived (whether it spring from Jesuits or politicians) a more detestable system than the corruption of servants, the simulation of friendship, the encouragement of daily and hourly deceit—the total destruction of all that is sweet and secure in domestic life? What does home mean, if it does not mean secrecy and inviolability? What is life good for, if there is not somewhere an enclosure of four walls (mud or marble), where neither Lord Sidmouth, nor the head of the Jesuits at Rome, shall know what we do or what we say? And, if the Duke de Choiseul found that his cook, and his butler, and his steward, were in the pay of the Jesuits,—that he could not sprawl in his easy-chair, and vent his bile at his ease against these consecrated reptiles, without having his life and his words reported at Rome,—he acted like a good and wise statesman in banishing such a nuisance from civil life. Our author, however, does not take leave of the Jesuiticide Duke, before he has informed us that he poisoned the Dauphin of France; and, for this piece of absurdity, he quotes the Emperor Joseph.

' Effectivement à dater de cette époque, Mgr. le Dauphin, calomnié sans cesse près de son père, perdit sa confiance; à dater de cette époque, une maladie lente, dont il connut la cause, le conduisit insensiblement au tombeau. Les gens de l'art y découvrirent les traces d'un poison lent, mais infaillible. Je ne veux ni réveiller ni accrédi- ter les soupçons qui en ont fait présumer l'auteur; mais j'ai ouï dire à l'empereur Joseph II, dans un entretien familier chez la princesse douairière d'Esterhazy qui m'honoroit de ses bontés, que de fortes présomptions s'élevoient contre le duc de Choiseul. Quoi qu'il en soit, à dater de cette époque, ce ministre, devenu maître des délibérations des parlemens, obtint d'eux les arrêts qui opérèrent successivement la destruction de la société en France. I. 87.

We question very much whether the Jesuits could have destroyed their own enemies in a more perfect manner than they were put down in Spain by the Count d'Aranda.

‘ Le cabinet secret de sa majesté catholique fut l’atelier où le comte d’Aranda, seul avec le roi, forgera la foudre qui devoit écraser à la fois tous les jésuites espagnols répandus dans les deux mondes. Tous les ordres à envoyer dans les quatre parties du globe furent minutés, transcrits et expédiés par le seul comte d’Aranda. Ces ordres, signés *Yo el rey*, par le roi, et contre-signés par le président du conseil de Castille, étoient si précis, si absolus, qu’il y avoit peine de mort contre quiconque oseroit, ou les interpréter, ou en retarder l’exécution. Chaque paquet, adressé aux gouverneurs généraux des provinces et aux alcades des villes où il y avoit des jésuites, étoit muni de trois sceaux, celui du roi, celui du conseil suprême de Castille et celui du président de ce tribunal ; ce qui caractérise une commission secrète de la plus haute importance. Sur la seconde enveloppe, aussi cachetée des trois sceaux, on lisoit ces mots : “ Sous peine de mort, vous n’ouvrirez ce paquet que le 2 avril 1767, au jour tombant.” Voici quel étoit le contenu de cet ordre foudroyant : “ Je vous revêts de toute mon autorité et de toute ma puissance royale pour, sur-le-champ, sans représentations et sans délai, vous transporter, avec main-forte, à la maison ou aux maisons des jésuites ; vous ferez saisir tous les individus religieux, et vous les ferez transporter comme prisonniers à *tel port*, dans les vingt-quatre heures : là ils seront embarqués sur les vaisseaux à ce destinés. Au moment même de cette exécution, vous ferez apposer les scellés sur les archives de la maison et les papiers des individus, sans permettre à aucun particulier d’emporter avec soi autre chose que ses livres de prières et le linge de corps strictement nécessaire pour la traversée. Si après l’embarquement il existoit encore un seul jésuite, même malade, fût-il moribond, dans votre département, vous serez puni de mort.”

‘ D’après ces ordres, au jour fixé, à l’heure désignée, la foudre éclata en même temps en Espagne, sur les côtes de Barbarie et au midi de l’Afrique, en Asie, en Amérique, et dans toutes les îles de la monarchie espagnole. Le secret de cette explosion fut si bien gardé, que non-seulement aucun jésuite, mais même aucun ministre, aucun magistrat ne s’en doutoit avant le jour assigné dans toutes les contrées où la couronne d’Espagne avoit des établissemens de la société. Tous les vaisseaux de transport se trouvèrent prêts dans les différens ports indiqués : leurs ordres étoient uniformes. “ Commandement suprême de la part du roi, de se rendre en droiture dans la Méditerranée, pour déposer les prisonniers embarqués sur les côtes de l’Etat ecclésiastique, sans se permettre, sous peine de mort, sous aucun prétexte, d’en déposer aucun nulle part dans la traversée, avec ordre de garder partout le plus profond secret jusqu’au débarquement.” I. 102-104.

We have always considered, that some of the most powerful causes which produced the French Revolution, were to be found in the horrible corruptions of the court of the Regent, and of that of Louis the XVth. Mankind suffer long, but not for ever: They are slow to quit the common and necessary business of life for experiments in politics: But tyranny, long indulged, becomes so insatiable, and profligacy so shameless, that nations are compelled to interfere, and take their affairs into their own labour-worn hands. When a government is attacked, the first question which every man puts to himself, is, *Is it worth preserving?* Does it secure to me such a portion of happiness, that it is worth my while to risk my life and fortune for its preservation? Nor is it sufficient only that a government is not unjust nor injurious directly to me. Man is a creature of feeling and imagination. I must not see those principles violated in any instance which are essential to the general good. If my affections are to be conciliated towards that government under which I live, I must feel a confidence in the general principles upon which that government proceeds—not only feel from it present, but hope from it future happiness. I cannot be contented with present serenity, if I see the elements of storm and mischief in the near horizon. However innocent, too, a government which is intended to endure may be, it must not be *contemptible*;—it must not be a government of mistresses, valets, and favourites;—such abuses excite equally the indignation of the base who submit, and of the virtuous who keep aloof;—they are sure to be remembered in the moment of adversity, and are a common cause of disaffection, weakness, and political ruin. Is it possible for any man of moderate understanding to study the reign of Louis XV, and not perceive, that, in every action of his life, he was preparing the ruin of the French monarchy? Could the citizens of Paris know that their daughters were entrapped away at the age of 13 or 14, and kept by the King in his infamous *Parc aux Cerfs*, without feeling, in the bitterest manner, the evils of despotism, and cherishing the strongest disposition to political change? In the same manner, the unbounded power of Madame de Pompadour and Madame du Barry destroyed, in the minds of the French, their long cherished attachment to Kings, and excited them to the wise and manly enterprise of limiting their power. The folly of the execution has nothing to do with the wisdom of the attempt.

In order to give our readers some idea of the profligacy of Louis XV's reign, we shall extract from the Abbé Georgel some account of the origin of Madame du Barry.

‘ Les faiblesses et les besoins du roi augmentoient avec ses coupables habitudes ; une cabale, née dans les foyers de l'intrigue, saisit habilement cette circonstance pour s'emparer de la volonté du monarque par des voies dignes de l'immoralité de ses auteurs ; ces hommes pervers et corrompus avoient déterré, dans les égouts de la volupté, une de ces filles prostituées que sa taille, sa fraîcheur, sa physionomie radieuse, son air de vierge, l'ensemble de ses charmes et surtout ses talens pour le plaisir, firent juger propre à jouer le rôle de maîtresse favorite. Ils ne doutèrent pas que Louis XV, une fois subjugué, ne se déterminât à lui sacrifier un ministre dont elle ne cesseroit de lui demander l'éloignement. Le duc d'Aiguillon, ennemi personnel du duc de Choiseul, étoit à la tête de cette cabale ; le Bel, premier valet de chambre du roi et le confident de ses plaisirs, en fut le principal agent ; enfin le comte du Barry, homme perdu d'honneur, de dettes et de débauches, fut chargé du fil de l'intrigue ; il eut soin de parer l'idole devant laquelle on vouloit faire courber la puissance du monarque.

‘ Toutes les batteries de cette odieuse intrigue une fois dressées, le valet de chambre le Bel n'eut pas de peine à faire naître au roi le désir de voir la plus ravissante personne qu'il eût, disoit-il, encore vue. La Lange, ainsi se nommoit la fameuse comtesse du Barry, successivement entretenue par Radix de Sainte-Foy, le comte d'Archambal et le comte du Barry, n'eut pas plutôt été produite, que Louis XV en devint éperduement amoureux. Cette courtisane, bien dressée par ses introducteurs, ne fit, par ses refus enfantins, qu'irriter la passion du roi. Le monarque laissa à le Bel le maître des arrangemens ; mais, à tout prix, disoit-il, il lui falloit cette délicieuse créature. Les arrangemens furent bientôt faits : le roué du Barry (on nommoit ainsi le comte à Versailles) maria la Lange avec son frère qu'on fit voyager aussitôt après la célébration. La jeune comtesse du Barry passa ensuite dans les bras de Louis XV, qui, dans la ferveur de son enthousiasme, lui fit donner un logement à la cour, la déclara maîtresse en titre, et lui en prodigua les avantages et les criminels honneurs. ’ L. 174-176.

The Duke of Choiseul, as we have before stated, considered himself powerful enough to set this new favourite at defiance. One scene, however, of dishevelled hair and imploring tears, was enough for his defeat—and would have sufficed as well for the greatest minister that ever lived.

‘ Le Roi voulant être tranquille dans son intérieur, et vivre en paix avec sa maîtresse, il signa sans hésiter la lettre de cachet apportée par le duc de la Vrillière, et que madame du Barry présenta elle-même. Le ministre disgracié n'avoit que deux heures pour sortir de Versailles. ’ I. 181.

After this great victory, the court of the Countess du Barry became numerous and brilliant—*unum bonum turpitudinis, unum*

*malum honestas.* The Chancellor of France, and the Ministers of War and Finance, regularly met to transact business with the King in the apartment of the mistress; and the Court, says the Abbé Georgel, soon witnessed the splendid fortune of those who preferred the advantages of favour to those of public opinion.

The *Parc aux Cerfs* was an abominable establishment in the Park at Versailles, under the management of *Le Bel*, the King's first valet de chambre. Into this infamous sink of wickedness were allured, by every nefarious art, girls of the tenderest age, to be debauched by *Louis le bien-aimé*. Their numbers amounted at times to more than an hundred, many of them purchased of their parents: Their children by the King were regularly provided for; and they themselves, when they became too old for the *father of his people*, were married off, with good fortunes, into the provinces. The whole thing seems to have been conducted with as much regularity, and in as business-like a manner as any department of the State. It is horrible such things should be—but right they should be known when they are, or when they have been—that men may see what those arbitrary monarchs often are upon whom their affections, their blood, and their wealth is lavished—and that they may learn, by such pictures, the dignity, and the necessity of being free.

Such was the morality of the Court during the reign of Louis XVth. The ideas which they entertained of civil Government and of the rights of Kings and subjects, are equally worthy of observation.

‘ C’est dans ces circonstances que le chancelier Maupeou envoya son fameux édit au parlement de Paris: en voici l’esprit et la substance.

‘ Au roi seul appartient le droit exclusif de faire des lois; il est, par son essence, le seul et suprême législateur de son royaume; les cours de parlement n’ont été créées que pour rendre, au nom du roi, la justice aux sujets de l’Etat; les rois n’ont confié l’enregistrement des lois aux cours souveraines de justice, que pour en conserver le dépôt, les publier et les faire connoître au peuple: et, néanmoins, le souverain pouvant être mal entouré ou mal conseillé, et donner en conséquence des lois qui pourroient être préjudiciables au trône et à la nation, a bien voulu permettre, et même il a invité les parlemens où se trouve nécessairement un grand foyer de lumières et beaucoup d’expérience, à faire, s’il y a lieu, avant l’enregistrement, des représentations et des observations motivées sur les inconvéniens qu’entraîneroit l’exécution de la loi présentée. Ces représentations faites, si le législateur persiste, il permet encore d’itératives remontrances; mais alors si le souverain ne croit pas devoir retirer sa loi, il ne reste plus aux parlemens que la voie de l’enregistrement et de l’obéissance

aux lettres de jussion : une résistance plus prolongée deviendrait désobéissance et encourrait la *forfaiture* ou privation de l'office. L'édit exigeoit en outre que les remontrances ne fussent rendues publiques, par la voie de l'impression, qu'après l'enregistrement : ce que le roi vouloit bien autoriser comme un monument du zèle du parlement pour l'intérêt de l'Etat.' I. 202—204.

' Une loi ' (says the Abbé) ' si *sage* et si *paternelle* fut rejetée par les chambres assemblées du parlement de Paris ! ' The wisdom and paternity of this law amount to this, that after the Parliament has said to the King three times, ' Pray don't rob and plunder your people, ' robbery and plunder then become legitimate. The Chancellor is to call out in taxing, as a clergyman does in marrying, ' *This is the third and last time of asking* ; ' and then the money must be paid. If a man neglects any opportunity of rebelling against such doctrines as these, he must be the weakest, or the most cowardly of human beings. Ought such governments to exist one moment beyond that in which they are caught in an attitude fit for their destruction ?

One of the most entertaining parts of the Abbé's book, is the narrative of his embassy at Vienna, and the portraits he draws of the principal characters of that Court. We shall give those of the Prince de Kaunitz, and the Emperor Joseph. After a panegyric upon the talents of Kaunitz for business, he gives the following description of his habits and private life.

' Les plus belles médailles ont toujours un revers. Ce grand homme avoit de grandes singularités et de grandes manies : il vouloit que pour lui le temps s'écoulât sans être obligé d'en mesurer les intervalles. Il n'avoit donc ni pendules ni montres ; ses fantaisies régloient sa journée : couché tous les jours à minuit, il se faisoit lire les gazettes pour s'endormir ; à son réveil il faisoit appeler ses premiers commis, et sans sortir de son lit, il écoutoit les dépêches et dictoit le sommaire des réponses à faire. Ce travail fini, il faisoit préparer une calèche pour aller à la promenade, ou des chevaux pour se rendre au manège ; il avoit la prétention d'exceller à manier un cheval. On alloit le voir manœuvrer, et cette curiosité le flattoit beaucoup ; ses promenades ou ses exercices étoient prolongés tant qu'il n'éprouvoit ni ennui ni satiété, et sans calculer le temps qu'il y employoit. A son retour commençoit la toilette dont la longueur et les minutieux détails forment l'ombre du portrait que nous avons tracé de l'homme d'Etat. Sa toilette terminée, il demandoit à dîner, souvent à quatre, cinq ou six heures du soir. La compagnie invitée jouoit au salon, incertaine du moment de se mettre à table. A son apparition, le jeu finissoit, et les convives, dans une attitude respectueuse, se rendoient avec lui à la salle à manger. Sa table étoit toujours très-bien servie, malgré son extrême sobriété ; il avoit ses mets à part, et tels qu'ils les croyoit convenir à son tempérament et à son estomac, lors même



qu'il alloit dîner chez les autres. Personne ne sortoit de sa table sans avoir reçu des marques particulières de son attention. Avant la fin du dîner, eût-il à ses côtés les femmes du plus haut rang, il étoit devant lui un petit miroir de poche, une boîte de cure-dents, et se nettoyoit la bouche et les dents. Une manie aussi contraire à la bienséance ne faisoit plus de sensation, on s'y étoit habitué. Le prince ne se gênoit pas davantage quand il avoit l'honneur de dîner chez l'impératrice à Schœnbrunn. Marie-Thérèse supportoit avec indulgence les petites d'un ministre qui lui avoit rendu et lui rendoit encore les services les plus essentiels. Plus d'une fois il a manqué à l'heure fixée du dîner de la souveraine qui l'attendoit, et ne lui faisoit pas de reproches lors de son arrivée tardive. Cette tolérance, portée aussi loin, avoit fait soupçonner des affections qui n'auroient pu s'allier avec la haute piété de l'impératrice et la sévérité de ses mœurs; mais cette calomnie, dénuée de vraisemblance, n'a eu que peu de partisans. Les personnes les mieux instruites et les plus clairvoyantes, n'ont vu, dans d'aussi grands égards, qu'un excès de bonté et de complaisance pour des singularités si puériles et tellement hors de toute mesure qu'elles ne pouvoient plus être considérées comme un manque de respect. I. 336—338.

Of Joseph the Second, whom he had good opportunities of studying, he remarks, that he was a despiser of literature, not the slave of mistresses or favourites—minute and exact in the regulation of his time. He hated his mother, but treated her with respect; complaining of her absurd conduct in many respects, and disliking, above all, those habits of espionage which she established in Vienna.

“ Dans l'ordre général des choses d'ici-bas, disoit-il, la royauté est un métier: dès que la Providence m'a créé et placé pour ce métier, elle doit m'avoir donné tout ce qui est nécessaire pour m'en bien acquitter. Il faut à un souverain des bras auxiliaires; mais sa tête seule, dépôt de l'intelligence qui a dû lui être donnée d'en haut, doit les employer et les diriger.” I. 922.

Trusting to this *tête seule, dépôt de l'intelligence qui a dû lui être donnée d'en haut*, he made war against the Turks; and to make his victories of the *tête seule* more sure, dismissed all his generals of any reputation, and commanded the army himself. His *tête seule* was the only thing he brought away from this campaign!—having lost baggage, artillery, and the greater part of his army. ‘Allez, mon cher Laudon (écrivit-il); allez réparer mes sottises, je vous donne carte blanche.’ His loss of the Low Countries, and the folly by which it was occasioned, is well remembered; and he had nearly lost Hungary in the same manner. There existed in Hungary an iron crown, about the size and value of an horse shoe, with which all the first kings of that

country had been crowned. The immense importance of this story relic to the male, female, lay, ecclesiastical, civil and military old women of Hungary, may easily be imagined; and this political toy the philosophical Emperor, a great despiser of prejudices and associations, transported to Vienna. To avert a civil war, and at the earnest intercession of his best and wisest friends, the royal carbonate of iron was restored to the afflicted Hungarians, who submitted, after this, with the usual cheerfulness, to the usual abuses of power.

An accident happened to the Abbé, during his residence at Vienna, of so very singular a nature, that we cannot avoid giving it to our readers.

‘ En rentrant un soir à l’hôtel, le suisse me remit un billet bien cacheté à mon adresse; je l’ouvre et je lis en lettres moulées. . . . . *Trouvez-vous ce soir entre onze heures et minuit à tel lieu sur le rempart; on vous y révélera des choses de la plus haute importance. . . . .* Un billet anonyme ainsi conçu avec toutes les formes de mystère, l’heure indue de ce rendez-vous, tout pouvoit paroître dangereux et suspect: mais je ne me connoissois point d’ennemis; et ne voulant pas avoir à me reprocher d’avoir manqué une occasion peut-être unique pour le bien du service du roi, je me décidai à me trouver au lieu désigné. Cependant je pris, à tout événement, des précautions de prudence en plaçant à une certaine distance, et sans pouvoir être vues, deux personnes sûres qui pourroient venir à mon secours à un cri convenu. Je trouvai au rendez-vous un homme en manteau et masqué. Il me remit des papiers en me disant à voix basse et contrefaite: . . . “ Vous m’avez inspiré de la confiance; je veux en conséquence concourir au succès de l’ambassade de M. le prince de Rohan: ces papiers vous diront les services essentiels que je puis vous rendre: si vous les agréez, revenez demain à la même heure, à tel autre endroit (il l’indique), et apportez-moi mille ducats.” Rentré à l’hôtel de France, je m’empressai d’examiner les papiers qui venoient de m’être remis; leur contenu me causa la plus agréable surprise. Je vis que nous avions le pouvoir de nous procurer deux fois la semaine toutes les découvertes du cabinet secret de Vienne, le mieux servi de l’Europe. Ce cabinet secret avoit, au dernier degré, l’art de déchiffrer en peu de temps les dépêches des ambassadeurs et des cours qui correspondoient avec sa cour. J’en eu la preuve par le déchiffrement de nos propres dépêches et de celles de notre cour, même celles qui étoient écrites avec le chiffre le plus compliqué et le plus récent; que ce même cabinet avoit trouvé le moyen de se procurer les dépêches de plusieurs cours de l’Europe, de leurs envoyés et de leurs agens, par l’infidélité et l’audace des directeurs et maîtres de postes des frontières soudoyés. A cet effet, on m’avoit remis des copies de dépêches du comte de Vergennes, notre ambassadeur à Stockholm, du marquis de Pont à Berlin, des dépêches secrètes du roi de Prusse à ses agens secrets à Vienne et à Paris, agens auxquels seuls il confioit la vraie

marche de sa politique, et dont la mission étoit entièrement ignorée de ses envoyés en titre.' I. 272—274.

Such an adventure as this, we presume, is not quite unexampled in the history of diplomacy; but the truly singular part of it is to come.

‘ Un jour, étonné de toutes les nouvelles découvertes que me procuroit le zèle toujours croissant de l’homme masqué, et surpris de son profond silence pour obtenir de nouvelles sommes, je pris avec moi cinq cents ducats, et je lui dis j’avois ordre de lui donner cette gratification : quelle fut sa réponse ? “ Monsieur, apprenez à me juger ; car vous ne me connoîtrez jamais, et la moindre recherche pour y parvenir feroit tarir la source où vous puisez. D’après le rôle que je joue, je n’ai pas droit à votre estime : je ne me dissimule pas ma faute ; mais je suis un honnête criminel : j’avois impérieusement besoin de mille ducats ; il me les falloit sur-le-champ ; je n’ai pas trouvé d’autre moyen de me les procurer : je tiendrai ma parole tant que vous serez en place, mais je ne recevrai plus un denier. Toute autre tentative seroit inutile, et pourroit ralentir ma bonne volonté. ” J’ai rendu compte au ministre de cette réponse, et de fait, les comptes de l’ambassade n’ont pas fait mention de sommes plus fortes pour cet objet que les premiers mille ducats.

‘ Quand, au mois d’août 1774, le baron de Breteuil fut nommé pour remplacer le prince Louis, mon honnête criminel me dit : “ Attendez-vous à ne plus entendre parler de moi dès que le nouvel ambassadeur sera arrivé ici. Je connois la politique des cours : vous recevrez sûrement l’ordre de confier le fil de vos découvertes, et tout sera mis en œuvre pour remonter à la source : vous perdrez votre temps et vos peines. Si d’indiscrètes perquisitions pouvoient aboutir à me donner des inquiétudes, je sais le parti que j’aurois à prendre : vous pourriez peut-être me nécessiter à une évasion qui rendroit à jamais malheureux un homme qui vous a rendu service ; mais vous n’en feriez pas moins tarir la source des avantages qui cesseront à votre départ. ” ’ I. 308—310.

Among the many singular discoveries this treachery of the Austrian Commis brought to light, was that of the double ministry of Louis XVth. This monarch, like all other weak princes, had, as is well known, two sets of ministers ; the one avowed, and ostensible—the other secret, and enjoying the real confidence of their master. The Abbé gives the following account of the correspondence kept up by the secret ministry in all the courts of Europe.

‘ Ce même cabinet avoit découvert la correspondance très-secrète de la politique privée de Louis XV ; correspondance parfaitement ignorée de son conseil, et surtout de son ministre des affaires étrangères. Le comte de Broglie, qui avoit succédé au feu prince de Conti, étoit le ministre privé et surtout très-caché d’une diplomatie

aussi extraordinaire : il avoit pour secrétaire M. Favier auquel ses connaissances et ses ouvrages diplomatiques ont fait une réputation, fin M. Dumourier, élève de Favier. Le mystère de cette politique privée n'étoit pas confié à tous nos ambassadeurs : quelquefois c'étoit le secrétaire d'ambassade ou tout autre Français qui, voyageant sous différens prétextes, étoit trouvé propre à jouer ce rôle. Le comte de Broglie ne confioit le fil de ce labyrinthe qu'à des personnes dont il avoit éprouvé l'attachement et la discrétion. Une confiance si marquée et des rapports si intimes avec le roi qui gratifioit lui-même sur sa cassette ce travail mystérieux, ne pouvoient que flatter ceux qui s'en trouvoient honorés.' I. 274-275.

Not long after the return of the Abbé from Vienna, began the celebrated story of the Necklace, which is detailed at great length in this publication, and with every appearance of care and authenticity. It has been so frequently and so grossly misrepresented, that we shall shortly state it to our readers.

The Cardinal de Rohan was a very vain, extravagant, and weak man. By some severe animadversions upon her mother the Empress Maria Theresa, he had incurred the hatred of the Queen, Marie Antoinette, who constantly refused to receive him into favour, and treated him on all occasions with marked contempt. To be in disgrace with a Queen of such power and ascendancy, was the greatest evil of which a French courtier could form any conception; and, accordingly, the great object of the Cardinal's life was to convert the Queen into a better disposition: But he bowed, and lived, and laboured in vain—the Royal hatred was deep and incurable.

While the Cardinal was thus sighing over his disgrace, he happened to fall into the society of a *Madame la Motte*, a woman of bad reputation, considerable abilities, and great talent for intrigue. She had the address to persuade his Eminency that she was a great favourite with the Queen, who had patronised her first of all from compassion for her reduced situation, and, from one stage of favour and approbation to another, had become fond of her society, and was in the habit of sending for her repeatedly to Versailles. This opportunity of restoring himself to favour was not to be lost. The Cardinal eagerly cultivated the favour of *Madame la Motte*—prevailed upon her to mention his name to the Queen, his misery, his despair, the eagerness with which he sought to redeem his character, and to ascend into the heaven of Royal favour. *Madame la Motte* was an incomparable actress: It is needless to say by what nice gradations her Majesty was softened—the rage into which she fell when first the name of Rohan was mentioned—the immense difficulty with which she was appeased—and the various stages of listening, relenting, considering, fluctuating, doubting, for-

giving, approving, and restoring to favour. This took up a space of some weeks; in the course of which time, the Cardinal Culley was given to understand, that the Queen had particular reasons for not altering her manner towards him at Court; and that, though she had really forgiven him, she wished their intercourse, and all further explanation, to be carried on through the medium of Madame la Motte. As the suit of the Cardinal advanced in this imaginary intercourse, he became bolder, and pressed so hard for some mark of Royal reconciliation, that it was deemed necessary he should be gratified. Every variety of scoundrel may be found within a street's-length, in London or Paris. M. Villette, a pseudo-grapher of the greatest eminence, counterfeited the handwriting and signature of Marie Antoinette; and the Cardinal received from time to time little billets-doux, which filled him full of the basest and most contemptible happiness. In a little time this correspondence became more interesting; and the Queen begged the Cardinal would accommodate her with the loan of a considerable sum of money. The money was raised by the eager Ecclesiastic; and proved so truly accommodating to Madame la Motte and her connexions, that a similar loan was soon after required, and advanced with the same amiable and unsuspecting simplicity. When men pay money, however, they require something in return for their money; and the Queen promised the Cardinal an interview in the Bois de Boulogne. A woman of the Palais-Royal, resembling the Queen in person and voice, was hired and tutored by the conspirators. The Cardinal fell on his knees in an ecstasy of turpitude, and was proceeding to roll and lick the dust, when the interview was purposely interrupted, and the Cardinal retired, dissolved in gratitude and delight. This scene, as it is one of the most curious in the whole of this extraordinary narrative, we shall present to our readers, in the words of his Eminency's reverend protégé.

‘ La comtesse de la Motte avoit remarque, dans les promenades du Palais-Royal à Paris, une fille d’une belle taille, dont le profil ressembloit à la reine; elle jeta les yeux sur elle pour être l’actrice principale de la scène du bosquet. Cette fille se nommoit d’Oliva: on lui persuada que le petit spectacle où elle alloit être employée étoit désiré par la reine qui vouloit s’en amuser: la récompense offerte fit bientôt accepter ce rôle par une créature qui faisoit trafic de ses charmes.

‘ Mademoiselle d’Oliva arriva donc à Versailles, conduite par M. de la Motte, dans un carrosse de remise, dont le cocher a été entendu au procès; on la mena d’abord reconnoître le lieu de la scène où elle devoit être secrètement conduite à onze heures du soir par M. de la Motte: la on lui fit faire une répétition du rôle qu’elle devoit jouer.

et des paroles qu'elle devoit prononcer. Elle étoit prévenue qu'il se présenteroit à elle, dans le bosquet, un grand homme en redingote bleue, avec un grand chapeau rabattu, qui s'approcheroit d'elle, lui baiseroit la main avec respect ; qu'elle lui diroit à voix basse : " Je t'ai qu'un moment à vous donner ; je suis contente de vous ; je vous fais bientôt vous élever à la plus haute faveur ; " qu'ensuite elle lui remettrait une boîte et une rose ; qu'alors, au bruit des personnes qui s'approchoient, elle diroit toujours à voix basse : " Voilà Madame et madame d'Artois ; il faut s'éloigner. " On avoit aussi montré au cardinal le bosquet convenu, et l'endroit par où il devoit entrer, en lui disant que là il pourroit épancher sans contrainte ses sentimens de dévouement, s'expliquer sur ce qui l'intéressoit, et que, pour témoignage de ses bontés, la reine devoit lui remettre une boîte où seroit son portrait et une rose. Il étoit connu à Versailles que la reine se promenoit quelquefois les soirs dans les bosquets avec Madame et madame la comtesse d'Artois. La nuit du rendez vous arrivée, le cardinal, habillé comme il avoit été convenu, se rendit sur la terrasse du château avec le baron de Planta ; la comtesse de la Motte devoit y venir en domino noir l'avertir du moment où la soi-disante reine se rendroit au bosquet. La nuit étoit assez obscure ; l'heure indiquée s'écouloit ; madame de la Motte ne paroissoit pas : l'inquiétude gagnoit le cardinal, lorsque le domino noir vint à sa rencontre et lui dit : " Je sors de chez la reine ; elle est très-contrariée, elle ne pourra point prolonger l'entretien comme elle l'avoit désiré ; Madame et madame la comtesse d'Artois lui ont proposé de se promener avec elle : rendez-vous vite au bosquet ; elle s'échappera, et, malgré le court intervalle, elle vous donnera des preuves non équivoques de sa protection et de sa bienveillance. " Le cardinal se porta au lieu de la scène ; madame de la Motte et le baron de Planta s'écartèrent pour attendre le retour du prince. La scène fut jouée comme l'avoit composée madame de la Motte : la prétendue reine, en déshabillé du soir, avoit le costume et l'attitude de la personne qu'elle représentoit. Le cardinal, en s'approchant, marqua sensibilité et respect ; la fausse reine prononça à voix basse les paroles qu'on lui avoit dictées, remit la boîte convenue : le bruit qu'on avoit concerté s'étant fait entendre, il fallut se séparer avec un peu de précipitation. M. le cardinal vint rejoindre madame de la Motte et le baron de Planta qui l'attendoient ; il se plaignit avec amertume du fâcheux contre-temps qui l'avoit privé du bonheur de prolonger un entretien si intéressant pour lui. Chacun se retira. Le cardinal paroissoit très-persuadé qu'il avoit parlé à la reine et en avoit reçu une boîte. La dame de la Motte s'applaudit du succès de sa ruse. La d'Oliva, intéressée au secret du rôle qu'elle venoit de jouer, fut ramenée à Paris, et bien payée de sa complaisance ; M. de la Motte et Villette, qui avoient simulé les pas et les voix convenues pour abrégier l'entretien, se réunirent à madame de la Motte, et tous se félicitèrent de cet heureux résultat. ' II. 82-85.

About this time Messrs Boehmer and Basnage, jewellers in

Paris, were possessed of a necklace of diamonds of extraordinary value and beauty. The price they fixed upon it was 1,800,000 livres : it had been offered to the Queen, and rejected by her as too expensive. One of the Laviollette forgeries announced to the Cardinal that her Majesty was very desirous of employing him in a secret negotiation of the greatest importance to her, the details of which were entrusted to Madame la Motte, and would be by her revealed to the Cardinal. This secret negotiation was, of course, to purchase the necklace for the Queen upon his own credit. The necklace accordingly is bought by the Cardinal for her Majesty : and sold in London by Madame la Motte. The jewellers come to an explanation with the Queen—and the Cardinal and Madame la Motte are put upon their trial. One of the *dramatis personæ* is Cagliostro, a compound of madness and imposture, who appears to have acquired a very extraordinary ascendancy over the mind of the Cardinal, but to have had no participation in the villany of Madame la Motte. In the trial, it appeared, beyond all doubt, that the Cardinal was innocent, and that he had been completely duped by Madame la Motte. Nor was there any reason, from the evidence, to believe that any guilt attached to the Queen, that Madame la Motte had acted under her direction, or that she had had any share in the deceit practised upon the Cardinal. It stuck to her, however ; and, during the French Revolution, was made use of to increase the public hatred against that unfortunate woman.\* Every honest Jacobin will, of course, believe that the Queen planned the whole scheme, received the money, and sacrificed Madame la Motte to save her own reputation. For ourselves, we cannot see why as strict justice is not as due to a queen as to any other person : and we do firmly believe Marie Antoinette (whatever were her other faults) to have been innocent of this. The singularity of the story is, that a person of the Cardinal's age, dignity, and acquaintance with the world, should have been so miserably duped by an adventurer, whom any schoolboy, conversant with Gil Blas, ought to have detected and handed over to the police. But the holy man seems to have been quite mad with baseness and credulity. Much as bishops love queens, we do not think we have one on the Bench who could have been the dupe of Madame la Motte.

The principal facts which the Abbé touches on in the reign

\* The Dutchess de Polignac, no doubt, was sent over to Bath by the Queen, to keep Madame la Motte quiet with money ; but this was, in all probability, the mere cowardice of the Court.

of Louis XV., are the dismissal of the Duc d'Aiguillon, the recal of the Count de Maurepas, the disgrace of the Chancellor Maupeou, the reestablishment of the Parliament of Paris, the administrations of M. Turgot, Necker, Joly de Fleury, and the intrigues of the Abbé de Vermond, to put the Queen at the head of affairs. After this comes the administration of Calonne, his dismissal, the recal of Necker, the States-General, and the Revolution.

We have often observed, that *there is no species of hatred greater than that which a man of mediocrity bears to a man of genius*. His reach of thought, his successful combinations and his sudden felicities, are never forgiven by those whom nature has fashioned in a less perfect mould. The eagle cannot soar, but the crows are chattering against him. We have seen, in the course of our existence, many respectable, limited men, whose highest gratification it would have been to have tormented men of genius with red-hot pincers; and torn them limb from limb, victims to insulted mediocrity. Such are the feelings of the excellent Abbé towards the minister Turgot, one of the wisest, most enlightened, and virtuous men that ever directed the affairs of the French monarchy:—dismissed, at the first clamour against improvement, by the unfortunate timidity and irresolution of Louis the XVIth. The appointment of the Count de Ségur to the ministry, instead of the Count de Puységur, is a very entertaining story; and serves, more than a thousand volumes could do, to show in what manner the affairs of that unfortunate Court were conducted.

‘Ce renvoi indispensable donna cependant du dégoût et de l’ennui au comte de Maurepas; toute secousse dans le ministère ou dans le gouvernement étoit un vrai tourment pour son ame, amie de la paix et du repos; aussi quand le roi le consulta sur le successeur du prince de Montbarrey, il parut très-peu disposé à désigner quelqu’un, afin, disoit-il, de n’être responsable de ses faits et gestes. Pressé néanmoins par Louis XVI, il indiqua le comte de Puységur, lieutenant-général des armées, et grand-croix de l’ordre de Saint-Louis: il ajouta qu’il lui croyoit des connoissances militaires et du talent; mais il n’engagea pas le roi à le nommer.

‘Pendant ce temps, le parti de la reine s’agitoit pour assurer à cette princesse une influence prépondérante dans le gouvernement; la nomination d’un ministre de la guerre de son choix, y étoit un acheminement puissant. La reine étoit donc circonvenue afin de la déterminer à user enfin de tout son ascendant sur le cœur et l’esprit de son auguste époux. “Quel moment plus favorable à saisir pour ne pas être refusée? La santé de M. de Maurepas déclinait sensiblement; un accès de goutte, auquel son grand âge l’empêcherait enfin de résister, pouvoit inopinément enlever ce ministre à la confiance du roi: il devenoit donc instant de commencer à



“ établir sa domination par le choix de ministres entièrement dévoués.”

‘ Tels étoient les conseils donnés à Marie-Antoinette.

‘ Parmi les personnes admises dans l'intimité de la reine, se trouvoit le comte de Bezenval, surnommé le Suisse de Cythère, grand croix de l'ordre de Saint-Louis. Sans cesse occupé de donner à sa majesté les preuves du plus entier dévouement, il crut pouvoir lui proposer pour le ministère de la guerre le comte de Ségur, lieutenant-général, homme capable, disoit-il, décoré du premier ordre de l'Etat (celui du Saint-Esprit), ministre dont le porte-feuille ne contiendrait jamais que le résultat des désirs de la souveraine. Ce choix fut agréé : dès le soir même le comte de Ségur fut proposé au roi. Louis XVI chérissoit la reine ; si quelquefois il repousoit avec dureté les demandes de son épouse, c'étoit l'effet d'un premier mouvement qu'il ne pouvoit réprimer, et qui provenoit d'une éducation négligée et d'un caractère que l'on n'avoit pas dompté dans les premières années de sa jeunesse : on pourroit ajouter que ses brusqueries avoient également pour cause la défiance de ses propres moyens. Cependant on savoit généralement que Louis XVI, dans beaucoup d'occasions, aimoit à donner à son illustre compagne les témoignages de la plus vive tendresse. La demande du ministère de la guerre pour M. de Ségur fut donc accordée avec d'autant plus de plaisir et de promptitude, que les noms de Ségur et de Puységur se confondant dans l'esprit du roi, il imagina, dans le premier moment, que le ministre proposé par la reine étoit celui indiqué par M. de Maurepas. “ Je le veux bien,” dit Louis XVI ; M. de Maurepas m'en a déjà parlé.” La reine, satisfaite, mande à l'instant le comte de Ségur, le présente elle-même au roi qui lui dit : “ Allez remercier M. de Maurepas qui m'a parlé de vous.” Le nouveau ministre se rend chez le comte de Maurepas pour lui exprimer toute sa reconnaissance de la grâce signalée dont le roi venoit de l'honorer. “ C'est à vous, monsieur le comte, ajouta-t-il, que j'en suis redevable.” Le ministre principal, étonné de cette nomination inattendue dont le roi ne l'avoit pas encore entretenu, répondit à M. de Ségur avec sécheresse : “ Je désire, monsieur, que le roi soit content du choix qu'il vient de faire, mais je vous assure que je n'y ai aucune part.” Le résultat de cette entrevue, dont M. de Ségur vint bien vite rendre compte à la reine, donna beaucoup d'inquiétude au parti qui triomphoit déjà.

‘ Le comte de Maurepas se crut supplanté ; et, dans un premier mouvement, il écrivit au roi “ qu'il prioit sa majesté, puisque ses services n'étoient plus jugés utiles, de trouver bon qu'il se retirât à Pont-chartrain pour soigner sa santé et y terminer ses jours avec tranquillité.” Il donna en même temps les ordres de tout disposer pour son départ. M. de Maurepas m'appela chez lui pour me rendre des papiers dont il avoit désiré la communication ; après qu'il me les eut remis, il me fit, avec sa bienveillance ordinaire, le récit de ce qui venoit d'arriver, et me dit qu'il avoit pris la résolution de se retirer à Pont-chartrain. J'étois occupé à la combattre avec

chaleur, lorsqu'on vint le chercher de la part du roi. L'appartement de M. de Maurepas étoit le même qu'avoit occupé madame du Barry ; il communiquoit à celui du roi par un escalier dérobé. Le ministre descendit sur-le-champ, et trouva le roi et la reine réunis, qui l'accueillirent avec la plus grande bonté, et lui témoignèrent l'un et l'autre combien ils étoient affectés d'un événement qui l'affligeoit au point de vouloir les abandonner. Leurs majestés daignèrent l'assurer que jamais elles n'avoient eu l'intention de lui causer un pareil désagrément. " J'ai cru, ajouta le roi, que vous m'aviez in-  
 " diqué le comte de Ségur.—Non, sire, répondit M. de Maurepas ;  
 " c'étoit le comte de Puysegur.—Eh bien ! reprit aussitôt sa ma-  
 " jesté, M. de Ségur n'est pas encore installé, je vais révoquer sa  
 " nomination. " La reine ajouta avec cette grâce qui lui étoit toute  
 particulière : " Je serais la première à solliciter cette révoca-  
 " tion, si la retraite d'un homme en qui le roi a mis si justement  
 " sa confiance, devoit en être la suite. " M. de Maurepas, touché  
 de tant de déférence, crut devoir ne pas se laisser vaincre en généro-  
 sité : il représenta au roi que " cette nomination étant connue et faite  
 " sur la demande de la reine, il étoit de la dignité royale de la main-  
 " tenir ; que les bontés actuelles de leurs majestés le dédommageoient  
 " amplement de cette méprise, qui lui avoit effectivement fait croire  
 " qu'il n'étoit plus digne de leur confiance ; qu'on pouvoit faire l'es-  
 " sai des talens du comte de Ségur, et qu'il le seconderoit de son  
 " mieux, par respect pour le choix du roi et la protection de la  
 " reine. "

' Leurs majestés, charmées de ce résultat, ordonnèrent au nouveau ministre de retourner chez M. de Maurepas le remercier, et de ne rien faire sans ses conseils et son aveu. ' I. 543-8.

As he advances in the Revolution, our good Abbé becomes very dull, and very foolish. Of the crimes and horrors of that miserable period of human history, there cannot be, and there are not, two opinions: But though they failed in it, the French had a right to make the effort for a better government. They lived under a despotism which every wise and good man must have wished to destroy. There existed among them privileged peers, monopolizing all honours, offices, and distinctions, and exempt from burthens. They were governed by valets, mistresses, and chambermaids. Property had no security from royal rapacity, nor liberty from royal caprice. Such a state of things naturally engendered that universal hatred and contempt of their rulers which is the sure forerunner of revolutions. It so happened, that they brought upon themselves worse evils than they attempted to cure. This does not show, however, that there was no evil, and could be no cure; but only that they mistook the cure. The Abbé Georgel, indeed, is of a different opinion: and seems to suppose, that the only legitimate object for which thirty millions of French people existed, was the com-

fort and happiness of their King and Queen. By us, on this side of the water, it has occasionally been contended, that kings and queens were at first invented, and are still paid, fed, lodged and clothed, for the good and convenience of their people;—truths which it would be wrong to insist upon too often, for fear kings should be revered too little—but which it is right to bring forward sometimes, lest kings should forget themselves into tyrants, and subjects into slaves.

ART. VIII. *Manuscrit de l'Isle d'Elbe. Des Bourbons en 1815. Publié par le Comte ——. 8vo. pp. 100. Ridgway, London, 1818.*

THIS is a very singular publication; and so greatly superior in merit to all the others which have either proceeded from the persons about Buonaparte, or been imposed upon the world as his and theirs, that we are induced to take notice of it. The St Helena manuscript, by far the cleverest of the former productions of this class, is now generally admitted not to be authentic; although the best informed persons, and those who intimately know both the man and the events,—*arma virumque*,—are agreed that it bears marks of some authority, and are disposed to think it the work of writers who have been much in Buonaparte's society. The tract now before us, is given to the world as his own work; and a very absurd story is told in the Preface, which will probably have the effect of making most readers throw down the book as a clumsy fiction. The editor says, that Buonaparte sent for him at two o'clock in the afternoon, on the 20th February 1815, and made him wait while he wrote for an hour with a pencil; that he then gave him the paper to copy, which was done with some difficulty, and was found to contain merely the *argument* or *contents* of a treatise in several chapters; that between two and three in the morning of the 22d, he was called up and ordered again to attend, when Buonaparte dictated to him till ten o'clock as quick as he could speak. He adds, that though he wrote short-hand, he had much difficulty in following him, and was several times obliged to stop and rest his fingers, which could not continue their work; and he found that Buonaparte's rate of dictating was twenty octavo pages in an hour. The fatigue, it seems, prevented him from finishing the copy before the 26th, when Buonaparte left Elba, and intended to take the writing with him, as a sort of extended manifesto of his reasons against the Bourbons. Having known the person to whom the St Helena manuscript was sent, the editor thought

it right to entrust him with this also, that he might make such use of it as 'the Master' would be likely to sanction.

Now, all this story is on the face of it absurd and contradictory. Who ever thought of writing a book in so preposterous an order? Who begins with composing the table of contents, and then filling them up? Those contents, too, occupy only four small pages; and yet they took an hour's writing. The book itself is seventy-six widely printed octavo pages, of only twenty-six lines to a page; yet it took about seven hours short-hand writing to finish. The rate of writing is said to have been twenty octavo pages an hour; which would give 140 pages instead of 76; unless we suppose that the written pages were but half as large as the printed ones—which would make them contain only thirteen short lines each; and any one may find, upon trial, that ninety such pages could be easily read in an hour so deliberately, as to be taken down in short-hand word for word. Indeed, above twenty such pages could easily be written in the usual hand, within the space of an hour.—That Buonaparte should have made such an exertion, and then lost sight of the manuscript, by not requiring the extended copy to be delivered when he wanted to use it, is another incredible circumstance in this relation. Finally, its coming through the same channel with an admitted fabrication, the St Helena manuscript, the authenticity of which the present editor appears to recognise, is an additional reason for disbelieving every particular in the Preface.

In answer to this most suspicious introduction of the work, it is said that the whole account thus given is a fiction, used for the purpose of concealing the real channel through which Buonaparte has transmitted the manuscript; that the manuscript was written to his dictation; and that persons of undoubted credit have seen it in the handwriting of one well known for his intimate connexion with the alleged author. Against external evidence, such as this of the handwriting, there is no contending; and, if the fact be so, \* we must conclude, that at least the piece in question comes from those who are about Buonaparte, and in his confidence; but then it must be admitted, that they are the most foolish of mankind, to usher in their work to the public, with a tale which prepossesses every judicious reader against its claims to authenticity; trumping up this story,

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\* The manuscript, we understand, is still in England; and we have been informed, on authority that leaves no room for hesitation, that the writing has been recognised as that of the person most in Buonaparte's confidence, by a most honourable individual, alike distinguished for his antipathy to the crimes of the Ex-Emperor, and his contempt of the vindictive spirit displayed against some of his adherents.

to conceal from our view the channel through which the work has been conveyed, and yet asserting its authenticity, in such a manner as almost inevitably leads to a discovery of it.

Upon the internal evidence afforded by the work itself, we are unwilling to waste much time. It would be a vain attempt to compare its style and manner with those of an author of whom we possess so few authentic productions. And then there are some topics always at hand, to meet any objections that might be urged from such intrinsic qualities. If we show some gross blunder in point of fact, which the alleged author never could have committed, the answer is, that this proves it no forgery,—for such errors would have been avoided by a fabricator. If inaccuracies in language, or even grammar, are detected, they are ascribed to clerical or typographical mistakes; if we say that many things are told unlike all that had ever before been known of the events in question, we are reminded that this is the real and secret history of those events, and that it may be expected to contain novelties; while, if we complain that there is nothing in the story beyond what was already known to every body, an inference is drawn in favour of its truth, from its unpretending simplicity, and its consistency with facts of common notoriety. Upon the source, therefore, from which this piece proceeds, we shall offer no further remarks. Its merits as a piece of composition, and its force as an argument in behalf of the late, and against the present dynasty, require a few observations.

The style of the work is vigorous, concise and rapid. Every sentence has some material fact or remark; and the effect of the whole is striking, not so much from any epigrammatic turn in the language, as from the nervous manner of the narrative or observation, and the fulness of the matter, which almost over-informs the diction. At the same time, with one or two exceptions, we look in vain for any new or even little known facts, or for any reflexions remarkable either by their originality or depth. We shall give a specimen or two of the composition as we proceed. Let us now attend a little to the train of the argument, which is extremely hollow and inconclusive, though specious.

The author begins with Henry IV., and gives a sketch of his changes of religion, probably in order to defend Buonaparte from the charge of trifling with it in Egypt and elsewhere. Undoubtedly that great prince is open to the accusation of making his belief, or at least the publick profession of it, subservient to political purposes. He was born and bred a protestant; forced to abandon that faith at his marriage, and eager to return to it as soon as he regained his liberty; for he then declared his abjuration to have been compulsory, "*Ventre saint-gris*," said he afterwards, when he found there was no carrying his point with

out conforming to the national faith,—“ *Paris veut bien une Messe.*” He once more performed abjuration, was received into the bosom of the Catholic Church, and accused ever after by the Huguenots of ingratitude, and by the Romanists of insincerity.—‘ *La caque sent toujours le harang,*’ said the latter.

He then contends that the third dynasty of France, that of the Capet race, was extinguished in the same manner, with the two first dynasties; that every legitimate government begins by overturning a prior legitimate government; that the Capets having thus succeeded to the Carlovingian kings, as they did to the Merovingian race, were in their turn replaced by the Republick, —whose foundations were laid in the assent of the people, exactly as those of all the others had been. He enumerates the recognitions of twenty-three sovereign states, either by treaty or by embassy, or by solemn publick declaration. These acts of state were performed successively between the 15th June 1792, when Genoa acknowledged the Republick, and the 27th March 1802, when England herself made with it the treaty of Amiens. Soon after, the Concordat with the Pope, who had recognised it in his temporal capacity, added the sanction of the head of the Catholic church as such. The present King who had emigrated in 1791, took refuge first in Coblenz, then in Turin; then moved to Verona, to the Austrian dominions, to Russia, and afterwards was obliged to seek for safety in England; having been successively driven from all those retreats by the Princes to whom he applied for protection. Even in England, he was only allowed to take the title of Comte de Lille, and was never recognised as King. The Revolution, in short, had altered the state of things completely in every essential particular; it was no conflict of parties or families for power or for territory, but an insurrection of the whole nation against the unjust and oppressive privileges of a few. The change was complete, and, together with the civil and foreign wars that accompanied it, left the country new-modelled in constitution—legal and judicial system—distribution of property, honours, and employments, and ecclesiastical establishment. The author thus rapidly and nervously sketches the result of these prodigious changes.

‘ *Tout ce qui était le résultat des événemens qui s’étaient succédés depuis Clovis, cessa d’être. Tous les changemens étaient si avantageux au peuple, qu’ils s’opérèrent avec la plus grande facilité, et qu’en 1800 il ne restait plus aucun souvenir ni des anciens privilèges des provinces, ni de leurs anciens souverains, ni des anciens parlemens et baillages, ni des anciens diocèses; et pour remonter à l’origine de tout ce qui existait, il suffisait d’aller rechercher la loi nouvelle qui l’avait établi. La moitié du territoire avait changé de propriétaires; les paysans et les bourgeois s’en étaient enrichis. Les progrès de l’agriculture, des manufactures, et de l’industrie, surpas-*

sèrent toutes les espérances. La France présente le spectacle de plus de trente millions d'habitans circonscrits dans des limites naturelles, ne composant qu'une seule classe de citoyens, gouvernés par une seule loi, un seul règlement, un seul ordre. Tous ces changemens étaient conformes au bien de la nation, à ses droits, à la justice, et aux lumières du siècle.' pp. 20, 21.

Buonaparte and his dynasty are here represented as equally *legitimate* (to use this newfangled phrase) with the Republick.—The evils of turbulence, both at home and in relation to dangers from abroad, had sickened the nation of the republican government.—‘Une voix unanime, sorti du fond des campagnes, du milieu des villes, et du sein des camps, demanda qu'en conservant tous les principes de la republique, on etablît dans le gouvernement un systeme hereditaire qui mit les principes et les interêts de la Revolution à l'abri des factions et de l'influence de l'étranger.’ By three several solemn acts of the people Buonaparte's dynasty, we are told, was called to the throne; it was consecrated by the head of the Catholic church, and acknowledged by all the powers of Europe except England. Even she recognised his consulship; and this author relates, on this subject, an anecdote, which is among the very few novelties in his work. There was, it seems, a proposition made by our government, through Lord Whitworth, offering to recognise him as King of France, if he would cede Malta. This strange offer is said to have been made to a Count Malhouet, who conveyed it, through Joseph Buonaparte, to his brother. However, there can be no doubt that we so far recognised his title, as to treat with him both in 1806 and 1814.

The inference intended to be deduced from these details is, that Buonaparte's dynasty was, in all respects, *legitimate*, and that he was deprived of his rightful crown. One short answer is sufficient:—Neither upon his own principles, as evinced throughout his conduct, nor upon those of the restored family, nor upon those of more liberal politicians, can any wrong whatever be said to have been done by his dethronement. *He* cannot complain, who cared not for any title to power, nor any right to territory, except brute force; but despoiled all who stood in the way of his aggrandisement, nor ever consented to limit his ambition, except by his means of gratifying it. *They* cannot be expected to admit his claims who would, with perfect consistency, have objected to Hugh Capet's title, until long possession had cured its defects. Nor ought the foreign States, who, through fear of his arms, that is, under duress, acknowledged him, and even aided him in his projects, to be accused of inconsistency, if they have taken the earliest opportunity to throw off his yoke. But least of all do the arguments we have

been surveying affect the more enlightened views which ought to regulate all such inquiries; for, the best reason against permitting him to reign was the incompatibility of his sway with the peace of Europe, and the interests of France herself;—a reason which would apply to any tyrant and conqueror, whatever might be the strength of his title—a reason which justifies the resistance of neighbouring states to the most ancient dynasty, as clearly as it vindicates the resistance of any one people to their most *legitimate* oppressors. It is true, that this author forms a very different estimate of Buonaparte's government, and of the benefits which it was calculated to confer both upon its subjects and its neighbours.—‘*Les rois*’ (says he) ‘*s’empresserent de le reconnaître; tous virent avec plaisir cette modification faite à la République, qui mettoit la France en harmonie avec le reste de l’Europe, et consolidoit le bonheur de l’état de cette Grande nation.*’ And again—‘*Ce fut une monarchie constitutionnelle et tempérée.*’

In the same strain of argument, he goes on to show how Buonaparte's family were allied with all the ancient royal families of Europe by marriage. With this statement we need not give ourselves much trouble, except to take notice of a story very confidently related relative to his own marriage with Maria Louisa. It seems that the question was for a considerable time debated in the council at Paris, whether he should marry the Grand Dutchess Anne of Russia, or a Princess of Saxony. The Emperor Alexander is represented as very willing to give his sister in marriage; but as anxious to have a stipulation made respecting her religion. Caulincourt is mentioned as the channel of this communication. Then it is asserted, that while those discussions were going on, the Emperor of Austria testified his surprise that his family were overlooked. The Count de Narbonne, the French governor of Trieste, and Prince Swartzenberg, his ambassador at Paris, are stated to have been the bearers of his wishes, that an Austrian princess should be chosen. These despatches were received at Paris, discussed in the council, and the determination formed by a majority in favour of the Austrian alliance, all in one day. The author positively denies the common report, of this marriage having been a secret article of the treaty of Vienna in 1809; and he enumerates all the great officers who assisted at the deliberations, and are, with one exception, still living and of various parties, as knowing the truth of the matter. Although we certainly are very far from thinking that the present conduct of the great powers should be influenced by the recollection of any thing which they were formerly compelled, by the force of Buonaparte's arms, to do or to bear, yet we cannot help thinking that any voluntary acts



of submission, to gain his favour, and profit by his influence, may fairly be cited as reasons for their showing him personally all the forbearance which their duty to their own subjects and the peace of Europe allows.

We pass over the sketch which the author next gives of the important campaigns that led to his hero's downfall, and of the different attempts at an accommodation before the first march to Paris. The failure of these is ascribed to his determination not to suffer the dismemberment of France; and the Allies are said never to have thought of the Bourbons down to the latest stage of their progress—not even in the negotiations of February 1814. The restoration is then charged with being merely an act of military power, performed by foreign armies, without the intervention of the nation. We are told that 'kings are made for the people, not the people for them;' that Lewis XVIII. is an illegitimate prince, or usurper, because he did not appeal to the country, but only to a small minority of the senate, deliberating in a place occupied by foreign troops; and that the only way in which he could have confirmed his title, and made the Fourth Dynasty be forgotten, was by adopting all the changes of the Republic and the institutions of the Empire—cordially promoting to his favour those who had the confidence of the nation—following the example of Henry IV., who, to conciliate the people, turned his back on his own companions in arms—and recollecting always, that a King of France is nothing, who does not reign in the hearts of the French. Some of these principles are sound enough, no doubt; but we marvel that they should find a place in a dissertation pretending to proceed from Buonaparte, and, at any rate, written in his defence. We are then told, that Lewis XVIII. having ascended the throne by his older title, as representative of the third race, all the clergy, proprietors, and nobles who suffered by the Revolution, have the same rights to be restored; and are discontented accordingly; while the nation is alarmed at their claims, and the Court endeavours to keep them quiet by promising them that in time they will be satisfied. The concluding chapters of the tract thus sum up the charges against the King on the one hand, and the grounds of discontent among the people on the other. We only extract a small part of two passages, which are vehemently and not unsuccessfully composed.

'Le trône de la troisième dynastie a été réduit en cendres; il n'existe plus: la prétention de s'y asseoir est insensée; c'est s'enfoncer au milieu d'un épais brouillard, pour tomber dans un précipice.—Le système actuel qui régit la France, est tout orgueil, arbitraire, contradiction, et fausseté; ce qui a élevé une nouvelle barrière entre les Bourbons et le peuple. Orgueil et arbitraire—Louis règne par la grâce

de Dieu : il ne reconnaît ni contrats anciens, ni contrats modernes : il ne reconnaît ni les privilèges du royaume, ni ceux des provinces : tout a péri ; il ne reste que lui. Il donne, pour remplacer des corps nationaux, une charte qui émane de lui seul. *Contradiction et fausseté.*— Il supprime la féodalité, et se déclare régner en vertu du droit féodal. Il proclame l'égalité des citoyens, l'irrévocabilité des ventes des domaines nationaux, le libre exercice de tous les cultes, et il n'appelle autour de lui, dans le palais comme dans l'administration, que des hommes dont les intérêts et l'existence sont liés au rétablissement des privilèges, à la résiliation des ventes des domaines, et à l'intolérance religieuse. Il promet à l'armée la conservation de ses droits, et il arbore le pavillon blanc ; et il ne s'entoure, n'accorde de confiance, n'ouvre son cœur qu'aux officiers chouans, émigrés, ou vendéens. Il se dit être fier de la gloire nationale, et il reconnaît ne devoir son trône qu'au Prince Régent d'Angleterre ; et il signe les plus honteuses et déshonorantes transactions.—Il est gardé, il est au pouvoir d'une armée qui est toute entière l'armée de la nation. Les armées étrangères quittent la France, et Louis n'est encore d'accord sur rien avec ses peuples ; pas même sur la nature du serment qu'il doit en exiger !—La momie d'un descendant de Sesostris était placée depuis plusieurs siècles dans la salle intérieure de la grande pyramide ; elle était revêtue de tous les attributs de la souveraineté, et posée sur le trône où s'étaient assis ses ancêtres. Lorsque les prêtres de Memphis voulurent la présenter aux hommages des Egyptiens, elle tomba en poussière ; elle n'était plus en rapport avec l'atmosphère et la chaleur du soleil. ' p. 71-76.

' La charte, il est vrai, garantit l'égalité des citoyens, la liberté de la presse, l'irrévocabilité des ventes des biens nationaux, la suppression des droits féodaux, et la légion d'honneur ; mais cette garantie n'est que nominale, puisque la chambre des pairs est en majorité composée d'individus ayant un intérêt contraire à ces principes ; que presque tous ont fait la guerre à la nation, perdu leurs privilèges et leurs biens, et n'ont d'intérêts que ceux détruits par la Révolution : que la chambre des députés devant être élue suivant le mode qu'il plaira au Roi d'établir, ne donne aucune garantie à la nation pour la défense de ses droits. Cette considération est d'une telle importance, qu'elle annule entièrement la charte, puisqu'elle ne se lie au peuple que par le mode d'élection.—L'armée voit tous les jours vanter avec enthousiasme les soldats de la Vendée et de l'émigration : elle ne lit dans les journaux, on n'imprime que les plus odieuses calomnies pour ternir sa gloire. Cela seul est suffisant pour la rendre irréconciliable avec les Bourbons, et accroître chaque jour la répugnance qu'elle ressent pour des princes revenus sur le trône par le secours de 500,000 bayonnettes ennemies. Comment l'armée pourrait-elle jamais s'attacher à des princes ennemis de sa gloire, étrangers à toutes ses grandes et mémorables journées ? Le peuple tout entier se voit menacé du retour du régime féodal des privilèges : il ne sera plus appelé à partager les honneurs, mais seulement à supporter toutes les

charges : il est rentré sous le joug de ses maîtres : ses enfans seront soldats, jamais officiers : le chemin des honneurs civils de la magistrature, des armées, lui est fermé désormais sans retour—sentiment d'autant plus pénible, qu'il n'est pas un village qui n'ait donné naissance à un général, ou à un colonel, ou à un capitaine, ou à un préfet, ou à un juge, ou à un administrateur, qui s'était élevé par son propre mérite, et illustré sa famille et son pays. C'est ce qui lui donnait pour la quatrième dynastie ce sincère attachement, qui lui fait dire que *si Louis de Bourbon est le roi des nobles, Napoléon est le roi du peuple.*' p. 66–69.

We have quoted these passages, not as containing any thing like an accurate statement of the facts, but because they unquestionably suggest some of the points which it is most material for the present government of France to keep constantly in view. We shall now offer a few observations upon the principal matters connected with the very interesting subject of this publication. These topics naturally arrange themselves under three heads; the *Detronement* of Buonaparte, and the conduct of his successors; his *Detention* as a prisoner; and his *Treatment* in that custody. The remarks which we have to submit to the reader upon each of these points, are dictated by no factious feeling; for we believe that the parties which divide this country hinge upon any thing rather than the subject of Buonaparte: Neither do they proceed from any vehement feelings towards the individual, whom we are unable to admire with some persons, because we regard him as a conqueror and a tyrant; whom yet we cannot view as the only bad ruler and bad neighbour that ever existed, because we find other princes eager to follow his example. A regard for truth and justice—an anxious desire to promote the peace of the world—a jealous feeling for the honour of our country—alone influence us in the remarks which follow; and, satisfied that our motives are pure, and knowing that our opinion is impartial, we fearlessly give it to the publick, in the very confident expectation that the candid part of the community will receive it favourably.

I. The right to dethrone Buonaparte, we conceive to have been neither more nor less than the right of self-defence, exercised by all the neighbouring governments which he had in succession attacked, despoiling them of their provinces, and endangering their existence. We need not here inquire minutely into the grounds of the various wars which he had waged against them; nor will it materially affect the argument, if it should be admitted that in one or two cases they were the aggressors, and he had just cause of quarrel. The broad fact is altogether undeniable, that he had devoted his life to conquest; that he enjoy-

ed means of indulging this master-passion ample beyond all former measure; and that France, under his dominion, had become the very scourge of Europe. In some instances, her conquests may have benefited the people whose bad rulers she overthrew, and whose barbarous institutions she destroyed; but as conquest was her main object, and reform only incidental to the pursuit of it, and probably not at all desired for its own sake, no man can seriously pretend that the system was beneficial and safe, though it might be allowable in some cases to rejoice, that out of its general mischiefs partial good had arisen. Of this overgrown power, and purely military and conquering scheme, Buonaparte was the life and soul; there was every reason to expect that his removal would restore the French people to peaceful habits; and though no one can doubt, that had he continued in power, the effects of the late war would have been perceived in a considerable change of conduct, prescribed by circumstances rather than inclination, it seems clear that the safety of Europe required his being displaced. Nor is it any answer to say, that France remains a powerful and an ambitious country; and that at some future time she may be a dangerous neighbour under the Bourbons. Human policy is always occupied in deciding amidst a choice of difficulties; and in the practical management of affairs, it is wisdom to prefer the course which ensures safety for the longest period of time, though the danger, after all, may only be warded off, and the evil day at last may come.

The pretension set up by Buonaparte that his throne was *legitimate*, and that his dynasty stood precisely in the same predicament with those which preceded it, involves a palpable fallacy. We argue the question on its true grounds of general expediency and popular right, not of the exploded and unintelligible doctrines of hereditary claims; and, when we say that an hereditary is preferable to any other title, it is only because the transmission of supreme power from father to son has been found most beneficial, upon the whole, to the people, for whom, and for whose good, both the constitution of all power, and the laws of its devolution, are appointed.\* But, in whichever way we take the question, there is a sophism in Buonaparte's argument, which consists in applying to the beginning of his dynasty, and to himself, its founder, the principles which every one is disposed to admit respecting all dynasties, provided they have been long established. Thus, though we may admit that his title was as good as Hugh Capet's (the butcher's son \*),

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\* Dante alludes to this in the *Purgatorio*, where, it must be con-

to apply this case to that of his dethronement, we must transport ourselves back to Hugh Capet's time, and ask who would have cried out very much at his being removed by some more fortunate adventurer? Buonaparte stood in this predicament; but he applies to his case, not the case of the founder of the third race, but that of the dynasty, after it had been consolidated by the succession of ages. That he should have been overthrown, not by the people, but by the force of foreign arms, is no doubt deeply to be lamented on every account—for the sake of the French people, as well as of good principle all over the world. His elevation to power was the work of the army unquestionably; but it had, in a great degree, the assent of the nation; and it was, at all events, performed by Frenchmen alone. The nation, we do not doubt, whatever may have been the wish of the soldiery, at last desired his downfall; but they unfortunately effected it through the intervention of strangers, after their own troops had been discomfited; and it is still more to be lamented, that those strangers were the founders of the fifth, or the restorers of the third dynasty, (whichever may be the most correct form of speech), without any consultation of the popular opinion.

But it is, in our opinion, of little consequence now to inquire into the title of Lewis XVIII. He has, in many things, been ill advised; he ought to have thrown himself more on the country; he should have made his style more conformable to the fact that he became the king of revolutionized France; he should have spoken less of *legitimacy* in the midst of institutions which all rest upon the overthrow of the old government, and which he nevertheless must support. But it signifies comparatively little what family fills the throne, provided the peace of the country be preserved, the great improvements effected by the revolution perpetuated, and the structure of a free constitution completed, of which these changes have laid the foundation. It seems quite impossible that any king can long reign in France, who will not conform himself to the new order of things, and the universal opinion and feeling of the country. Lewis XVIII. has given ample proofs, particularly since the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies in 1816, that he is sensible of this truth. No serious attempts, we think, are to be apprehended, as long as he lives, to revive the wild project of the emigrants, and unde-

fessed, he makes the founder of the Third Race speak in rather unfavourable terms of his descendants.

*‘I fui radice della mala pianta  
Che la terra Cristiana tutta aduggia,  
Sì, che buon frutto rado se ne schianta.  
—Figliuol fui d'un beccaio di Parigi.’ &c. &c.*

what the revolution has effected. The numbers and the influence of those who are interested in such a counter-revolution, must daily diminish; and the probability is, that the Crown will be transmitted to princes who will very soon perceive, whatever may be their previous dispositions, that, to govern at all, they must give up such fatal schemes, and will sacrifice to the security of the dynasty, their gratitude towards its individual supporters, which perhaps they would not have abandoned for the interests of the nation. The longer the reigning monarch lives, the more stable will the government become, and the more inevitable this course of policy in his successors. In the mean time, the constitution is not stationary. The progress of discussion; the intercourse with enlightened men in England; the growing opinion even in the Court, that a popular government provides for the security of the throne, while it draws forth the resources of the country—all tend to consolidate and to improve the monarchy, and reduce it to the limited form which ensures so many advantages both to the rulers and the people in this country.

II. We have stated the necessity of dethroning Buonaparte:—the complete securing of his person appears to be an unavoidable consequence of the same necessity. As long as he was at large, either in France or elsewhere, he became a rallying point to the disaffected and the discontented. While there was a possibility of his again mounting the throne, the great remains of his party never could be expected to disperse and form new connexions. While he continued at large, no man could despair of his fortunes, after the extraordinary events of 1815. That he should remain quiet, was as impossible as that he should prove inoffensive if he moved. His residence must at all times be the focus of intrigue to the enemies of the restored government, both in France and in foreign states. Then, if his confinement was absolutely necessary, his banishment seemed almost equally essential. A place of custody was required, which should not only be secure, but appear so. Not only must his escape be rendered impossible, but it must strike all mankind as hopeless. Nothing else could wear from him the attachment of his followers; nothing else could turn the minds of the French people towards their new condition, with undivided interest and affection; nothing else could deprive revolutionary faction of its resource and incentive, or ordinary political discontent of the tendency to degenerate into disaffection. While Buonaparte was expected—and he was sure to live in men's hopes, as long as his return was not made physically impossible—no such thing as party, and consequently no free constitution

could grow up in France; every opposition must be the faction of the ex-emperor, and its tendency must be rebellious. The rest of Europe, as well as France, had the same interest in his effectual confinement; and no country more than our own. To say nothing of the interest which we above all nations have in a peaceable neighbourhood being maintained, the progress of improvement at home was not merely checked, but nearly stopt, by the universal prevalence of alarm, while the greatest of all our dangers continue to menace from abroad. To every proposition of reform, how temperate soever, one answer was ready—‘The storm still rages without, threatening each moment to level all before it; this is no time for touching the beams in order to repair our house; let the hurricane pass away, and we shall *then* strengthen the building by removing what time has rotted.’—Any attempt to secure Buonaparte’s person, which did not manifestly render his liberation impracticable, would have left too much ground for men’s fears, to get over this constant objection to all wise measures, and this standing defence of all misgovernment and abuse.

It seems equally clear, that England was the power most fit to be entrusted with the custody of his person. Our interest in the publick peace of Europe was less biassed by selfish considerations; we were less likely to use our power over him as a means of annoyance to others; our high character for honour and humanity, gave a pledge that no unnecessary harshness would be used, and no ground afforded for the suspicions usually attendant upon the keepers of dethroned Monarchs when they pay the debt of nature before the accustomed time. The place chosen, is admitted by all competent judges to be well adapted to the main object of perfect and manifest security, with no other drawbacks upon the comfort of the prisoner than its distance and its confined limits—both of which are essentially necessary for fulfilling the conditions, both being required to render the confinement complete, and to make its completeness apparent. For these reasons, no opposition seems to have been offered in the House of Commons, and hardly any in the Lords, to the Bills for enabling the Government to detain Buonaparte. The necessity of the measure was universally felt, and the reasonableness of the provisions for carrying it into effect, admitted. No man, however, was barbarous enough to assert, that the confinement should be perpetual; all seemed ready to grant, that as soon as the peace of France and of Europe would allow of his liberation, this celebrated prisoner should be set free. This was also stated in express terms, we believe on all sides, during the very brief discussion which arose on the question.

III. It was understood with equal distinctness,—and indeed every consideration of justice, of humanity, of policy, plainly dictates,—that the smallest degree of restraint necessary for safe custody, is alone to be employed. The confinement is merely for securing his person, and not at all for punishing him. The necessity which alone justified the imprisonment, ought to limit its rigours. We have no right to impose a single restriction upon him, that is not absolutely necessary for preventing his escape. It is becoming the generosity of the English character, that so great an enemy, now fallen so low, and by the fortune of war placed in our hands, should be treated with every indulgence which his safe custody will allow. The case is unprecedented; it rests on its own merits. The detention, though repugnant to no principle in the law of nations, can be sanctioned by no express authority, nor justified by any former example. The peculiar exigence of the situation; the extremity of the case—must be the surest ground of the proceeding; and the plea of necessity, proverbially so often abused by power, is, after all, the best defence of our conduct. In circumstances like these, a regard for our own character, as well as for what is right in itself, imperiously prescribes the duty and the policy of rather erring on the side of indulgence. It concerns the honour of the country most materially, to inquire whether this line of conduct has been pursued. A very general belief prevails, both in England and on the Continent, that the treatment of the prisoner is unnecessarily harsh. The unfortunate, no doubt, are apt to complain beyond measure. The friends who still adhere to fallen greatness, are prone to exaggeration, while they echo those complaints,—the rather that they feel a sort of excuse for an artifice which, if not pious, is at least disinterested. Much of what has appeared, therefore, we lay wholly aside in our endeavours to ascertain the kind of treatment which Buonaparte experiences; and we confine ourselves at present to the consideration of the documents recently given to the publick by Mr O'Meara, the respectability of whose character is beyond all question,—the facts stated by whom have been wholly uncontradicted.

When we speak thus of Mr O'Meara, it is not merely in consequence of private inquiries among persons abundantly competent to judge, and altogether unprejudiced in his favour; ample testimony is publickly borne to his character by Doctor Ferguson, a gentleman high on the Medical Staff, and who has long been honoured with the friendship of the Duke of Glo'ster, having lived formerly in his family, and whose own respectable family is well known and esteemed in the city where we write. It is through Dr Ferguson, who describes him as '*his most*



*intimate friend*,' that Mr O'Meara has given his correspondence to the publick. Captain Maitland, to whom Buonaparte surrendered, adds his unequivocal sanction to the evidence of Dr Ferguson; he states, that during his whole experience in the navy, he 'never had the pleasure of sailing with an officer in his situation who so fully met his expectations;' he adds, that he 'has every reason to believe his professional abilities to be of the first class, and that this is the opinion of some of the oldest and most respectable surgeons in the navy;'—that during a very sickly period on board his ship, 'his attention and tenderness to the men were such as to call forth his warmest approbation, and the grateful affection of both officers and men;'—and that, had he another ship, 'he knows no man in the service he should wish to have for surgeon so much as Mr O'Meara.'

The manner of his appointment to St Helena next merits our attention. The place was not of his own seeking—but bestowed in consequence of Captain Maitland's recommendation, who applied to Lord Keith for the assistance of Mr O'Meara in his professional capacity. His Lordship approved of the proposition, and most strongly advised him to accept of it; \* he also applied to the Admiralty, and recommended the appointment, which was regularly made by that Board. In consenting to go, Mr O'Meara made it a special condition that he should be considered as a British officer, paid by the British government, and in no wise dependent upon Buonaparte; that his name should be

\* Lord K.'s words were these—'It is not in my power to order you to accept of it, as it is out of the naval service, and is a business altogether extraordinary, and must be voluntary on your part: But I, as Commander-in-Chief, will authorize you to accept of it; and I advise you most strongly to do so, as I am convinced the Government will be obliged to you; and it is a situation which may, with propriety and honour, be held by an Englishman.'—There can be no doubt, that the gallant admiral, who is as incapable of wishing to insult or harass, or wear out by ill treatment, the health and the life of the celebrated captive, as he would be of declining to meet him in fair hostility, deemed it clear that the English government must be desirous of placing about his person a skilful and honest physician, as a guarantee against any unfair practice, and to prevent any suspicion of the kind from resting upon the character of the country. This is plainly the meaning of his anxiety that Mr O'Meara should go to St Helena. If Sir H. Lowe had felt, in all respects, like his Lordship, he would have been less apt, we should think, to demean himself in such a manner as to render Mr O'Meara's stay there impossible.

continued on the navy list, and his time go on for promotion in the service. He stood therefore, in every respect, upon the same footing with Sir Hudson Lowe—and with a character fully as unsullied; he was appointed by the same authority that sent the Governor there,—commissioned to perform what was also one of his Excellency's first duties, to watch over Buonaparte's safety,—and exposed to no restrictions, nor subjected to any jurisdiction other than the laws of his country and of the service, to which his superior officer was equally bound to conform.

It now appears, however, that Mr O'Meara had the misfortune to incur the displeasure of Sir H. Lowe. It is pretty clear that they soon differed upon the degree of harshness fit to be shown towards their charge: But although less important circumstances may have first given rise to a coolness between them, their first open disagreement had a very remarkable origin. Sir H. Lowe, it seems, thought proper to require that Mr O'Meara should repeat to him the substance of all his conversations with Buonaparte. He told him, that he was 'no judge of the importance of their subjects'—that he 'had no business to set up his own judgment on the nature of them'—and that 'he might consider several things of great importance as trifling and uninteresting.' To this most strange demand Mr O'Meara replied, that 'such conduct on his part would cover him with well-merited infamy, and render him unfit for the society of any man of honour;' and he justly added, that any physician who 'could insinuate himself into the confidence of his patient, and avail himself of the frequent opportunities necessarily afforded of being near his person, to wring from him disclosures of his sentiments and opinions for the purpose of betraying them, under pretence of curing or alleviating his infirmities, and in that confidence which has been, from time immemorial, reposed, by the sick in persons professing the healing art, would deserve to be branded with the appellation of a police spy.' That such were not his Excellency's notions of professional delicacy, and that he was somewhat impatient of contradiction, upon his own peculiar ideas regarding this subject, is sufficiently manifest from the following statement, addressed to him by Mr O'Meara, in December 1817, and wholly uncontradicted ever since—'It is with  
' infinite pain, Sir, that I feel myself obliged to refer to the ignominious treatment which I have suffered from you *in your own house*, especially upon two occasions. Were I culpable, even  
' a court-martial could not authorize the intemperate and opprobrious epithets so liberally bestowed upon me, and being twice  
' turned out of doors in the presence of witnesses; the last time  
' not without apprehensions, on my part, of experiencing personal violence. I have, Sir, had the honour to serve my coun-

‘ try in the royal navy for several years, until now without censure, and, perhaps, not without some little commendation ; and I must protest against any person, however superior to me in rank, making use of language and treatment towards me unworthy of, and degrading to an officer who has the honour to serve in his Majesty’s navy.’

Among other points of difference, one which the governor appears highly to have prized, was the etiquette relating to the name by which Buonaparte should be called in the medical reports ; as if it could possibly signify a straw to the tranquillity of Europe, whether those bulletins, seen only by the prisoner himself and by our government, gave one title or another to a person confined in the closest custody on a rock in the middle of the Atlantic ocean.

All these differences, however, and chiefly the refusal of Mr O’Meara to betray the most delicate kind of professional confidence, produced a positive, and, we believe, all who read the act of Parliament, will admit, an illegal order from the governor, confining him to Longwood, unless in certain specified cases. A British officer evidently could not submit to be treated as a French prisoner, merely because he had refused to act as a spy ; and the Doctor sent in his resignation, unless the order should be immediately rescinded ; demanding at the same time, to be tried by a competent tribunal, if the governor had any charge to bring against him. The resignation was accepted ; but attempts were made to show that the order did not place him under such restraints as the French were liable to. Much was said of his disobedience in presuming to write a letter to Bertrand ; and a general charge of neglecting instructions was repeatedly made. As to the restrictions, Mr O’Meara answered (nor can any reply be given to the answer), that none of the French were prevented by law from leaving Longwood ; the accusation of writing a letter, he desired might be examined by a court-martial, as he could not comprehend its import ; and to the more general charge, he answered, that he never had received any instructions to guide his intercourse with Buonaparte, except general and verbal ‘ *insinuations*,’ which left him to his own discretion, although he had constantly requested that they might be reduced to writing.

In the mean time, the state of Buonaparte’s health was growing daily worse ; and he would suffer no one but Mr O’Meara to attend him. This distrust may perhaps seem not wholly unreasonable, to those who reflect that he had chosen this skilful and honourable attendant himself, and had witnessed, on the governor’s part, a constant disposition to thwart him, and a line of conduct, calculated by its tendency, if not by its intention, to drive him from the station. This appears to be a ground of

suspicion sufficient to influence any one in Buonaparte's singular position, though all the other causes of repugnance to the governor and his predecessors had been removed. Sir H. Lowe indeed denies, in a letter to Bertrand, dated 21st April 1818, that Mr O'Meara had ever warned him of his patient being attacked with *Chronic Hepatitis*; and he says, that as late as the 25th of March, Mr O'Meara had doubtingly spoken of an '*incipient Hepatitis*.' But unfortunately for the governor, Mr O'Meara has produced two official bulletins or reports addressed by him to his Excellency, dated the 1st and 5th of October 1817, in which the patient is said to be afflicted, in all probability, with *Chronic Hepatitis*. He also declares, that he made constantly his reports to the governor upon the progress of this disease, which he always stated to be increasing; he particularly mentions six such reports between the month of September (qu. November?) 1817, and March 1818. We may remark, in passing, that he states horse-exercise to be essential to his recovery, and that none of the restraints and annoyances which seem to have made Buonaparte long abandon that favourite as well as healthful amusement, were relaxed in consequence of this recommendation. When, upon the '*pressing necessity*' of this exercise being urged, the governor asked Mr O'Meara why his patient did not ride,—he answered, that he did not know the reasons; but he adds, in his declaration, that he was forced to make a resolution against ever 'meddling in discussion foreign to medical subjects, by the abusive language, violence, and bad treatment which he experienced from Sir H. Lowe whenever he delivered an opinion and sentiment not consonant to his own.'

It cannot be doubted that this strange treatment compelled Mr O'Meara, greatly against his inclination, to resign his charge. 'For some months,' says he in his letter to the Governor, 'I have been made to lead a most wretched life, by your Excellency's obliging me to proceed to your house twice a week, reviling me, turning me out of doors in a most ignominious manner; once, indeed, having experienced every thing except personal violence, menaced by words and looks, because I did not chuse to comply with *verbal* insinuations.' What those insinuations were of which he complains, and which Sir H. Lowe, though often requested, would not put in writing, we have no means of ascertaining. This only is plain, that they must have related to the treatment of Buonaparte; and every consideration of justice and of regard for the character of the nation, whom this extraordinary officer is supposed to represent in the most delicate of all positions, demand a full explanation of those matters which Mr O'Meara's narrative leaves in the dark.

To maltreat the physician in any way; to require that he should act as a spy upon his patient, whom, having corporally confined, we can have no manner of right to interfere with, except for the purpose of preventing his escape; to compel the resignation of the only medical attendant in whom Buonaparte had any confidence, or whose visits he would allow, at a time too when he laboured under a dangerous malady,—must be deemed a line of conduct altogether unjustifiable, even if we admit that it was adopted without a view to the consequences which it obviously tends to produce. These charges against Sir H. Lowe are amply sufficient to call for strict investigation, without taking into the account either the ‘*verbal insinuations*’ darkly hinted at, or the restraints upon the prisoner’s necessary exercise, which are not so distinctly detailed, or any of the other accusations published in works of less authority than Mr O’Meara’s Letters, but all unfortunately rendered more credible by their agreement with his story.

In this estimate of the case we lay out of view every thing that comes from Buonaparte himself. That he should be unreasonable in his demeanour, was to be expected; that he should be on the worst terms with his keeper, is unfortunate; and, perhaps, with a gentleman incapable of treating a worthy officer under his command as Sir H. Lowe treated Mr O’Meara, Buonaparte might have lived upon a less unpleasant footing: But the intercourse between him and any governor never can be very smooth. That he should accuse all placed over him with conspiring his destruction, is natural enough in his extraordinary situation; and accordingly, we find him solemnly denouncing the governor as his *murderer*, (for that must be the word in the blank of his Notes, April 25th 1818), ‘*and bequeathing to the House of Brunswick the opprobrium of his death,*’ if his injuries are not redressed. Let him indulge in all this spleen, and vent it in accusations as black as he pleases—they can do no harm to us, or to the character of our country, provided we take care that they are entirely groundless, and that their falsehood is made manifest to the whole world. But as long as Mr O’Meara’s case remains unanswered; as long as all inquiry into the facts is resisted, and a speech in Parliament filled with statements, furnished by the accused themselves, is made the substitute for a fair and effectual investigation of their conduct—no man can pretend to deny that there is some colour for even the worst imputations which may be flung upon the character of the nation. Once more, let it be recollected that England stands in the most delicate of all situations. She has taken upon herself an office, from the beginning of the world peculiarly liable to suspicion, the custody of a dethroned mo-

narch, once her most formidable enemy. Let her take care, before it is too late, that the proofs of her entire innocence in discharging it are clearer than the day. This can only be effected by removing every doubt at present. If the inquiry be delayed until any thing befalls Buonaparte, we may rest assured that her justification will never be complete.

**ART. IX. 1.** *An Inquiry, whether Crime and Misery are Produced or Prevented, by our Present System of Prison Discipline. Illustrated by Descriptions of the Borough Compter; Tothill Fields Prison; the Jail at St Albans; the Jail at Guildford; the Jail at Bristol; the Jails at Bury and Ilchester; the Maison de Force at Ghent; the Philadelphia Prison; the Penitentiary at Millbank; and the Proceedings of the Ladies' Committee at Newgate.* By THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON. 8vo. pp. 171. London, 1818.

**2.** *A Letter to the Common Council and Livery of the City of London, on the Abuses Existing in Newgate, and the Necessity of an Immediate Reform in the Management of the Prison.* By the Hon. H. G. BENNET, M. P. 8vo. pp. 80. London, 1818.

**T**HERE are two classes of subjects which naturally engage the attention of public men, and divide the interest which society takes in their proceedings. The one may, in a wide sense, be called Party Politics—the other Civil or domestic Administration. To the former belong all questions touching political rights and franchises—the principles of the Constitution—the fitness or unfitness of Ministers, and the interest and honour of the country, as it may be affected by its conduct and relations to foreign powers, either in peace or war. The latter comprehends most of the branches of political economy and statistics, and all the ordinary legislation of internal police and regulation; and, besides the two great heads of Trade and Taxation, embraces the improvements of the civil Code—the care of the Poor—the interests of Education, Religion and Morality—and the protection of Prisoners, Lunatics and others who cannot claim protection for themselves. This distinction, we confess, is but coarsely drawn—since every one of the things we have last enumerated may, in certain circumstances, be made an occasion of party contention. But what we mean is, that they are not its natural occasions, and do not belong to those topics in relation to which the great parties of a free country necessarily arise. One great part of a statesman's business may thus be considered

as polemic—and another as deliberative; his main object in the first being to discomfit and expose his opponents—and, in the second, to discover the best means of carrying into effect ends which all agree to be desirable.

Judging *a priori* of the relative importance or agreeableness of those two occupations, we should certainly be apt to think that the latter was by far the most attractive and comfortable in itself, as well as the most likely to be popular with the community. The fact, however, happens to be otherwise: For such is the excitement of a public contest for influence and power, and so great the prize to be won in those honourable lists, that the highest talents are all put in requisition for that department, and all their force and splendour reserved for the struggle: And indeed, when we consider that the object of this struggle is nothing less than to put the whole power of administration into the hands of the victors, and thus to enable them not only to engross the credit of carrying through all those beneficial arrangements that may be called for by the voice of the country, but to carry them through *in their own way*, we ought not perhaps to wonder, that, in the eagerness of this pursuit, this, which is *the means to all ends*, some of the ends themselves should, when separately presented, appear of inferior moment, and excite far less interest or concern.

But, though this apology may be available in some degree to the actors, it still leaves us at a loss to account for the corresponding sentiments that are found to prevail among the body of the people, who are but lookers on for the most part in this great scene of contention—and can scarcely fail to perceive, one would imagine, that their immediate interests were often postponed to the mere gladiatorship of the parties, and their actual service neglected, while this fierce strife was maintained as to who should be allowed to serve them. In such circumstances, we should expect to find, that the popular favourites would not be the leaders of the opposite political parties, but those who, without regard to party, came forward to suggest and promote measures of admitted utility—and laboured to enlarge the enjoyments and advantages of the people, or to alleviate the pressure of their necessary sufferings. \* That it is not so in fact and reality, must be ascribed, we think, partly to the sympathy which, in a country like this, men of all conditions take in the party feelings of their political favourites, and the sense they have of the great importance of their success, and the general prevalence of their principles; and partly, no doubt, and in a greater degree, to that less justifiable but very familiar principle of our nature, by which we are led, on so many other occasions, to prefer splendid accomplishments to useful quali-

ties, and to take a much greater interest in those perilous and eventful encounters, where the prowess of the champions is almost all that is to be proved by the result, than in those humbler labours of love or wisdom, by which the enjoyments of the whole society are multiplied or secured.

There is a reason, no doubt, for this also—and a wise one—as for every other general law to which its great Author has subjected our being: but it is not the less true, that it often operates irregularly, and beyond its province,—as may be seen in the familiar instance of the excessive and pernicious admiration which follows all great achievements in War, and makes Military fame so dangerously seducing, both to those who give and to those who receive it. It is undeniably true, as Swift said long ago, that he who made two blades of grass to grow where only one grew before, was a greater benefactor to his country than all the heroes and conquerors with whom its annals are emblazed; and yet it would be ludicrous to compare the fame of the most successful improver in agriculture with that of the most inconsiderable soldier who ever signalized his courage in an unsuccessful campaign. The inventors of the steam-engine and the spinning-machine have, beyond all question, done much more in our own times, not only to increase the comforts and wealth of their country, but to multiply its resources and enlarge its power, than all the Statesmen and Warriors who have affected, during the same period, to direct its destiny; and yet, while the incense of public acclamation has been lavished upon the latter—while wealth and honours, and hereditary distinctions, have been heaped upon them in their lives, and monumental glories been devised to perpetuate the remembrance of their services, the former have been left undistinguished in the crowd of ordinary citizens, and permitted to close their days, unvisited by any ray of public favour or national gratitude,—for no other reason that can possibly be suggested, than that their invaluable services were performed without noise or contention, in the studious privacy of benevolent meditation, and without any of those tumultuous accompaniments that excite the imagination, or enflame the passions of observant multitudes.

The case, however, is precisely the same with the different classes of those who occupy themselves with public interests. He who thunders in popular assemblies, and consumes his antagonists in the blaze of his patriotic eloquence, or withers them with the flash of his resistless sarcasm, immediately becomes, not merely a leader in the senate, but an idol in the country at large;—while he who by his sagacity discovers, by his eloquence recommends, and by his laborious perse-



verance ultimately effects, some great improvement in the condition of large classes of the community, is rated, by that ungrateful community, as a far inferior personage, and obtains, for his nights and days of successful toil, a far less share even of the cheap reward of popular applause than is earned by the other, merely in following the impulse of his own ambitious nature. No man in this country ever rose to a high political station, or even obtained any great personal power and influence in society, merely by originating in Parliament measures of internal regulation, or conducting with judgment and success improvements, however extensive, that did not affect the interests of one or other of the two great parties in the State. Mr Wilberforce may perhaps be mentioned as an exception; and certainly the greatness, the long endurance, and the difficulty of the struggle, which he at last conducted to so glorious a termination, have given him a fame and popularity which may be compared, in some respects, with that of a party leader. But even Mr Wilberforce would be at once demolished in a contest with the leaders of party; and could do nothing, out of doors, by his own individual exertions; while it is quite manifest, that the greatest and most meritorious exertions to extend the reign of Justice by the correction of our civil code—to ameliorate the condition of the Poor—to alleviate the sufferings of the Prisoner—or, finally, to regenerate the minds of the whole people by an improved system of Education, will never give a man half the power or celebrity that may be secured, at any time, by a brilliant speech on a motion of censure, or a flaming harangue on the boundlessness of our resources, or the glories of our arms.

It may be conjectured already, that with all due sense of the value of party distinctions, and all possible veneration for the talents which they call most prominently into action, we are inclined to think, that this estimate of public services might be advantageously corrected; and that the objects which would exclusively occupy our statesmen, if they were all of one mind upon constitutional questions, ought more frequently to take precedence of the contentions to which those questions give rise. We think there is, of late, a tendency to such a change in public opinion. The nation, at least, seems at length heartily sick of those heroic vapourings about our efforts for the salvation of Europe,—which have ended in the restoration of old abuses abroad, and the imposition of new taxes at home;—and about the vigour which was required for the maintenance of our glorious constitution,—which has only displayed itself in the suspension of its best bulwarks, and the organization of spy systems and vindictive persecutions, after the worst fashion of ar-

arbitrary governments;—and seems disposed to require, at the hands of its representatives, some substantial pledge of their concern for the general welfare, by an active and zealous co-operation in the correction of admitted abuses, and the redress of confessed wrongs.

It is mortifying to the pride of human wisdom, to consider how much evil has resulted from the best and least exceptionable of its boasted institutions—and how those establishments that have been most carefully devised for the repression of guilt, or the relief of misery, have become themselves the fruitful and pestilent sources both of guilt and misery, in a frightful and disgusting degree. Laws, without which society could not exist, become, by their very multiplicatoin and refinement, a snare and a burden to those they were intended to protect, and let in upon us the hateful and most intolerable plagues of pettyfogging, chicanery, and legal persecution. Institutions for the relief and prevention of Poverty have the effect of multiplying it tenfold—hospitals for the cure of Diseases become centres of infection. The very Police, which is necessary to make our cities habitable, give birth to the odious vermin of informers, thief-catchers, and suborners of treachery;—and our Prisons, which are meant chiefly to reform the guilty and secure the suspected, are converted into schools of the most atrocious corruption, and dens of the most inhuman torture.

Those evils and abuses, thus arising out of intended benefits and remedies, are the last to which the attention of ordinary men is directed—because they arise in such unexpected quarters, and are apt to be regarded as the unavoidable accompaniments of indispensable institutions. There is a selfish delicacy which makes us at all times averse to enter into details of a painful and offensive nature, and an indolent sort of optimism, by which we naturally seek to excuse our want of activity, by charitably presuming that things are as well as they can easily be made, and that it is inconceivable that any *very flagrant* abuses should be permitted by the worthy and humane people who are more immediately concerned in their prevention. To this is added a fear of giving offence to these same worthy visitors and superintendants—and a still more potent fear of giving offence to his Majesty's Government;—for though no administration can really have any interest in the existence of such abuses, or can be suspected of wishing to perpetuate them, from any love for them or their authors, yet it is but too true that most long established administrations have looked with an evil eye upon the detectors and redressers of all sorts of general abuses,

however little connected with politics or political persons—*first*, because they feel that their long and undisturbed continuance is a tacit reproach on their negligence and inactivity, in not having made use of their own great opportunities to discover and correct them—*secondly*, because all such corrections are *innovations* upon old usages and establishments, and practical admissions of the flagrant imperfection of these boasted institutions, towards which it is their interest to maintain a blind and indiscriminate veneration in the body of the people—and, *thirdly*, because, if general abuses affecting large classes of the community are allowed to be exposed and reformed in any one department, the people might get accustomed to look for the redress of all similar abuses in other departments,—and reform would cease to be a word of terror and alarm to all loyal subjects.

These, no doubt, are formidable obstacles; and therefore it is, that gross abuses have been allowed to subsist so long. But they are so far from being insurmountable, that we are perfectly persuaded that nothing more is necessary to ensure the effectual correction of all those evils to which we have alluded, than to satisfy the public, 1st, of their existence and extent—and, 2dly, of there being means for their effectual redress and prevention. Evils that are directly connected with the power of the existing administration—abuses of which they are themselves the authors or abettors, or of which they have the benefit, can only be corrected by their removal from office—and are substantially irremediable, however enormous, while they continue in power. All questions as to them, therefore, belong to the department of party politics, and fall within the province of the polemical statesman. But with regard to all *other* plain violations of reason, justice or humanity, it is comfortable to think that we live in such a stage of society as to make it impossible that they should be allowed to subsist many years, after their mischief and iniquity have been made manifest to the sense of the country at large. Public opinion, which is still potent and formidable even to ministerial corruption, is *omnipotent* against all inferior malversations—and the invaluable means of denunciation and authoritative and irresistible investigation which we possess in our representative legislature, puts it in the power of any man of prudence, patience, and respectability in that House, to bring to light the most secret, and to shame the most arrogant delinquent, and to call down the steady vengeance of public execration, and the sure light of public intelligence, for the repression and redress of all public injustice.

Harm is in the little word PUBLICITY;—and it is cheerful how many wonders have already been wrought by this fecious talisman. If the House of Commons was of no use but as an organ for proclaiming and inquiring into all alleged abuses, and making public the results, under the sanction of names and numbers which no man dares to suspect of unfairness or inattention, it would be enough to place the country in which it existed far above all terms of comparison with any other, ancient or modern, in which no such institution had been devised. Though the great work is done, however, by that House and its committees—though it is there only that the mischief can be denounced with a voice that reaches to the utmost borders of the land—and there only that the seal of unquestioned and unquestionable authority can be set to the statements which it authenticates and gives out to the world;—there is still room, and need too, for the humbler ministry of inferior agents, to circulate and enforce, to repeat and expound, the momentous facts that have been thus collected, and upon which the public must ultimately decide. It is this unambitious, but useful function that we now propose to perform, in laying before our readers a short view of the very interesting facts which are detailed in the two little works of which the titles are prefixed, and in the parliamentary papers to which they refer.

Prisons are employed for the confinement and security of at least three different descriptions of persons:—first, of those who are *accused* of crimes and offences, but have not yet been brought to trial; 2d, of those who have been *convicted*, and are imprisoned preparatory to, or as a part of, their punishment; and, 3d, of *debtors*, who are neither convicted nor accused of any crime whatsoever. In both the first classes, and even in that least entitled to favour, there is room for an infinity of distinctions—from the case of the boy arraigned or convicted for a slight assault or breach of the peace, up to that of the bloody murderer or hardened depredator, or veteran leader of the housebreaking gang. All these persons must indeed be imprisoned—for so the law has declared; But, under that sentence, we humbly conceive there is no warrant to inflict on them any *other* punishment—any thing more than a restraint on their personal freedom. This, we think, is strictly true of *all* the three classes we have mentioned; but it will scarcely be disputed, at all events, that it is true of the first and the last. A man may avoid the penalties of crime, by avoiding all criminality: But no man can be secure against false accusation; and to condemn him who is only suspected, is to commence his punishment when crime is un-

certain. Nay, it is not only uncertain as to all who are tried, but it is the fixed presumption of the law that the accusation is unfounded, and that a trial will establish his innocence. We suppose there are not less than ten or fifteen thousand persons taken up yearly in Great Britain and Ireland on suspicion of crimes, of whom certainly there are not two-thirds convicted; so that, in all likelihood, there are not fewer than *seven or eight thousand innocent* persons placed annually in this painful predicament—whose very imprisonment, though an unavoidable, is beyond all dispute a very lamentable evil, and to which no unnecessary addition can be made without the most tremendous injustice.

The debtor, again, seems entitled to nearly as much indulgence. 'He may indeed,' says Mr Buxton, 'have been reduced to his inability to satisfy his creditor by the visitation of God,—by disease, by personal accidents, by the failure of reasonable projects, by the largeness or the helplessness of his family. His substance, and the substance of his creditor, may have perished together in the flames, or in the waters. Human foresight cannot always avert, and human industry cannot always repair, the calamities to which our nature is subjected;—surely, then, some debtors are entitled to compensation.' (p. 4.) Of the number of debtors at any one time in confinement in these kingdoms, we have no means of forming a conjecture; but beyond all doubt they amount to many thousands, of whom probably one half have been reduced to that state by venial errors, or innocent misfortune.

Even with regard to the convicted, we humbly conceive it to be clear, that where no special severity is enjoined by the law, any additional infliction beyond that of mere coercion, is illegal. If the greater delinquents alone were subjected to such severities, there might be a colour of equity in the practice; but, in point of fact, they are inflicted according to the state of the prison, the usage of the place, or the temper of the jailor;—and, in all cases, they are inflicted indiscriminately on the whole inmates of each unhappy mansion. Even if it were otherwise, 'Who,' says Mr B., 'is to apportion this variety of wretchedness? The Judge, who knows nothing of the interior of the jail; or the jailor, who knows nothing of the transactions of the Court? The law can easily suit its penalties to the circumstances of the case. It can adjudge to one offender imprisonment for one day; to another for twenty years! But what ingenuity would be sufficient to devise, and what discretion could be trusted to inflict, modes of imprisonment with similar variations?' (p. 8.)

The truth is, that all inflictions beyond that of mere de-  
are clearly illegal. Take the common case of fetters—  
Bracton down to Blackstone, all our lawyers declare the  
of them to be contrary to law. The last says, in so many  
words, that 'the law will not justify jailors in fettering a pri-  
soner, unless where he is unruly or has attempted an escape;' **[**  
and, even in that case, the practice seems to be questionable—if  
we can trust to the memorable reply of Lord Chief Justice King  
certain magistrates, who urged their necessity for safe custody  
—'let them build their walls higher.' Yet has this matter been  
left, all over the kingdom, as a thing altogether indifferent, to  
the pleasure of the jailor or local magistrates; and the practice  
accordingly has been the most capricious and irregular that can  
well be imagined.

'In *Chelmsford*, for example, and in *Newgate*, all accused or con-  
victed of felony are ironed.—At *Bury*, and at *Norwich*, all are with-  
out irons.—At *Abingdon*, the untried are not ironed.—At *Derby*,  
none but the untried are ironed.—At *Cold-bath-fields*, none but the  
untried, and those sent for re-examination, are ironed.—At *Winches-  
ter*, all before trial are ironed; and those sentenced to transportation  
after trial.—At *Chester*, those alone of bad character are ironed, whe-  
ther tried or untried." p. 68, 69.

But these are trifles. The truth of the case is forcibly and  
briefly stated in the following short sentences.

'You have no right to deprive a prisoner of pure air, wholesome  
and sufficient food, and opportunities of exercise. You have no right  
to debar him from the craft on which his family depends, if it can be  
exercised in prison. You have no right to subject him to suffering  
from cold, by want of bed-clothing by night, or firing by day; and  
the reason is plain,—you have taken him from his home, and have  
deprived him of the means of providing himself with the necessaries  
or comforts of life; and therefore you are bound to furnish him with  
moderate indeed, but suitable accommodation.

'You have, for the same reason, no right to ruin his habits, by  
compelling him to be idle, his morals, by compelling him to mix  
with a promiscuous assemblage of hardened and convicted criminals,  
or his health, by forcing him at night into a damp unventilated cell,  
with such crowds of companions, as very speedily render the air foul  
and putrid, or to make him sleep in close contact with the victims of  
contagious and leathsome disease, or amidst the noxious effluvia of  
silt and corruption. In short, no Judge ever condemned a man to be  
half starved with cold by day, or half suffocated with heat by night.  
Who ever heard of a criminal being sentenced to catch the Rheuma-  
tism, or the Typhus Fever? Corruption of morals and contamina-  
tion of mind, are not the remedies which the law in its wisdom has  
thought proper to adopt.' p. 11, 12.

We cannot express the sequel half so well, or so strongly, as in the following eloquent and impressive passage.

‘Such then, as I have described, being the rights of all prisoners, and such our policy, I maintain that these rights are violated, and this policy is abandoned, in England. The prisoner, after his commitment is made out, is handcuffed to a file of perhaps a dozen wretched persons in a similar situation, and marched through the streets, sometimes a considerable distance, followed by a crowd of impudent and insulting boys, exposed to the gaze and to the stare of every passenger: the moment he enters prison, irons are hammered on to him; then he is cast into the midst of a compound of all that is disgusting and depraved. At night he is locked up in a narrow cell, with perhaps half a dozen of the worst thieves in London, or as many vagrants, whose rags are alive, and in actual motion, with vermin: he may find himself in bed, and in bodily contact, between a robber and a murderer; or between a man with a foul disease on one side, and one with an infectious disorder on the other. He may spend his days, deprived of free air and wholesome exercise. He may be prohibited from following the handicraft, on which the subsistence of his family depends. He may be half starved for want of food, and clothing, and fuel. He may be compelled to mingle with the vilest of mankind, and, in self-defence, to adopt their habits, their language, and their sentiments: he may become a villain by actual compulsion. His health must be impaired, and may be ruined, by filth and contagion; and as for his morals, purity itself could not continue pure, if exposed for any length of time to the society with which he must associate.

‘He is instructed in no useful branch of employment, by which he may earn an honest livelihood by honest labour. You have forbidden him to repent and to reflect, by withholding from him every opportunity of reflection and repentance. Seclusion from the world has been only a closer intercourse with its very worst miscreants; his mind has lain waste and barren for every weed to take root in; he is habituated to idleness, reconciled to filth, and familiarized with crime. You give him leisure, and, for the employment of that leisure, you give him tutors in every branch of iniquity. In short, by the greatest possible degree of misery, you produce the greatest possible degree of wickedness; you convert an act, perhaps of indiscretion, into a settled taste, and propensity to vice. Receiving him, because he is too bad for society, you return him to the world impaired in health, debased in intellect, and corrupted in principles.’ p. 15-17.

This book of Mr Buxton’s contains the description of only ten places of confinement—five in a very bad state, which, we are sorry to say, he represents as pretty near the average for England—and five others, out of which two are foreign, which he has selected as specimens of what may be easily effected by judicious arrangement and careful superintendence. We shall en-

to give our readers a general idea of both sides of the

first prison which is described is one in the Metropolis, at of the BOROUGH COMPTON, examined in December 1817, and February 1818. There, in one ward and yard, were crowded together all those accused, and all convicted of offences, from slight assaults up to murder and robbery;—the whole employed in gaming, and complaining that they had nothing else to do. Next to them were upwards of forty debtors, stowed into two rooms of twenty feet long by less than ten feet wide, which are their bed-rooms, day-rooms, kitchen, and work-shop. In each of them, upwards of twenty people were put to sleep on eight straw beds. ‘I maintained,’ says Mr Buxton, ‘that the thing was physically impossible. But the prisoners explained away the difficulty, by saying, “they slept edgeways.”’ In the morning, the heat and stench arising from this condensation of human misery was such, that they all rushed out naked to the little yard as soon as the door was opened:—and the turnkey himself stated ‘that the smell, on the first opening of the door, was enough to turn the stomach of a horse.’ Every one of the prisoners looked sickly; and Mr Buxton guessed, with astonishing accuracy, the length of time which each had been confined by the degree of illness which they seemed to suffer. During the day, their general occupation is playing cards. There is no school—no soap is allowed—and no separation attempted either between the convicted and the untried—the felon and the petty delinquent—the novice and the old offender—or even the healthy and the sick of contagious disorders. The result cannot be better illustrated than by the concluding words of Mr Buxton’s impressive survey.

‘I saw one man lying on a straw bed, as I believed at the point of death, without a shirt, inconceivably dirty, so weak as to be almost unable to articulate, and so offensive as to render remaining a minute with him quite intolerable; close by his side, five other untried prisoners had slept the preceding night, inhaling the stench from this mass of putrefaction, hearing his groans, breathing the steam from his corrupted lungs, and covered with myriads of lice from his rags of clothing; of these, his wretched companions, three were subsequently pronounced by the verdict of a jury “not guilty,” and of these one was Noble, whose case I have before described. The day after their discharge, I found the two who were convicted almost undressed: on asking the reason, they said their clothes were under the pump to get rid of the vermin received from the vagrant; his bed had been burnt by order of the jailor; clothes had been cut off; and the turnkey said, one of his companions had brought him his garter, on which he counted upwards of forty lice.’



' The jailor told me, " that in an experience of nine years, he never known an instance of reformation ; he thought the prisoners grew worse ; and he was sure, that if you took the first boy you saw in the streets, and placed him in his prison, by the end of a month he would be as bad as the rest, and up to all the roguery of London. Half his present prisoners have been there before ; and upon an average, he thinks if one hundred are let out, he shall soon have from twenty to thirty back again, besides those who go to other jails."

' I will not trouble my reader with any further observations upon this prison ; but he must determine for himself, whether crime and misery are produced or prevented in the Borough Compter.' p. 30, 31.

The next jail examined was Tothill Fields, which exhibits very nearly the same picture—no classification—no work—no instruction—and more sickness even than in the Compter. The whole prison being damp, and many of the cells below the level of the ground, and under high water mark, one in ten of the prisoners was seized with acute rheumatism. The debtors are entitled to no provision whatsoever ; and while a man may be sent, and *has been* sent here, for 20 days, for a debt of 2s. 6d. he is not entitled to a single ounce of bread, it being presumed that he is able to support himself—that is, that he can buy provision for his subsistence for 20 days, though he could not pay 2s. 6d. to prevent his imprisonment. We really cannot wonder, after this, that a coroner's inquest, which sat on the body of a debtor in this jail last October, reported, ' that he had died for want of proper nourishment.'

The Prisons at *St Albans* are, if possible, still more abominable—some of the rooms are on a level with the street, and only separated by open bars, through which any thing may be handed in. It was found that the prisoners, in this way, generally got drunk, and came, in that state, to their trial ; in consequence of which, an order was issued to shut the lower part with a shutter, *on the Session-day, and that only!* The men and women sleep at night in places only separated by an open railing, with bars six inches asunder. There is no fire at any season—and no *yard* whatever—no employment. The jailor, on being asked if his prisoners were generally reformed or corrupted by their imprisonment, answered, ' that he had known a great many, who came in comparatively innocent, go out quite *depraved* ; but never one who, coming in wicked, went out better.'

At *Guildford*, things are no better. There are often an hundred prisoners here—no infirmary, chapel, or privy—no work—no classification. The irons are remarkably heavy ; and the jailor, who has been there forty-five years, concurred entirely

brother of St Albans as to the effects on the moral character of the captives. As an instance, he mentioned, 'that from boys were lately committed for poaching: they appeared at first quite strangers to crime, and kept themselves at a distance from the other prisoners. Their reserve, however, soon left them; they listened with eagerness to the adventures and escapes of their associates; they determined to go to London, and the day after their term of imprisonment was expired, they called at the jail to receive the promised letters of introduction from the thieves in prison, to their companions and receivers in town.' p. 42.

The account of the jail at Bristol, which is at last about to be rebuilt, in consequence of having been *actually presented as a nuisance* by the Grand Jury of the county, is still more shocking than any thing we have yet mentioned. When Mr B. visited it in March 1818, there were about 150 prisoners—sixty-three of whom he found jammed together in a yard 20 feet long by 12 broad; accused and convicted, sick and well, all packed together—and among them *eleven children*, hardly old enough to be released from the nursery. The following picture is terrible.

'All charged or convicted of felony,' without distinction of age, were in heavy irons—almost all were in rags—almost all were filthy in the extreme—almost all exhibited the appearance of ill health. The state of the prison—the desperation of the prisoners, broadly hinted in their conversation, and plainly expressed in their conduct;—the uproar of oaths, complaints, and obscenity—the indescribable stench;—presented, together, a concentration of the utmost misery with the utmost guilt—a scene of infernal passions and distresses which few have imagination sufficient to picture, and of which fewer still would believe that the original is to be found in this enlightened and happy country.

'After seeing this yard, and another of larger dimensions, the adjacent day-rooms and sleeping-cells, the conclusion of my own mind was, that nothing could be more offensive or melancholy. This opinion, however, was speedily refuted—a door was unlocked, we were furnished with candles, and we descended eighteen long steps into a vault; at the bottom, was a circular space; a narrow passage, eighteen inches wide, runs through this; and the sides are furnished with barrack bedsteads. The floor, which is considered to be on the same level with the river, was very damp. The smell at this hour (one o'clock) was something more than can be expressed by the term "disgusting." The bedstead was very dirty; and on one part of it I discovered a wretched human being who complained of severe illness. This was his infirmary—the spot chosen for the restoration of decayed health—a place, one short visit to which affected me with a hæmorrhage, which I did not recover for two days. The preceding night,

eighteen persons had here slept; and, according to the report of the turnkey, some of these were untried.

All to whom I spoke, complained of continual illness. One had been there thirty-one months, and according to his own account, never well. Another fourteen months, and never well:—and how (they very fairly asked) can it be otherwise, when we are giddy and sick every morning, from the air in which we have passed the night?—This they said in the presence of the turnkey, who gave his tacit consent to it; only adding an observation precisely similar to that recorded by Mr Neild, as made to him when visiting this jail seventeen years ago. He says, “The turnkey himself told me, that in a morning when he unlocked the door, he was so affected with the putrid steam issuing from the dungeon, that it was enough to knock him down.” p. 156–59. Mr B. adds in a note—‘A person only accused of a crime may be placed in this prison, wear heavy irons, and sleep every night in the “pit,” and this for a whole year before his trial. This fact, if it stood alone, would be sufficient to justify the efforts now making, to direct public attention to the state of our jails.’

In many other jails, which are less minutely described, the same general system prevailed. At Kingston, the town jail is a public house;—in the tap-room of which the debtors may always be found sitting in a crowd of casual customers. In Cold-bath Fields, three men, convicted of an unnatural crime, were shut up in a retired cell, with a youth committed for an assault. In Newgate, the abuses are innumerable, and are nearly sufficient to account for all the depravity which continues to disgrace the metropolis. The following address is very powerful. The author is speaking of a youth dismissed from one of these prisons, after being confined for some misdemeanour.

‘In this state of mind and body, at the expiration of his term of confinement, you throw him at once upon the town, without a shilling in his pocket, his next meal depending upon the dexterous application of those lessons of fraud, which have been his only recent acquirement. He must starve, or he must rob; you have taken from him the means of honest labour, but you have initiated him into other and more gainful arts. He came to your prison a misdemeanant; you send him from its walls a criminal—wasted in strength, polluted in principles, and ruined in character. All respectable men reject him, because they know, that to have been in your prison, is to be corrupted. He is compelled, by the cravings of nature, to take refuge amongst the hordes of thieves; they receive him with open arms, supply his immediate necessities, and advance him money on account, to be repaid by the product of his future depredations. They laugh away his scruples, if the society in which you had placed him had left him any, and soon furnish him with an opportunity of displaying his audacity, his courage, and his proficiency. His is then a rapid career; he soon knows every haunt of vice, and is known

fraternity of thieves as a willing labourer in any branch of their trade; his face grows familiar to the officers of justice; he has soon passed through half the prisons in the metropolis; till at length he stands at the bar, convicted of some act of desperate enormity; the dreadful sentence of the law is passed upon him, and all hopes of mercy are forbidden. The judge, the magistrates, the jury, the spectators, are shocked at such an instance of youthful depravity, while their hearts whisper, "Thank God, I am not as this robber." But if he who sows the seed contributes to the production of the harvest, they may find other subjects of astonishment than his guilt, and accomplices where they least expect them.' p. 52—54.

Mr B. assures us, that this is no fanciful picture—but an abridgement of many true histories that have fallen under his own observation. We may give the following short one as an illustration.

'A well educated boy, whose name I suppress, came to London with his father; and I am assured, by a very respectable tradesman, who knew him well, that he would not have objected to take him into his service. He is now fourteen years old, and a boy of an intelligent countenance. He was apprehended in May last, as a *vagrant*, for selling religious tracts, in Bishopsgate Church Yard, without a *Hawker's License*, and sent to the City Bridewell for a month. There he passed the day with twenty men and four boys committed for various crimes: and he slept with an Irishman who employed him to pick pockets, and steal from the other prisoners; and received, as the boy says, the produce of his thefts. The man and five others took a fever, and the boy continued to sleep with him during its progress. He caught it himself, brought it home, and communicated it to his father, mother, and three brothers, of whom one died. His nurse and her family were seized with it, and have not recovered at this moment. On his return, he was so covered with vermin, that his parents were obliged to destroy the blankets and rug of his bed. The father told me, that before his apprehension, he was a good and dutiful son, and that he had no fault to find with him. His mother said he was a quiet demure boy, fond of reading, and always willing to go with her to a place of worship. Now he never takes a book into his hands, except to pilfer it; and if she mentions any religious service, she is answered by execrations on her and her advice. She placed him in the school in Angel Alley; but he sent word to the master, with a desperate oath, that he would never go again. She cannot keep any work in the house: he has stolen and sold her Bible, his father's clothes, and the clothes lent by the Seven Row School to his brother: he is seldom at home: his father has found him at night sleeping in the baskets of Covent Garden, with a horde of girls and boys,—thieves and prostitutes.' p. 56—58.

Mr B. closes the first part of his work with some excellent suggestions as to the obvious and practicable reforms which are suggested by these observations—and by a short recapitulation of the existing laws, in open violation of which most of these

abuses are carried on. The very variety, and capricious irregularity which prevail in every part of the present most vicious system, is a strong proof of its defects. We have already noticed the practice in different places as to irons and fetters. The allowance of food is no less irregular.

' In *Tothill Fields* and *Ipswich*, no allowance for debtors except from charity.—*Bedford*, three quartern loaves per week for all prisoners.—*Bristol*, a four-penny loaf per day.—*Borough Compter*, fourteen ounces of bread per day, two pounds of meat per week.—*Bury*, one pound and a half of bread per day, one pound of cheese, and three-quarters of a pound of meat per week.—*Norwich*, two pounds of bread per day, half a pound of cheese per week.—*Penitentiary, Milbank*, one pound and a half of bread, one pound of potatoes, two pints of hot gruel, per day, and either six ounces of boiled meat, without bone, or a quart of strong broth mixed with vegetables.—Fourteen ounces of bread per day, with two pounds of meat per week, are not enough to support life: Besides, in some prisons, the allowance is withheld for a considerable time. The hour of delivery is fixed; and if a prisoner arrives after it, he receives nothing till the next morning.—There are differences with regard to bedding;—from no bedding, or coverlid, a blanket for two men, a blanket for each, two blankets for each, two blankets and a rug each, three blankets and a rug for each; to, three blankets, a rug, a hair-bed, and two pillows each.' p. 69, 70.

That such gross abuses as most of those we have noticed, should occur in the most populous and opulent districts of this enlightened country—and that they should be suffered to prevail in the very heart of our great and benevolent metropolis, under the eye of the legislature, and in the very precincts of our high courts of justice, cannot but strike every one as equally strange and disgraceful. It is still more strange, however, and not less instructive to learn, that intelligent and humane individuals have been found to defend the present system as the best that could be adopted in practice—that Mr Alderman Atkins publicly vindicated the whole establishment of Newgate, and compared the inside of that prison to a 'gentleman's dairy in the country;' while another honourable member contended, 'that our prisoners had all that prisoners ought to have—unless gentlemen thought they ought to be accommodated with Turkey carpets!' There cannot be a finer specimen of the temper in which certain classes of persons always meet the statement of any abuses in our existing establishments.

In the second part of his book, Mr B. goes on to show experimentally what reformations are practicable, and by what means, and to what an extent they have been already carried into execution. With this view he gives an ample account of the jail-house of correction at Bury—the Penitentiary at

at Brixton, and the jail at Ilchester, together with pretty full descriptions to the older establishments of the Rasphouse at Amsterdam, the Maison de Force at Ghent, and the state prison at Philadelphia. We cannot now afford room for any abstract of those very valuable notices, further than to say, that the possibility of defraying a great part of the expense of such establishments by the labour of the prisoners, and the facility of converting those abodes of misery and corruption into schools of industry and morality, seems to be demonstrated, beyond all contradiction, by the success of every one of those institutions in which the experiment has been judiciously tried. In all those places the inmates are carefully divided into classes—work is provided—religion and moral instruction administered—and the utmost attention paid to the health and bodily comforts of the prisoners. We would not withhold from our readers the encouraging and consolatory view of the subject which is contained in these accounts, had we not, in the remaining section of the work before us, a still more striking and delightful picture to present them, in the history of Mrs Fry's miraculous achievements in the reformation of the female convicts in Newgate. The story, we think, is as affecting as it is instructive; and unites, in our estimation, the pathetic and the marvellous of the boldest work of fancy, with the sanctity of truth, and the utility of a great moral lesson.

The abuses in Newgate, that great receptacle of guilt and misery, constructed to hold about 480 prisoners, but generally containing, of late years, from 800 to 1200, are eloquently set forth in the excellent publication of Mr Bennet, of which we have transcribed the title, though we have no longer left ourselves room to specify them.\* It may be sufficient, however, to observe, that the state of the women's wards was universally allowed to be by far the worst; and that even Alderman Atkins admitted, that in that quarter some alteration might be desirable, though, in his apprehension, it was altogether impracticable. Though, by no means inclined to adopt the whole of the worthy Alderman's opinions, we may safely say, that we should have been much disposed to agree with him in thinking

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\* The services of this gentleman in the Police Committees, as well as in that on Madhouses, and several others, are above all praise:—nor do we know another instance of so much patience, perseverance and activity, displayed for so long a time in these comparatively obscure but most meritorious exertions. We hope soon to have an opportunity of directing the attention of our readers to some of the important subjects which this gentleman has introduced to the notice of the public.

the subjects of those observations pretty nearly incorrigit certainly should not have hesitated to pronounce the which has actually been made upon them altogether imp Mrs Fry, however, knew better of what both she and they were capable; and, strong in the spirit of compassionate love, and of that charity that hopeth all things, and believeth all things, set herself earnestly and humbly to that arduous and revolting task, in which her endeavours have been so singularly blessed and effectual. This heroic and affectionate woman is the wife, we understand, of a respectable banker in London; and both she and her husband belong to the society of Friends—that exemplary sect, which is the first to begin and the last to abandon, every scheme for the practical amendment of their fellow-creatures—and who have carried into all their schemes of reformation a spirit of practical wisdom, of magnanimous patience, and merciful indulgence, which puts to shame the rashness, harshness, and precipitation of sapient ministers, and presumptuous politicians. We should like to lay the whole account of her splendid campaign before our readers; but our limits will no longer admit of it. However, we shall do what we can; and, at all events, no longer withhold them from this heart-stirring narrative.

‘ About four years ago, Mrs Fry was induced to visit Newgate; by the representations of its state, made by some persons of the Society of Friends.

‘ She found the female side in a situation which no language can describe. Nearly *three hundred women*, sent there for every gradation of crime, some untried, and some under sentence of death, were crowded together in the two wards and two cells, which are now appropriated to the untried, and which are found quite inadequate to contain even this diminished number with any tolerable convenience. Here they saw their friends, and kept their multitudes of children; and they had no other place for cooking, washing, eating, and sleeping.

‘ They slept on the floor, at times one hundred and twenty in one ward, without so much as a mat for bedding; and many of them were very nearly naked. She saw them openly drinking spirits; and her ears were offended by the most terrible imprecations. Every thing was filthy to excess, and the smell was quite disgusting. Every one, even the Governor, was reluctant to go amongst them. He persuaded her to leave her watch in the office, telling her that his presence would not prevent its being torn from her. She saw enough to convince her that every thing bad was going on. In short, in giving me this account, she repeatedly said—“ All I tell thee is a faint picture of the reality; the filth, the closeness of the rooms, the ferocious manners and expressions of the women towards each other, and the abandoned wickedness which every thing bespoke, are quite indescribable.” One act, the account of which I received from another quarter, marks the degree of wretchedness to which they were

reduced at that time. Two women were seen in the act of stripping a dead child, for the purpose of clothing a living one.

At that time Mrs Fry clothed many of the children, and some of the women, and read to them some passages in the Bible; and the willing and grateful manner with which, even then, they attended to her admonitions, left upon her mind a strong desire to do more for their advantage, and a conviction that much might be done. Circumstances, however, rendered any efforts, on her part, impossible, for the long period of three years.

About Christmas, 1816, she resumed her visits, and found that many, and very essential, improvements had been made by the Jail Committee; especially, the females were less crowded, as they occupied, in addition to their former rooms, the state-apartments, consisting of six wards and three cells, and the yard attached to them: They were provided with mats; and two gratings were erected, to prevent close communication between the prisoners and their visitors: With all these improvements, however, the prison was a dreadful scene. She found, she believes, all the women playing at cards, or reading improper books, or begging at the gratings, or fighting for the division of the money thus acquired, or engaged in the mysteries of fortune-telling; for then there was amongst them—one who could look into futurity; and the rest, who believed nothing else, were eager and implicit believers in the truth of her divinations. Want of employment was the subject of their continual lamentation. They complained that they were compelled to be idle; and that, having nothing else to do, they were obliged to pass away the time in doing wrong.' p. 117-19.

Her design, at this time, was confined to the instruction of about seventy children, who were wandering about in this scene of horror, and for whom even the most abandoned of their wretched mothers thanked her, with tears of gratitude for her benevolent intentions; while several of the younger women flocked about her, and entreated, with the most pathetic eagerness, to be admitted to her intended school. She now applied to the Governor, and had an interview with the two Sheriffs and the Ordinary, who received her with the most cordial approbation; but fairly intimated to her '*their persuasion that her efforts would be utterly fruitless.*' After some investigation, it was officially reported, that there was no vacant spot in which the school could be established; and an ordinary philanthropist would probably have retired disheartened from the undertaking. Mrs Fry, however, mildly requested to be admitted once more alone among the women, that she might conduct the search for herself. Difficulties always disappear before the energy of real zeal and benevolence: an empty cell was immediately discovered, and the school was to be opened the very day after.

The next day she commenced the school, in company with a young lady, who then visited a prison for the first time, and who



since gave me a very interesting description of her feelings upon that occasion. The railing was crowded with half naked women, struggling together for the front situations with the most boisterous violence, and begging with the utmost vociferation. She felt as if she was going into a den of wild beasts; and she well recollects quite shuddering when the door closed upon her, and she was locked in, with such a herd of novel and desperate companions. This day, however, the school surpassed their utmost expectations: their only pain arose from the numerous and pressing applications made by young women, who longed to be taught and employed. The narrowness of the room rendered it impossible to yield to these requests, whilst a denial seemed a sentence of destruction, excluding every hope, and almost every possibility of reformation. Their zeal for improvement, and their assurances of good behaviour, were powerful motives; and they tempted these ladies to project a school for the employment of the tried women, for teaching them to read and to work.

When this intention was mentioned to the friends of these ladies, it appeared at first so visionary and unpromising, that it met with very slender encouragement: they were told, that the certain consequence of introducing work would be, that it would be stolen; that though such an experiment might be reasonable enough, if made in the country, among women who had been accustomed to hard labour; yet it was quite destitute of hope, when tried upon those who had been so long habituated to vice and idleness. It was strongly represented, that their materials were of the very worst description; that a regular London female thief, who had passed through every stage and every scene of guilt; who had spent her youth in prostitution, and her maturer age in theft and knavery; whose every friend and connexion are accomplices and criminal associates, is of all characters the most irreclaimable.—Novelty, indeed, might for a time engage their attention, and produce a transient observance of the rules of the school: but violent passions would again burst out; and the first offence that was given would annihilate the control of their powerless and self-appointed mistresses. In short, it was predicted, and by many too, whose wisdom and benevolence added weight to their opinions, that those who had set at defiance the law of the land, with all its terrors, would very speedily revolt from an authority which had nothing to enforce it, and nothing more to recommend it than its simplicity and gentleness. That these ladies were enabled to resist the cogency of these reasons, and to embark and to persevere in so forlorn and desperate an enterprize, in despite of many a warning without, and many an apprehension within, is not the least remarkable circumstance in their proceedings; but intercourse with the prisoners had inspired them with a confidence which was not easily to be shaken; and feeling that their design was intended for the good and the happiness of others, they trusted that it would receive the guidance and protection of Him, who often is pleased to accomplish the highest purposes by the most feeble instruments.

With these impressions, they had the boldness to declare, that if a Committee could be found who would share the labour, and a matron who would engage never to leave the prison, day or night, they would undertake to try the experiment; that is, they would find employment for the women, procure the necessary money, till the city could be induced to relieve them from the expense, and be answerable for the safety of the property committed into the hands of the prisoners.

This committee immediately presented itself; it consisted of the wife of a clergyman, and eleven members of the Society of Friends. They professed their willingness to suspend every other engagement and avocation, and to devote themselves to Newgate; and, in truth, they have performed their promise. With no interval of relaxation, and with but few intermissions from the call of other and more imperious duties, they have lived amongst the prisoners. At first, every day in the week, and every hour in the day, some of them were to be found at their post, joining in the employments, or engaged in the instruction of their pupils; and at this very period, when the necessity of such close attendance is much abated, the matron assures me, that, with only one short exception, she does not recollect the day on which some of the ladies have not visited the prison; that very often they have been with her by the time the prisoners were dressed; have spent the whole day with them, sharing her meals, or passing on without any; and have only left the school long after the close of day. p. 121—125.

Even this astonishing progress could not correct the infidelity of men of benevolence and knowledge of the world. The Reverend Ordinary, though filled with admiration for the exertions of this intrepid and devoted band, fairly told Mrs F. that her designs, like many others for the improvement of that wretched mansion, '*would inevitably fail.*' The Governor encouraged her to go on—but confessed to his friends, 'that he could not see even the *possibility* of her success.' But the wisdom of this world is foolishness, and its fears but snares to entangle our feet in the career of our duty. Mrs F. saw with other eyes, and felt with another heart. She went again to the Sheriffs and the Governor;—near one hundred of the women were brought before them, and, with much solemnity and earnestness, engaged to give the strictest obedience to all the regulations of their heroic benefactress. A set of rules was accordingly promulgated, which we have not room here to transcribe; but they imported the sacrifice of all their darling and much cherished vices;—drinking, gaming, card-playing, novel reading, were entirely prohibited—and regular application to work engaged for in every quarter. For the space of one month these benevolent women laboured in private in the midst of their

unhappy flock ; at the end of that time they invited the Corporation of London to satisfy themselves, by inspection of the effect of their pious exertions.

' In compliance with this appointment, the Lord Mayor, the Sheriffs, and several of the Aldermen attended. The prisoners were assembled together ; and it being requested that no alteration in their usual practice might take place, one of the ladies read a chapter in the Bible, and then the females proceeded to their various avocations. Their attention during the time of reading ; their orderly and sober deportment, their decent dress, the absence of every thing like tumult, noise, or contention, the obedience, and the respect shown by them, and the cheerfulness visible in their countenances and manners, conspired to excite the astonishment and admiration of their visitors.

' Many of these knew Newgate, had visited it a few months before, and had not forgotten the painful impressions made by a scene, exhibiting, perhaps, the very utmost limits of misery and guilt.— They now saw, what, without exaggeration, may be called a transformation. Riot, licentiousness, and filth, exchanged for order, sobriety, and comparative neatness in the chamber, the apparel, and the persons of the prisoners. They saw no more an assemblage of abandoned and shameless creatures, half naked and half drunk, rather demanding, than requesting charity. The prison no more resounded with obscenity, and imprecations, and licentious songs ; and, to use the coarse, but the just, expression of one who knew the prison well, " this hell upon earth " exhibited the appearance of an industrious manufactory, or a well regulated family.

' The magistrates, to evince their sense of the importance of the alterations which had been effected, immediately adopted the whole plan as a part of the system of Newgate, empowered the ladies to punish the refractory by short confinement, undertook part of the expense of the matron, and loaded the ladies with thanks and benedictions.' p. 130, 131.

We can add nothing to this touching and elevating statement. The story of a glorious victory gives us a less powerful or proud emotion—and thanks and benedictions appear to us never to have been so richly deserved.

' A year, says Mr B., has now elapsed since the operation in Newgate began ; and those most competent to judge, the late Lord Mayor and the present, the late Sheriffs and the present, the late Governor and the present, various Grand Juries, the Chairman of the Police Committee, the Ordinary, and the officers of the prison, have all declared their satisfaction, mixed with astonishment, at the alteration which has taken place in the conduct of the females.

' It is true, and the Ladies' Committee are anxious that it should not be concealed, that some of the rules have been occasionally broken. Spirits, they fear, have more than once been introduced ; and it was discovered at one period, when many of the ladies were absent, that card-playing had been resumed. But, though truth

compels them to acknowledge these deviations, they have been of a very limited extent. I could find but one lady who had heard an oath, and there had not been above half a dozen instances of intoxication; and the ladies feel justified in stating, that the rules have generally been observed. The ladies themselves have been treated with uniform respect and gratitude.' p. 132, 133.

At the close of a Session, many of the reformed prisoners were dismissed, and many new ones were received—and, under their auspices, cardplaying was again introduced. One of the ladies went among them alone, and earnestly and affectionately explained to them the pernicious consequences of this practice; and represented to them how much she would be gratified, if, even from regard to her, they would agree to renounce it.

' Soon after she retired to the ladies' room, one of the prisoners came to her, and expressed, in a manner which indicated real feeling, her sorrow for having broken the rules of so kind a friend, and gave her a pack of cards: four others did the same. Having burnt the cards in their presence, she felt bound to remunerate them for their value, and to mark her sense of their ready obedience by some small present. A few days afterwards she called the first to her, and telling her intention, produced a neat muslin handkerchief. To her surprise, the girl looked disappointed; and, on being asked the reason, confessed she had hoped that Mrs ——— would have given her a Bible, with her own name written in it, which she should value beyond any thing else, and always keep and read. Such a request, made in such a manner, could not be refused; and the lady assures me, that she never gave a Bible in her life, which was received with so much interest and satisfaction, or one, which she thinks more likely to do good. It is remarkable, that this girl, from her conduct in her preceding prison, and in court, came to Newgate with the worst of characters.' p. 134.

The change, indeed, pervaded every department of the female division. Those who were marched off for transportation, instead of breaking the windows and furniture, and going off, according to immemorial usage, with drunken songs and intolerable disorder, took a serious and tender leave of their companions, and expressed the utmost gratitude to their benefactors, from whom they parted with tears. Stealing has also been entirely suppressed; and, while upwards of twenty thousand articles of dress have been manufactured, not one has been lost or purloined within the precincts of the prison.

We have nothing more to say; and would not willingly weaken the effect of this impressive statement by any observations of ours. Let us hear no more of the difficulty of regulating provincial prisons, when the prostitute felons of London have been

thus easily reformed and converted. Let us never again be told of the impossibility of repressing drunkenness and profligacy, or introducing habits of industry in small establishments, when this great crater of vice and corruption has been thus stilled and purified. And, above all, let there be an end of the pitiful apology of the want of funds, or means, or agents, to effect those easier improvements, when women from the middle ranks of life—when quiet unassuming matrons, unaccustomed to business, or to any but domestic exertion, have, without funds, without agents, without aid or encouragement of any description, trusted themselves within the very centre of infection and despair, and, by opening their hearts only, and not their purses, have effected, by the mere force of kindness, gentleness and compassion, a labour, the like to which does not remain to be performed, and which has smoothed the way and ensured success to all similar labours. We cannot *envy* the happiness which Mrs Fry must enjoy from the consciousness of her own great achievements;—but there is no happiness or honour of which we should be so proud to be partakers: And we seem to relieve our own hearts of their share of national gratitude, in thus placing on her simple and modest brow that truly Civic Crown, which far outshines the laurels of conquest, or the coronals of power—and can only be outshone itself by those wreaths of imperishable glory which await the champions of Faith and Charity in a higher state of existence.

ART. X. *The Speech of HENRY BROUGHAM Esq., M. P. in the House of Commons, May 8th, 1818, on the Education of the Poor, and Charitable Abuses.* Ridgeway, 1818.

NOBODY can have forgotten the murmurs and dissonant clamours with which the first proposal for communicating the blessings of Education to the great body of the people was lately received. Already, however, that disgraceful opposition is extinct; and in no instance, perhaps, could a more remarkable proof be produced, of the present rapid progress of the public mind, than the short space of time which has sufficed to discredit the objections to which we have alluded;—and that so completely, that Mr Brougham could say, with perfect truth, in the opening of the Speech before us, ‘that the prejudices and ‘fancies by which we were assured, that if we taught ploughmen and mechanics to read, they would disdain to work, have ‘now entirely died away. During this and the two last sessions, in all the discussions that have taken place, both in the

‘ House, in the Committee, and in the Country, I have never heard a single whisper hostile to the universal diffusion of knowledge. Every thing like opposition to the measure itself, is anxiously disclaimed by all. The only question entertained is touching the best, that is, the surest and the most economical, method of carrying it into effect.’

This, no doubt, is encouraging in the highest degree; and when so much has been so rapidly attained, we have good reason to conclude, that perseverance in the measures so happily begun, will, in no great time, be crowned with that success to which so many important consequences are indissolubly attached. It is necessary, however, for the security of this great object, that the eye of the public should be kept steadily on the whole progress of the measure—both that they may know by what steps it has been most effectually advanced, and by what lurking hostility its triumphs may still be retarded.

In the Session of Parliament 1816, Mr Brougham began to mature the subject, by moving for a Committee to inquire into the state of education among the lower orders in the metropolis. Already the progress of opinion was such, that the motion was not opposed: And Mr Brougham devoted to the inquiry so great a portion of his time and his thoughts, as called forth the applause even of ministers themselves, who, little as they might wish to strengthen the fame of a formidable antagonist, were yet compelled to honour exertions, of which they knew that the public estimation would be exceedingly high. The information obtained by the labours of this Committee, and printed by the House in a voluminous Report, is of the highest importance: and of this the public may judge, when they are told, that the great body of facts and experience which it displays, extends to the six following heads, on all of which they shed a strong and satisfactory light.—1. The number, or rather the proportion, of the children of the poor who remain uneducated, and destitute of the means of education:—2. The deplorable state in which the morals of these children are found, who are deprived of the means of education:—3. The admirable effects which education is found by experience to produce:—4. The circumstances, in the actual state of the country, which are favourable to education:—5. The circumstances, in the actual state of the country, which are unfavourable to education:—6. The methods which ought to be pursued for promoting education:—7. The funds, mostly of a charitable kind, which are now applicable to the purposes of education.

In the last Session of Parliament, in 1818, the Education

Committee was revived, and with more extensive powers, which enabled it to inquire into the education of the lower orders through the whole of England and Scotland. To this enlarged task it proceeded with its former zeal and industry; and a vast body of new and important information has been reported to the House, forming a volume, which those who have had access to it pronounce to be interesting and instructive in the very highest degree. As that information, however, is not yet printed, we are not enabled to lay an abstract of it before our readers; and, for that reason, reserve the account which we propose to give at considerable length, of both Reports, for a future occasion. In the mean time, we think it of importance to advert to the measure, with the proposal of which Mr Brougham terminated the labours of the Session on the subject of Education, and to exhibit a brief view of the topics handled in the Speech now before us, in which he described the progress made by the Committee in its inquiries, and defended from objections the bill he had introduced into the House.

The object of the bill, and the steps of its progress through both Houses, have attracted too much of the public attention to require any thing more than a cursory mention here. If funds appeared to be wanting, in some parts of the country, it was only the more necessary that those which had been provided for the purposes of education in other places, should be strictly applied to their destination. These funds were discovered to be so very large in their amount, as in reality to constitute a great national object: But, before adopting any measures for turning them to the best account, it was absolutely necessary to have accurate information as to the circumstances of each endowment; and no other means appeared to Mr Brougham to be calculated for obtaining that knowledge, but a parliamentary commission; and the recommendation of this measure was the first, accordingly, of his practical steps. A bill, with this object, was introduced towards the close of the Session, and most favourably received by the lower House; and the facts which he stated as to the extent and misapplication of the funds, destined not only for education, but for charitable purposes in general, impressed the strongest conviction of the necessity and propriety of the measure which he proposed. In the further steps of its progress, the measure was not so fortunate. The objects of inquiry, as well as the power of the commission, were very unnecessarily limited—and their appointment was assumed by the ministry. By these means, no doubt, the measure has been crippled; but the vigilance of the public, we trust, will supply the defects in the machinery—and we are far, certainly, from blaming Mr

Brougham for accepting what he could get; especially as, in the Speech before us, he has done so much to raise that public jealousy which no device or contrivance can either lull or elude. He begins with pointing out two situations, the difference between which, he thinks, should be duly considered by the Legislature. In large towns, and places where the population is great, much has been accomplished already, or is likely to be accomplished, without the aid of the Legislature. In other places, where the population is thin, little or nothing has been, or can easily be so accomplished. Now, whenever the object can be attained without the aid of the Legislature, Mr Brougham declares it to be his opinion, that no such aid should be required. It is only when, without the means which the Legislature alone can supply, the business seems incapable of being performed, that its interference should be desired. This opinion he seems to rest, in a great measure, upon the generally acknowledged impropriety of legislating too much; upon the experience that legislation, where it is not wanted, does harm more frequently than good; that the finest, as well as the most powerful spring in human affairs, is the impulse in private individuals to better themselves, and those with whom they are surrounded; and that, when these principles are sufficient to the end, it is not merely useless, but hurtful, to supersede them by any others. In the case of instruction, too, there is a deep ground of suspicion with respect to the government, in the interest which, so long as it shall desire to possess undue powers, it has to give pernicious instruction; to manage the business of teaching, both secular and religious, in such a manner as to enslave the minds of men, and make them passive instruments in the hands of power: And though we see no impossibility in appropriating legislative funds to the purposes of education, without placing the business of education in the hands of the government, we confess that we see no probability that, in the present state of things, this could be avoided; and that the same reluctance to admit improvement which distinguishes these institutions for education, which in any way depend upon government, would not adhere to any which it would now be possible to create.

Mr Brougham is farther of opinion, that, with the ardour which now distinguishes every part of the community for rendering universal the benefits of education, all that would be necessary, even in places the most unfavourably situated, would be, to provide the expense of *erecting schools*; that the rest, the annual expense of schoolmasters, and all other requisites, might, without difficulty, be found upon the spot, in the liberal and cheerful contribution of individuals; and this is an experiment, undoubtedly, which it would be highly desirable to



try. The poverty of the people in some places, and the torpidity which a pressing poverty necessarily creates, cannot be overlooked as grounds of distrust; but if the eye remains open to watch the effects of the experiment, and to supply all that may remain defective, no great evil can be done.

He anticipates the principal obstruction with which, in carrying it into execution, this beneficent scheme of his appears likely to meet:—and that arises from the feelings of the two religious parties into which the population of the country is most conspicuously divided—those who belong to the established church—and those who do not belong to it. A large proportion of both parties require, that religious instruction should not remain in the hands in which it has hitherto been placed—those of the pastors of the several flocks; but that it should be united with the teaching of reading and writing in ordinary schools; and they can agree upon no common method in which this should be done. Those who belong to the established church very generally insist upon it, that the catechism and the creed of that church should be taught in all schools,—while it cannot be denied, that the teaching of that catechism and creed would have the effect of excluding from such places of education all those children, the parents of whom cannot conscientiously permit their children to be taught this form of religion. To establish schools with the money of the people, and to subject them to rules which necessarily exclude from them a great proportion of the people, is such an incongruity as cannot, in the present age, be contemplated with complacency. On the other hand, the great body of those who dissent from the Established Church insist only upon the reading of the Scriptures; and as this would exclude no members of the Established Church, and scarcely any of the Dissenters, it would probably be the best compromise that could be made. It ought not, however, to be forgotten, that there are classes whom even this would exclude; and that, where education is the good in view, to exclude from it, or any facilities for acquiring it, any portion of the population, cannot be regarded as an object of trifling importance. Besides, it so happens, that the children upon whom this exclusion would operate, are they in whose case a peculiar demand exists for the moralizing influence of education. They are the children chiefly of Catholic and Jewish parents, both of whom have insuperable objections to permit any part of their religious education to be given by any but their own religious instructors. It happens, also, that a great proportion of these two classes are exactly the poorest and most destitute part of our population; the children of whom are, by necessary consequence, brought up in circum-

stances the least consistent with any kind of mental culture, and where a moral feeling and moral principles can least of all be engendered. Instead of making rules to exclude these people from the benefits of education, the desirable thing would be to afford them additional inducements.

Mr Brougham speaks thus, from the knowledge which his inquiries have enabled him to obtain.

‘ Where the town is considerable, though the people may be of various religious denominations, no impediment to instructing the whole arises from that circumstance, because there is room for schools upon both principles. The Churchmen can found a seminary, from whence Dissenters may be excluded by the lessons taught, and the observances required ; while the sectaries, or those members of the Establishment who patronize the schools for all without distinction of creed, may support a school upon this universal principle, and teach those whom the rules of the Church Society exclude. But this is evidently impossible in smaller towns, where the utmost exertions of the wealthy inhabitants can only maintain a single school. There, if the bulk of the rich belong to the Church, no school will be afforded to the sectarian poor ; though, certainly, if the bulk of the rich be Dissenters, the poor connected with the Establishment may profit by the school which is likely to be founded. If, on the other hand, the wealthy inhabitants are more equally divided, and the members of the Church refuse to abandon the exclusive plan, no school at all can be formed. Accordingly it is in places of this moderate size that the difference between the two plans is the most felt, and where I can have no doubt, that the progress of education has been materially checked by an unbending adherence to the system of the National Society. The moderate size of the place renders the distinction of sects most injurious to education, even where there exist the means and the disposition to establish schools by subscription.’ p. 9, 10.

On the subject of the proposed inquiry into the state of the funds now existing, and applicable to the business of education, Mr Brougham informs us, that great progress has been made by the Committee itself.

‘ It has,’ he says, ‘ received a prodigious mass of information from all parts of the country. We are now diligently employed in prosecuting these researches, and in digesting their results into Tables, which may exhibit at one view a general, but minute chart of the state of education throughout the empire ; so that the eye may readily perceive in each district what are the existing means of public instruction, and wherein those means are deficient ; how many children in any given place are taught, and after what manner ; how many are clothed or maintained ; how the funds for their instruction or support arise ; with much information of a miscellaneous nature, affording valuable suggestions to the commission which is about to issue, for the more rigorous investigation of all charitable abuses. When

these Tables shall be laid before the House, an ample foundation will be prepared for the legislative measure, which, sooner, or latter, I am convinced must be adopted; for they will indicate the kind of districts where parish schools are most wanted, and enable us to frame the provisions of the law, so as not to interfere with the exertions of private charity, and to avoid unnecessary, and, what is the same thing, hurtful legislation.' p. 19, 20.

In proposing, however, a commission of inquiry, Mr Brougham took his usual comprehensive range. As the funds destined for education, were not the only charitable funds existing in the nation, nor the only charitable funds which had become subject to abuse, he who was of opinion, that as, wherever abuses existed, they ought to be searched out and removed, the commissioners, when they were to be appointed, might as well perform two services as one; that, not confining themselves to charitable funds for education, they should inquire into the abuses of charitable funds in general. 'I am persuaded,' says he, 'that the House will feel with me the necessity of adopting this measure, when I state a few particulars to show the large amount of these funds, and the abuses to which they are liable.'

The returns, in pursuance to the 26th Geo. III, commonly called Mr Gilbert's Act, are known to be exceedingly defective; yet they make the yearly income of charities about 48,000*l.* from money, and 210,000*l.* from land, in the year 1788. It appears from evidence laid before the Committee, that in one county, Berkshire, only a third part of the funds was returned. If we suppose this to be the average deficiency in the whole returns, it will follow, that the whole income actually received by charities was between 7 and 800,000*l.* a year. But this is very far from an accurate estimate of the real annual value of charitable estates. Several circumstances concur to keep the income down. In the first place, the trustees have, generally speaking, very insufficient powers for the profitable management of the funds under their care. They are thus prevented from turning them to the best account. I know of many cases where, for want of the power to sell and exchange, pieces of land in the middle of towns lie waste which might yield large revenues. The right honourable gentleman opposite (Mr Huskisson), connected with the department of the land revenue, is perfectly aware how important an increase of income might be derived from an addition of this sort to the powers of trustees. It is a power which the donors would in almost every instance have conferred, had they foreseen the change of circumstances that renders it so desirable. Another source of diminution to the revenue of the poor, is the loss of property through defects in the original constitution of the trusts, and a consequent extinction, in many cases, of the trustees, without the possibility of supplying their places. Negligence in all its various branches is next to be named, including carelessness, ignorance, indolence, all the sins of omis-

sion by which men suffer the affairs of others to perish in their hands, when they have the management of them gratuitously, and subject to no efficient check or control. Add to all these sources of mismanagement, the large head of wilful and corrupt abuse in its various branches, and we shall probably underrate the amount of the income which ought now to be received by Charities, if we say that it is nearer TWO MILLIONS than fifteen hundred thousand a year; by far the greater part of which arises from real property.' p. 20-22.

After some further observations, showing the great importance of the investigation, and the peculiar fitness of the present time for the undertaking, Mr Brougham mentions a number of cases, for the purpose of exhibiting a specimen merely of the mode in which charitable funds have been misapplied. The passage is somewhat long; but the matter is too important to be abridged, and the whole is too striking to be given in any language but that of the speaker himself.

As the mass of evidence examined by the Committee cannot for some time be accessible to the members of this House, I think it may be useful if I now state a few cases of mismanagement and abuse, to serve for a sample of those which may be found in every part of the country. I shall not at present name the particular places, but only the counties whence the cases have come; because inaccurate reports of the charges made here against individuals are apt to get into circulation. When the whole details shall be presented in the Committee's Report, the persons accused will be pointed out; but they will then have an opportunity of seeing the statements on which the charges rest, and knowing the names of their accusers. A strange neglect, to say the least of it, has appeared in the administration of some Berkshire charities. In Charles the First's reign, the sum of 4000*l.* was left to be laid out in land for the use of a school; and in 1660, the purchases were completed, for 3900*l.*, the remaining 100*l.* having probably gone for the expenses of the conveyance. What rent does the House think these lands have yielded? In 1811 it was only 196*l.* a year, five per cent. on the original purchase money a century and a half ago, and only 10*l.* more than was received a few years after the Restoration. The good and diligent trustees in Charles the Second's time dealt wisely and well with the estate, for they very soon made it yield 5 per cent.; but the less careful, I will not say less honest, stewards in George the Third's reign, granted a sixteen year's lease at a rise of ten pounds above the rent in the seventeenth century. In 1811, indeed, the rent was doubled; though there is every reason to believe that it is still very inadequate. To another school in the same county belongs an estate, let at 450*l.*, which the surveyors value at above 1000*l.* a year. And the income received from lands purchased seventy years ago, by different charities, with sums amounting in the whole to 22,000*l.*, is now only 379*l.*, being little more than one and a half

per cent. on the purchase money. A certain corporation in Hampshire has long had the management of estates devised to charitable uses, and valued at above 2000*l.* a year by surveyors. They are let for 2 or 300*l.* a year on fines. How are the fines disposed of? No one knows; at least no one will tell. Those interested in the application inquire in vain. The corporation wraps itself up in a dignified mystery, and withholds its books from vulgar inspection. The same worshipful body has obtained possession of a sum of 1000*l.*, part of a bequest, well known by the name of White's Charity. In former times Sir Thomas White, a merchant in London, left certain estates to form a fund for assisting poor tradesmen with small loans, somewhat according to the plan adopted by Dean Swift, but which his peculiar temper frustrated, and rendered a source of great uneasiness to himself. The corporation to which I allude, became entrusted with 1000*l.* of this money; and what they have done with one half of it I know not; they may have lent it to poor traders; but I am aware that the other 500*l.* has not been so lent, either with or without interest, but applied to pay a corporation debt, and in this ingenious manner:—It has been lent without interest to the creditors of the corporation in satisfaction for the present of their debt, and a truly marvellous recommendation has been entered on the corporation books to their successors, to do the same as often as the demands of the creditor might require the operation to be performed. I hold in my hand forty or fifty more instances of abuse, extracted from the numerous returns made by the resident clergy. The Committee Room is directed to be opened to every member of the House; gentlemen will there see the returns arranged in piles, under the heads of the several counties; and the praiseworthy zeal of the two learned gentlemen (Mr Parry and Mr Koe) who assist the committee, will help them to find any of the particular cases to which I am now referring, as well as many others which I am obliged to omit. At a place in Devonshire, the question, What funds exist, destined to the purposes of education, is answered by a statement, "that the funds of the Foundation School are known only to Mr Such-a-one." In another return it is said, that no account whatever can be obtained of the funds; and in a third, the estate belonging to the charity is alleged to have been let on a ninety-nine year's lease. Now this lease, of itself, I hold to be an abuse. To let and take a fine is an abuse; to let for so long a term without taking a fine, is a gross mismanagement of the property. What, then, will the House say of leases for eight and nine hundred years? We have evidence of both; and in one case for a peppercorn rent. In the county of Norfolk, a school was founded in 1680, for educating forty children; but none are now taught there at all. The reverend author of this return observes, that great mystery hangs over this charity—a remark the less surprising, when we find that the estates produce 300*l.* a year, and that the accounts have not been audited for thirty years. A school was anciently endowed in

Derbyshire, and the lands produce 80*l.* a year, but no children are taught; and the return describes the management of the funds to be "most shameful and abominable." The master has done nothing for ten years; the trustees are all dead, and no successors have been appointed. In Essex a school was founded many years ago; and at one time it had fallen into such mismanagement, that only a few boys were taught, I believe, by a mechanic whom the master appointed. The present incumbent provides for the education of 70 children; but so ample are the funds, that he receives about a thousand a year, after paying all the expenses of the establishment. Owing to the neglect of the trustees, the whole management of another school in that county has lapsed to Magdalen College, Cambridge; and the clause in the present bill, exempting all charities under the control of Colleges, will prevent the Commissioners from inquiring into the causes of this devolution, for which no blame can attach to Magdalen, but certainly the greatest neglect must be imputed to the trustees. In one place in Leicestershire, the property belonging to a school has lately been offered for sale, by what possible right or title I am unable to divine. A surplus fund is stated, in another return, to have been pocketed by the trustees. In Nottinghamshire there is a ~~free~~ school, the funds of which our reverend informant scruples not to say are grossly abused. The scholars are wholly neglected, and bush-money is given to the master. The income is stated to be 400*l.* a year. In Worcestershire a charitable foundation, which existed a few years ago, is said to have entirely disappeared. In the same county there is a school endowed with an income of 1000*l.* a year; and timber was lately cut upon the estates which sold for 370*l.* By the deed of foundation, all the inhabitants of the place are entitled to have their children educated; but the master has made so many exceptions and restrictions, that only eight boys belonging to that place are taught. In the North Riding of Yorkshire is a school, the revenue of which amounts to 1300*l.* a year: six boys are taught. The master of a school in the East Riding receives his salary, and lives in the West Riding; he has done so for thirty years past: It is needless to add, that "the school is a sinecure, and the funds grossly misapplied." In one of the Northamptonshire returns, the clergyman says, he can learn nothing of the application of a school estate of 75*l.* a year, which never was registered; and he adds, that other charities in his parish are misapplied, and more in danger of being lost, "in consequence of the parish clerk having been plundered of all writings relative to charities." In Derbyshire, one return gives this answer to our question, "What funds exist in your parish for education?" "None; my Lord Such-a-one and his ancestors have withheld the rent of certain lands of considerable value from the grammar-school." A similar case seemed to be presented to our notice, by a remark in a county history: The author says, that in a certain parish (in Westmoreland) a school was amply endowed and begun; "but being only in its probationary state, it was thought fit by the owner of the estate to

be discontinued." In other words, the scholars were (to use the technical phrase) *dismissed*; the school broken up; and, since that time, no man had heard any thing of it. Pursuing this hint, we caused the Probate Office to be searched; and there found a will in 1700, devising a manor, a capital messuage, the tithes of a parish, and the tithes of a hamlet, for the establishment and support of a school. Yet this school had never passed beyond "its probationary state." It is true, that some of those to whom the estate devolved, have lately, as an act of their own charity, founded a small school in their own name. But it is fit that all persons should learn one lesson: When funds are given to the poor, gratitude is due, and, I trust, is always rendered: And then the funds belong to the poor, who are not to be called upon a second time to thank those from whom by piecemeal the same property is again doled out, which had been given entirely, and once for all, above a hundred years ago. I know another instance, in the northern parts of Yorkshire, where, for an income of near 500*l.* a year, the master teaches four or five scholars, when, within the memory of many now living, the same endowment used to educate forty or fifty. p. 23—30.

After urging the ground for the legislative inquiry which he proposed, in so remarkable an exhibition of incontrovertible facts, upon which it may be thought that he might with some confidence have rested his case, Mr Brougham goes on to recapitulate and to answer all the objections by which the enemies of the measure had endeavoured to oppose it.

First of all, he states the objection which is drawn from the idea of property; and treats it with a considerable degree of indignation. 'Under the flimsy pretence,' he says, 'of great tenderness for the sacred rights of property, I am well aware that the authors of the outcry conceal their own dread of being themselves dragged to light as robbers of the poor; and I will tell those shameless persons, that the doctrine which they promulge, of charitable funds in a trustee's hands being private property, is utterly repugnant to the whole law of England.'

It is to be remarked, that a fallacy, grounded upon the importance which ought to be attached to the rights of property, is very apt to be employed to defend and perpetuate the existence of abuses. There is hardly any misapplication of public money, provided the evil has been of some duration, or, in other words, has been carried by accumulation to a certain magnitude, which has not been defended, as if all security of property would be shaken by its redress.

There is no distinction, therefore, which it is of more importance to draw, and to keep firmly in mind, in all our discussions respecting the property of the State, than that which is here drawn by Mr Brougham, between the property which

individuals hold as their own, and that which they hold, in any shape whatsoever, as trustees for the public. That property which a man rightfully holds as his own, is to be maintained for him by all those securities which experience has proved that the good of society requires. But that property which a man receives in trust for the public, is the property, not of him, but of the public; and if he turns it in any degree from the public use, to his own, it is he that is the violator of the rights of property—not the man who endeavours to put an end to his usurpation, and to restore it to the public to whom it belongs. It is a strange doctrine, that the violation of a trust, which is one of the greatest of all wrongs, should be allowed to convert itself into one of the most sacred of all rights. Yet to what an extent is the operation of this fallacy frequently carried? If at any time the public has made any particular application of the public property, which has continued for a series of years, it is very often contended that the public is no longer justified in altering that application. Why? Because the security of property would by that means be shaken. If the public applies its own property to a good end, after having applied it to a frivolous or a bad one, and thereby lessens the gains of those who have profited by the abuse, this is very often arraigned as an invasion of the right of property, and a prejudice is raised against some of the most salutary operations of the State. It is obvious, on the other hand, that if it is the property of the public, the violation of property is committed by those who are instrumental in turning it from that application, be it what it may, in which it would conduce most effectually to the public good. Mr Brougham shows, that this is not merely a principle founded in reason, and the consideration of moral equity, but a principle distinctly recognised and sanctioned by the law of England.

That law regards the inheritance of the poor as matter of public, not of private jurisdiction, and deals with it as it does with the rights of the Crown and the Church. I am anxious to correct, once for all, the misrepresentation of which I now complain; because it is artfully disseminated with a view to excite prejudices against the proposed measure, by appealing to the very just delicacy that prevails on every thing connected with private rights. I therefore again assert, that a more gross abuse of language never was committed by ignorant or by wilful perversion, than the statement that charitable funds are of a private nature. The Legislature has at all times treated them as public. The 43d of Elizabeth orders Commissions to be issued for examining all abuses of those funds, with powers not merely to inquire, but to reform, by making 'orders, judgments, and decrees.' Who ever thought of a commission to investigate or control the ma-



nagement of private property? When a private estate is dilapidated—when land is let for an elusory rent—when the interests of the remainder-man are in any way sacrificed by the tenant for life—who ever dreamt of allowing any one not interested (except in the case of an infant) to apply for a judicial investigation of the injury? Yet, by the statute of Elizabeth, Commissioners may be sent into any county with powers to impanel a jury, and proceed judicially against all who mismanage or abuse funds destined to charitable uses, without any previous complaint at the instance of any party interested in the property. In like manner, Mr Gilbert's Act requires every person in whose hands any such funds are, whether arising from land or other sources, to return the nature and amount of the estates within three months, on pain of forfeiting one half of the property at the suit of a common informer. The two statutes passed in 1812, proceed upon the same view of the question. By one of them (52 Geo. III. c. 101) a registry of charitable donations is prescribed; and the other (52 Geo. III. c. 102) gives a remedy for any abuse of them, by petition to a court of equity, which any two persons may present; a proceeding which has, however, proved most inadequate to the correction of the mischief. Such is the light in which charitable funds have always been regarded by the Legislature, and so little have they ever been considered as private property! But I might appeal to the view which the Common Law takes of them, when it places them, as it were, under the joint protection of the Crown and the community, authorizing the Attorney General to file an information on the relation of any individual, who may state that a charity has been abused. p. 33—35.

Another objection is, that a remedy for the abuse of charities already exists, namely, in the access which is afforded to the Court of Chancery, by the statute of charitable uses. To this objection, Mr Brougham makes a memorable reply; and draws a picture of this Court of Chancery, which though probably a little highly coloured is still not a little appalling. This picture, coming from so high an authority, both as a lawyer and a statesman, we hope, will make an impression; and lead to those ideas of reform which, in some bosoms, no accumulation of evil seems capable of exciting.

It has been said, that the statute, of which I have just mentioned the notable origin, affords a sufficient remedy for the evil. The history of the proceedings under it, affords the best answer to this objection. During the first year after it passed, forty-five Commissions of Charitable Uses were issued. From that time to the year 1643, the returns are defective, the Docket Books in the Crown Office having been destroyed. From 1643 to the Restoration, there were two hundred and ninety-five Commissions. The troubled state of the country during the civil wars having probably occasioned great neglects and abuses of charities, a considerable increase took place in

the number of Commissions, and no less than three hundred and forty-four were issued, between 1660 and 1678. From that time to 1700, there were one hundred and ninety-seven: from 1700 to 1746, one hundred and twenty-five: and from thence to the beginning of the present reign no more than three. So that the whole number from 1643 to 1760 was nine hundred and sixty-four. Since the latter period, and indeed for twenty years before, this remedy may be to have fallen into disuse. There have been only three commissions this reign, and only six in the last 75 years, of which number only one has issued since 1787, when the Committee stated the urgent necessity of investigating charitable abuses. It is hardly needful to show the reasons, why the statutory remedy is inapplicable to the present times, and in itself cumbrous and inefficacious. Suffice it to observe, that it leads him who pursues it, sooner or later into the Court of Chancery; and in truth, as the law now stands, that well known Court is the only refuge of those who complain. See then the relief held out to us by those who oppose, or threaten to oppose this measure, and who bid us resort to the ancient laws of the land! It is admitted to be true, that glaring abuses everywhere prevail—true, that hardly a parish or a hamlet can be named where complaints are not heard—true, that the highest judicial authority proclaimed the extent of the grievance—true, that a Committee of the House of Commons, thirty years ago, vehemently urged you to afford redress. But your remedy is at hand, say the objectors—what reason have you to complain? Is not the Court of Chancery open? Come, all ye who labour under the burthen of fraud or oppression—enter the eternal gates of the Court of Chancery! True you are the poor of the land—the grievance you complain of has robbed you of every thing: but, pennyless though you are, you are not remediless—you have only to file a bill in equity, and the matter will take its course! Why, if there were nothing in the reality, there is something in the name of the Court of Chancery that appals the imagination, and strikes terror into the unlearned mind. I recollect a saying of a very great man in the Court of King's Bench. The Judge having said of his client, "Let him go into a Court of Equity," Mr Erskine answered, in an artless tone of voice, which made Westminster Hall ring with laughter, "Would your Lordship send a fellow-creature there?" There may be some exaggeration in the alarms created by the bare name of this Court; but, as long as it exists, a barrier is raised against suitors who only seek redress for the poor, though no bars of oak or of iron may shut them out. Yet that the prevailing panic has some little foundation, I will show you by a fact. I have mentioned that only one Commission had issued since 1787, and I am now enabled to state the result of its execution. It was fully executed in 1803; and in 1804, a decree was made, and the Court was petitioned to confirm it. Exceptions were taken as usual. Much and solemn argument was held; and I will venture to say, from what I know of that Court, the

case was most learnedly and plentifully debated. In 1808 the matter was deemed ripe for a decision, and since that time it has, to use the technical, but significant expression, *stood over for judgment*. For ten years it has awaited this final issue; and during the last four years it has stood at the head of the Lord Chancellor's Paper, first among the causes waiting for judgment. Now, in the language of the profession, "*this is my case*." If any one tells me that the Statute of Charitable Uses affords a remedy, I answer, that the grossest abuses being everywhere notorious, the remedy has only thrice been resorted to for above half a century, and only once within the last thirty years; and I bid him look at the fate of that one attempt to obtain justice.' p. 39—43.

There are some minor objections to which Mr Brougham deems it requisite to make an answer, through which, however, we do not think it necessary to follow him. It satisfies us to have shown, as we think we have done, that Mr Brougham has most completely established his case; first, in proving that the greatest abuses exist; and secondly, in proving that there is no existing remedy for them. The inference, to the minds of all those who have no wish that the abuses should remain, is irresistible,—that inquiry should take place, to lay a foundation for reform.

It is not our intention to enter now into the provisions of the bill which was introduced by Mr Brougham for establishing a board of inquiry, nor into the history of the curtailment, which the powers required in it underwent before it was passed into a law. It is necessary, however, to state, that the commissioners who, it was originally proposed, should be chosen by Parliament, are now chosen by the Crown; and their powers of inquiry, instead of being extended to all charitable funds, are confined to those which are destined to the purposes of education. Nor is this limitation the whole; for the Two Universities, London, Westminster, Eton, Winchester, Charterhouse, Harrow and Rugby schools, and *all charitable foundations which have special visitors*, are exempted from the inquiry. Finally, the commissioners, even in the narrow circle to which their inquiry is confined, are furnished with no compulsory powers for the attainment of evidence. They are only to issue their precept to such persons as they wish to examine, or from whom they desire to be furnished with papers and records; but if any person chuses to disregard this precept, they have no means of enforcing obedience,—they have no penalty to apply,—and the end of their appointment is in that instance defeated. To how great an extent they will meet with these refusals, it is impossible to foresee. But it is abundantly plain, that they will be most likely to meet with them, in those cases in which there is the greatest need

disclosure,—those in which the abuses to be concealed are most enormous. It is therefore plain, that this peculiar provision of the act is calculated solely for the protection of the best delinquents.

There is but one topic more on which we are anxious at this time to express our sentiments; but that is a point of cardinal importance,—we mean, the revival of the Committee by the Parliament. The reasons which prompt to this measure are numerous and powerful; and such, we fervently hope, as even the great body of sinister interests arrayed against them, will not be able to overcome. If sufficient reason existed for the first formation of the Committee on Education,—and *that* it will not be very modest to deny, after all the compliments which have been paid to them by the leaders of all parties, on the importance of their labours, and after that importance has been so conspicuously manifested by their reports, and so fully recognised by the public—we may, without hesitation affirm, that still greater reason exists at present for the continuance of their labours. What they have already done, has chiefly served to show the magnitude and importance of what yet remains for them to do. As yet they have done nothing but inquire into the present state of education among the poor; and even this preliminary operation is still but imperfectly performed. They have indeed discovered enough to make manifest to the world the deplorable state of England in that important respect; but it is rather a gross and general conception, than a minute acquaintance, that they have been able to acquire. For this degree of knowledge—for that sort of knowledge which is required to form the basis of a practical superstructure—much more inquiry must be made.

But even if this important portion of the business had been accomplished, and the labours of the Committee had lasted so long as to lay before us a complete delineation of our actual circumstances, this would have been but a part, and a small one, of the great business to be performed. The only rational end of ascertaining exactly the badness of any situation, is to ascertain the means of improvement. Assuredly, it is an important inquiry. After having proved, by examination, that there is a lamentable and disgraceful want of education in this country; that in a country where science and refinement have made so great a progress among one part of the people, there is another, and that the largest part, immersed in the most deplorable ignorance; it would be strange if we did not proceed to find out what are the best means of altering this deplorable state of circumstances, and of introducing among the people that know-

ledge, and that mental improvement, on which the happiness and progress of society so entirely depend.

Assuredly this inquiry cannot be too speedily entered upon, and too earnestly pursued. And if this position is conceded, it will not, we presume, be denied, that this important inquiry cannot be entrusted to fitter hands than those of the Committee who have earned so much esteem by that which they have already done.

If the Legislature resolved to undertake in earnest the great work of providing for the whole people the means of education, the course which, under the guidance of reason, it would be sure to pursue, would be to appoint a Committee to deliberate, and to draw up, after full consideration, a plan, exhibiting the best possible combination of means for the attainment of the end. If this would be the course which it would pursue, even in a case in which it had no previous committee whose fitness was tried, and which already had acquired experience, and a large stock of knowledge of that precise description which the occasion required, we need not say what is the course pointed out to it in the present instance, by every consideration both of policy and of reason.

But beside these great and commanding inducements, there are reasons which, even for the sake of decency, the House of Commons, we hope, will not overlook. After the manner in which the commission of inquiry has been formed, and after it has been deprived of all the powers of efficient inquiry, nothing less than a Committee of the House of Commons, under which it may appear to act, with whose powers it will appear to be invested, and which will be able, on many occasions, to supply its deficiencies, can either make the inquiry efficient, or give any kind of security to the public that it was intended that it should be so. Finally, the House of Commons will not act even with any appearance of consistency, unless the Committee of Education is revived. Who was ever so absurd as to call in a physician, merely to tell that he was labouring under a dangerous disease, and then to dismiss him, before he has time to speak to you about the remedy? Mere absurdity will not account for such a proceeding;—and, if the Committee is not reappointed, it will not be easy to persuade the public, that other motives have not operated than a care for the public good.

ART. XI. *Documents connected with the Question of Reform in the Burghs of Scotland.* Edinburgh, 1817.

THE question, respecting which some material documents have been collected in the publication before us, has lately excited, and still continues to excite, a very lively interest in this part of the kingdom. The Constitutions, or Sets, as they are termed, of our Royal Burghs, which regulate the election of their Magistracy, have been long deemed disgraceful to the country,—an exception to its general advancement,—inconsistent with the enlightened principles of its public law,—utterly indefensible upon any views of expediency,—and actually productive of the greatest abuses. About thirty years ago, in particular, the evil, which was almost everywhere acknowledged, having at last attracted the notice of Legislature, inquiries were set on foot, that seemed to promise a beneficial and satisfactory result. But the expectations then raised were soon disappointed by the occurrence of other events, and other questions of infinitely greater moment, which, during a long interval, left most men no leisure to feel, and rendered many indisposed to redress, such grievances as we are now to consider. It was natural, however, when the agitation of Europe had subsided, to look homeward, and to think of employing the season of tranquillity in forwarding the great work of domestic improvement. In this situation, several circumstances have recently combined to revive the scheme of Burgh Reform, towards which some progress had formerly been made.

The constitution of Montrose, though not remarkably defective, had given great dissatisfaction to its Burgesses; and a slight alteration it had received, was far from bringing it to correspond with their wishes: So that, when an application to the Privy Council became necessary, owing to the reduction of the election of its Magistrates for 1816, it was thought expedient by all parties to petition, not merely for a Warrant of Election, but also for a Reform of the Set. The petition was granted,—the constitution being on that occasion remodelled, and a poll appointed for the election of the new Council and officers. While this measure, which had been adopted by the advice of the Crown lawyers, seemed to indicate, on the part of Government, a very sincere desire to amend the constitution of the Burghs, the prevalence and magnitude of the abuses became every day more apparent. The affairs of Aberdeen, just about this time, fell into the utmost confusion and embarrassment. That Burgh, which had embarked in speculations of great extent, and contracted enormous debt, was declared insolvent;

and seventeen members of the Town-Council, who retired in September 1817, frankly ascribed all these misfortunes to the faulty constitution of the Burgh, and the want of an efficient and public control over the Magistrates. Many other towns of less note were undeniably in the same state; and the finances of this city even, notwithstanding its large revenues, were reported to be falling rapidly into a very desperate condition.

It is not to be wondered at, that these, and similar effects of maladministration, on the one hand, joined to the success of the citizens of Montrose, upon the other, should have occasioned a very general sensation, and renewed, with increasing strength, the demand for Burgh Reform, which there now seemed to be some prospect of attaining. But though the old system was in most burghs openly denounced by all the inhabitants and burgesses, with the exception of those who found a direct interest in maintaining it; and though, in many places, the Magistrates themselves, by seconding the Burgesses, declared, in the most disinterested and unequivocal manner, the necessity of remedy, an important change appears to have suddenly taken place in the opinions of Government and its advisers. A poll election, which had been granted in the case of Montrose, has been since refused to Aberdeen; where the magistracy was lately renewed, by a warrant of very questionable legality, addressed to the former Magistrates. This warrant cannot but be regarded as an intimation, that the cause is now less favourably considered; especially since some preparatory steps for a general discussion of the subject met with strong opposition in the House of Commons, even from those who were constrained so far to acknowledge the misgovernment of the Burghs, as to introduce a bill for the purpose of increasing, in some respects, the responsibility of the Magistrates, and for bringing them more easily to account. So feeble an expedient, however, proposed in such circumstances, has not stopt complaints, of which it would be altogether inadequate to remove the grounds; and the denial so strangely hazarded, that any discontent existed here respecting the Burghs, only showed to the people the necessity of demonstrating their sentiments by public resolutions. From all these causes, there has been called forth an expression of opinion very unusual for Scotland, and not less decided than general; and we think it our duty to avail ourselves of some of the materials furnished in the pamphlet before us, for the purpose of stating the nature of the grievances against which remonstrances have been made from so many quarters.

Here it will be proper to guard against any misapprehensions

that may arise from the jealousy with which recent events have made the very word 'Reform' to be viewed, by stating, that the measure to which we would now direct attention, is not immediately or necessarily connected with the great and formidable subject of general Parliamentary Reform. It is no doubt unfortunately true, that, in this part of the island, the representatives of the burghs are not chosen by the inhabitants, or even by the burgesses; and that the Magistrates and Town Council constitute the whole body of electors. But it is no part of the project of Burgh Reform to make any alteration in this respect, however desirable. It is only proposed to amend the constitution of the Town Council and Magistrates, by placing the election of these officers on a more liberal basis, and readmitting the burgesses to the natural enjoyment of their rights, as members of the body corporate. Such a change would, no doubt, ultimately affect the parliamentary representation of the burgh; but the most scrupulous and indiscriminating stickler for establishments cannot, we imagine, pretend that the experiment is accompanied with any hazard, or that the greatest danger could possibly arise to the constitution of the country. We are certainly inclined to think, that the extension of the elective franchise, and the introduction of a much more popular representation than we at present directly or indirectly enjoy, would be of infinite advantage to the people of Scotland: and to this topic we may afterwards recur. But we notice it now, merely for the sake of keeping the two questions distinct, and preventing the consideration of one from being affected by those prejudices that are unhappily peculiar to the other. We have nothing to do here with the constitution of the House of Commons—with the measure of representation—the qualification of electors—or the mode of election. The internal government of the Royal Burghs is the only subject of the following remarks; and, in our opinion, it is impossible to consider their history, and their present situation, without acknowledging that there are many reasonable causes of discontent, which ought to be removed by a general and adequate reform.

It is not necessary for our present purpose to engage in any antiquarian research respecting the origin of the Royal Burghs, or to trace their progress with minuteness. It is well known that they are corporate bodies, erected by Royal Charter, or ultimately depending on possession, which is by law referred to Charter; endowed with common property, sometimes to a very large amount; gifted with ample privileges in trade and manufactures; and invested with important jurisdiction. A burgh, with us, is generally an aggregate Corporation, comprehending within it



several subordinate corporations,—such as the Guildry, or Company of Merchants, and various Crafts or Trades. In one or two instances, however, the Burgesses are not subdivided into distinct corporations. In all cases, the Burgh is governed by a Provost, Magistrates and Council, varying in number according to the terms of their Charter, or the local usages by which these may have been subsequently modified. So far there seems to be nothing peculiar in the constitution of the Scotch Burghs: they are precisely similar to those of England. But, in the circumstance now to be observed, there is an essential difference. On the south of the Tweed, the law seems to consider the Magistracy of the Burgh,—the Mayor viz. and Aldermen, &c. as forming, along with the Burgesses, integral component parts of the general corporation; without which, of course, it cannot subsist: And it seems to have been lately recognised there,\* that upon the failure of any of those parts, the Corporation itself is lost and dissolved, and can only be called into existence by a new Charter. In the case alluded to, the dissolution was accounted so complete, that the Courts sustained the validity of a Charter which was granted, not to the old body, but to a set of men whom it did not even include. In this country, however, the law has followed quite another course, though it is not perhaps very easy to account satisfactorily for the difference, nor worth while to attempt the task here. The Magistrates, with us, the Provost namely, and Bailies, as well as the Council, are not considered as integral parts of the general corporation. They are viewed merely as its office-bearers and organs, empowered to exercise the jurisdiction conferred upon it, to protect its privileges, administer its common funds, and generally to possess and exert all those rights which belong to the body corporate as such, and cannot be enjoyed by its members as individuals. The old Charters, where they have been preserved, seem to have been usually granted in favour, not of the Magistrates, but of the Burgesses generally; and though, in late renewals of these Charters, it seems to have been not uncommon to make the former, as well as the latter, grantees, the law has always considered the Magistrates to be merely the servants and functionaries of the Corporation, of which the Burgesses are the proper constituent members.

This last view seems to be the more true and natural of the two. But, at all events, whatever may have been the principles on which it has been adopted, we apprehend it has been stated correctly; as is evident indeed from two circumstances, that may be simply referred to, among many others. When

\* *Rex v. Passmore*, Termly Reports, vol. III. p. 139.

the Magistracy and Council of a Burgh fail, from an omission to elect, or from an illegal election, the Court of Session is in the practice of appointing interim managers or factors to superintend the affairs of the Burgh, till its office-bearers are renewed—a appointment which plainly implies that the Burgh continues to exist, and to retain possession of all its privileges. But what still more directly sanctions the same conclusion is, that, after such an event as we have here supposed, a new charter is neither requisite, nor in use to be granted. The remedy is not, as in England, a charter of restoration, but a warrant of election from the King in Council, which, instead of reviving the Burgh, obviously presumes its existence, and merely enables it, by a new election, to recover its magistracy, or supply its deficient officers. We shall afterwards find reason to conclude, that the Burgh has a right in law to obtain such a warrant, and that the remedy in this respect differs essentially from a new charter, since it cannot be legally or constitutionally withheld. But without going further at present, we think ourselves entitled to assume, that the Burgesses alone are the proper members of the Burgh, and that the Magistrates are none of its component parts, but merely necessary for the maintenance and exercise of those rights, whether of jurisdiction, trade or property, of which, as individuals, the Burgesses can have no possession.

As might have been expected, from the account which we have now given, it appears certain, that the Magistrates and Council being merely the office-bearers and organs of the community, were originally elected by the Burgesses themselves. The qualifications of the electors and elected, may possibly have been different in different places; the Magistrates may have varied in number: but there can be no doubt that they derived their authority immediately from the citizens, and by virtue of a popular election. This is a fact, which we are not left to infer from the charters of the Burghs, the nature of their constitutions, or from obscure and imperfect notices of history. The Burgh laws, and other ancient evidences, leave no room to doubt that the Magistrates were appointed by the free suffrages of the Burgesses, who are sometimes termed 'the community,' and sometimes 'the good men of the town.' Without stopping, however, to examine these sources of information, it seems better at once to refer to the statute, 5. James III. cap. 30, which sufficiently establishes the ancient practice, by the very alterations it introduces, and the reasons it assigns for them. In its preamble, it narrates the pernicious consequences, whether real or imaginary, of a popular election; and goes on, among other things, to enact, that the old council should in future chuse the new, and both together the Magistrates and offi-

cers of the Burgh. There are some other provisions in the statute; but it is immaterial to attend to them, as they are now no longer in observance, being either abrogated by subsequent acts, controlled by an inconsistent practice, or gone into desuetude. This statute, passed in 1469, thus radically subverted the mode of election in all the Burghs, stripped the Burgesses every where of a franchise they had till then exercised, and foras the basis of the present practice, by which the Town-Council and Magistracy chuse their own successors.

What may have been the original policy of the statute, or the purposes it was intended to effect, we are hardly in a situation to decide. It was passed in the minority of James III.,—a period during which the materials of Scottish history are extremely scanty. The circumstance best ascertained is, that his government was at once weak and arbitrary; and there seems little reason to doubt, considering the general course of his administration, that the rights of the Burghs were sacrificed to advance either the power of the Crown, or that of the great Lords. It may have been, that the ministers of James discovered the advantage of concentrating, in a few hands, the rights which had been exercised by the Burgesses at large—a measure which vastly increased the power of the Crown over its Burghs, by lessening the number of those who were to be gained or intimidated, and by ensuring the continuance of an influence that was once established. Or, perhaps, it is a better explanation to say, that the nobles, profiting by the character and situation of the government, took that method of extending and securing their own authority over the Royal Burghs, which was an object of the greater importance, that the Burgesses had been, long before this date, summoned to Parliament. The latter view may be thought, perhaps, to derive some plausibility from the frequent complaints that occur in the statute-book against the influence of strangers, and the various enactments made for the purpose of forcing such men only to be elected into the magistracy as were resident in the burgh, and substantially interested in its good management and welfare. But, however we may be disposed to account for the statute, it is evident enough that the good of the communities was not immediately consulted. The evils of a poll election might have been obviated in a much less exceptionable manner than by the introduction of a change, which, in truth, destroyed the freedom of the burgh, and placed its interests, almost irrecoverably, at the disposal of any faction that could once succeed in obtaining possession of the government.

Like most other ancient Scots acts, the statute of James laid

down only a general principle, leaving the mode, and, in some degree, the measure of its application, to be regulated by usage, by the agreement of the parties themselves, or by the competent courts. Hence it has happened, that the manner in which the Town-Councils elect their successors in office varies considerably in the different Burghs; the Burgesses or minor corporations in some having apparently more power and influence than in others. In all of them, however, the existing Council has a *complete control*, more or less direct, in the choice of their successors; and in this way, under the authority of the statute of 1469, there has grown up, in all the Burghs of Scotland, a system by which the Burgesses are effectually excluded from any share in the choice of their magistracy, and by which one little junto, though miserable in point of talents, and displeasing to a great majority of their fellow-citizens, is enabled to command the government of the town, to perpetuate their friends in office, and to set in a great measure at defiance, the opinions and sentiments of the other members of the Incorporation. Did our limits permit us, or were it proper, in this place, to enter into such details, it might be curious to examine the various 'sets' and 'constitutions' that have thus arisen; which terms, it will be remembered, signify the forms and details of the elections, or the deeds in which these have been fixed or recorded. All these present a very complicated machinery, of no conceivable utility, and absurdly intricate and puzzling in its operation. The election generally lasts for several days; and the choice of the council and magistrates is made after a series of checks and counter checks,—several nominees being usually made for each office, and a sort of negative exerted on this nomination, previous to the ultimate election. It were of very little consequence to inquire, whether such a system came to be adopted from the idea that the exercise of a power of *veto* and selection insured the choice of the persons best qualified, or from a desire to conciliate the burgesses and subordinate corporations, by indulging them with some apparent share in the election of their own magistrates. Whichever of these theories be received, it is a certain fact, that the burgesses in general have no efficient control over the election, and that a party or interest being once established in the burgh, can scarcely be removed from its administration, however disagreeable to the citizens at large, and however unsatisfactory their conduct.

Such appears to be the history of the Scottish Burghs. The Burgesses were originally the electors of their own magistracy. They were deprived of that right by an act of Parlia-

ment in 1469; and, since that period, they have never recovered their franchise, but continue to this hour to be governed by Magistrates and a Council, in the choice of whom they are without a voice. Nay, to such an extent has the system of exclusion proceeded, that the subordinate corporations are not even entitled to elect their own heads. In those burghs that include a guildry and various trades, which is the case with the most considerable burghs, the heads of these societies, namely, the Dean of Guild, and the Deacons of the Trades, are generally constituent members, in whole or in part, of the Council. For this reason, these office-bearers are not elected by their respective companies, but are chosen, indirectly indeed, yet ultimately by the Town-Council, in order to preserve inviolate the rule, that the old Council should chuse the new. We have mentioned this instance, which is a very general one, in order to show the internal government of the Burghs, as they now exist, and the degree to which the power of election has been narrowed and restricted in favour of a few individuals, though to the evident infringement of the rights vested not only in the Burgesses in general, but in the various Corporation into which they are distributed.

The disadvantages resulting from such a system, and the expediency of restoring to the Burgesses the right of election, seem to be in themselves so obvious, that they can only be denied by the persons, of whom there must always be many, who find their own interest in defending an order of things that may be hurtful to the community. It seems really almost impossible to consider the subject in any light, that does not show the mischiefs which must be occasioned by such a monopoly of power. One of the views that most readily suggests itself, is the importance of the Council and Office-bearers of a Burgh, considered as a part of the general police of the country. Perhaps there is no better way of managing the affairs of a town,—of providing for the accommodation, comfort and safety of its inhabitants, and generally of regulating its whole internal government,—than by an active and intelligent Magistracy chosen from among the inhabitants. Such men must be best acquainted with the necessities of the place, and be able most correctly to judge how they can be effectually relieved; while their own immediate interest, and an honest desire of meriting the approbation of their fellow-citizens, cannot fail to stimulate their exertions. Such a magistracy, however, can only be obtained, by suffering the voice of the community to be heard freely in their election; and no scheme can be figured more inexpedient than to render them indepen-

dent of the persons among whom they live, and erect them into a sort of junto, entitled to appoint their own successors. An administration so composed must be actuated by the spirit, as they possess the opportunity, of constant jobbing. They will create and retain, by means of an exclusive system, the few adherents necessary for their existence and continuance; and it is plain that the most efficacious method of prolonging their own authority must be, to sacrifice, on many occasions, the interests of the inhabitants to those of their own partisans. The necessity of living in the community over which they preside, though it may subject them to some indirect restraint, from the operation of public opinion, will be too feeble to prevent any but the grosser abuses, and must always be inadequate to secure a faithful and disinterested discharge of duty. In short, the management which now exists in every Burgh in Scotland, is of all others, perhaps, the least calculated to secure good magistracy, and is the more hurtful, that the authority must be generally vested in persons liable to many prejudices and contracted notions.

The result, accordingly, has just corresponded to what might have been expected. With the exception of some few places, and, we dare say, many individuals, the council of a Scottish burgh has almost become a by-word for a mean, corrupt, and interested government. It is quite plain, that for all this there is only one remedy. Besides the impossibility of making magistrates answer before a Court for all the details of their administration, it would not require great dexterity to avoid those more glaring breaches of duty, which would render them amenable to the laws. It is vain, in short, to look for any security for the good behaviour of Magistrates, except in the necessity of acquiring the esteem of their townsmen, in order to avoid their own expulsion from office, or to secure their advancement. Their fellow-citizens cannot be long imposed on. They will soon discover whether their welfare be truly and faithfully consulted; and, if they have the power, as they will certainly have the inclination, of investing those only with the civic honours who have the real interests of the town at heart, every chance will be afforded of obtaining an unexceptionable administration, while a very bad one cannot long continue in place.

To some, we may appear to have dwelt too long upon this subject; but it should be recollected, that most of the large towns in this country have been incorporated and chartered as Burghs; so that the formation of their magistracy becomes a matter worthy of general consideration. Even at the danger of being thought to refine too much, we would add, that many

other advantages, besides those now adverted to, visibly arise from election by the free suffrage of the citizens. It would place, in safe and in good hands, a great deal of patronage that is now very unconscientiously exerted; it would certainly have no bad effect upon the character of any candidate for such situations, that they were bestowed by a grateful community, in return for meritorious and distinguished service; and, above all, it would tend to create a character of independence and manliness in the people, by enabling them to exercise the power of judging and rewarding their own servants. These are benefits, perhaps, which might be easily overrated; but there is some danger also that they may be too much despised.

In addition to what has now been said, it ought to be considered, that the Magistrates of a burgh are not merely charged with the general police of the place, but are likewise the administrators of the common property, and entrusted with the disposal, in some instances, of very ample revenues. Nor is this all: For they are entitled, in that character, to contract debts, for which legal opinions of great authority have declared the property of the Burgesses to be liable; and they further possess the power of imposing taxes upon the Burgesses and inhabitants, to a very considerable amount. It would have been but reasonable to have afforded the greatest facility for legal redress against the abuse of powers so extraordinary and important as these; and we believe it will surprise most readers to learn, that there does not appear to be, at this instant, any means of calling the Magistrates of a burgh to account for their administration of its property and income. Their power indeed of taxation is very usefully checked, by the necessity of obtaining the consent of all the subordinate corporations to the assessment proposed: But, in all other respects, their own authority is sufficient; and there appears to be no jurisdiction to which they are amenable,—the Court of Session having refused to interfere, at least where the action was at the instance of individual Burgesses,—and the Court of Exchequer, on whom some statutes seemed to confer the requisite authority, having declared themselves incompetent, except where the Crown was interested. As for the Convention of Burghs,—a court composed of delegates from the various burghs, which succeeded to some part of the Lord Chamberlain's power, and meets annually for one or two days,—they are evidently incapable to try such questions as the misapplication or embezzlement of revenue; and their claim, accordingly, to such a jurisdiction, though sometimes brought forward, has never met with much attention. Here, therefore, is an evil of great magnitude, that requires instant correction. The Magistrates of

all the Royal Burghs in Scotland are empowered to dispose of funds and revenues to a great extent,—have authority to contract debts, and in all probability, to render the Burgesses' property liable to the creditors,—and enjoy, besides, a qualified power of taxing the inhabitants and Burgesses. Yet it does not appear that they can be made accountable for their management, at the instance of individuals; and, considering that they themselves elect their successors in office, there seems to be no chance that a subsequent magistracy, created by them, and standing in need of similar indulgence, will be strict in calling them to account.

To deny the Burgesses a remedy against this abuse, and leave the common property and their own possessions in such a state of insecurity, would be too palpable injustice to be at all defensible. Accordingly, whenever the question of Burgh Reform has been stirred, the necessity of subjecting the Magistrates to a more effectual responsibility, has been uniformly acknowledged. When the subject was formerly before Parliament, a bill was brought forward (and a similar measure was lately proposed), professedly for the purpose of enabling individual Burgesses to demand from the Magistrates a statement of the Town's funds, and an account of their management. The discouragements, however, attached to any proceeding against the Magistrates are so great and alarming, that no profitable result could have been looked for, had the measure been actually adopted. No control of this kind would be at all efficient, unless some means were fallen upon to lay the town's expenditure regularly before the citizens, with a detail and precision similar to those observable in the national accounts. But, even were this point accomplished, the remedy would still be inadequate. Private persons would generally be deterred from having recourse to legal procedure; and, if some were found so public-spirited as to hazard the expense and annoyance, it cannot be denied, that of a great deal of mismanagement no court of law could take cognizance. A magistracy might be utterly unfit for their situation, who had not committed themselves so far as to justify the interference of the courts against them. Here, as before, the only redress that promises to be efficacious, is that of giving effect to public opinion, by vesting in the Burgesses the choice of the Magistrates, and consequently forcing the latter to approve themselves, in the eyes of the former, worthy of their honourable trust. This remedy is, in every way, preferable. It is the most efficacious—the most easily, and probably, too, the most correctly administered—reaching the greatest number of cases, and operating often in prevention as well as cure.



These are not abuses merely fanciful, or plausibly supposed solely because they are likely to exist. They have been actually experienced to a very great degree, and have furnished from a remote period, a subject of complaint. They early drew the attention of the Legislature; and statutes of a very ancient date describe, while they attempt to remedy, the internal mismanagement of the Burghs. In the act 1535, cap. 26, for instance, it is narrated, that the 'Burghs are put to poverty, wasted, and destroyed in their goods and almost ruinous thro' fault of using of merchandize, and thro' being of outlandsmen, Provost, Baillies, and Aldermen within Burgh, for their own particular weil, in consuming of the common good of Burghs, granted to them by our Sovereign Lord and his predecessors, Kings of Scotland, for the uphold of honesty and policy within Burgh.' Subsequent statutes recount the 'dissipation of the common good, and perversion of privileges;' and in 1684, King Charles II. granted a commission, which proceeds on the narrative that the common property and revenues have been dilapidated, wasted, misapplied or peculated, and debts contracted without any necessity,—that factions procured themselves to be elected to the magistracy, and squandered the funds of the burgh, in rewarding their adherents and supporting their own interest,—and that numberless murmurs and complaints proceeded from this corrupt administration, &c. Many other documents might be produced, exactly to the same purport; for it unfortunately happened, that the Parliament mistook the true remedy, and that its measures were neither effectual nor complete. The object it was chiefly attempted to accomplish, was to make the Magistrates responsible for their management, and compel them to account for their application of the Burghs' revenues. This corrective, probably, would have done little good; but, imperfect as it was, it does not appear to have been used; the statutes being so framed as to protect the Magistrates against their application, by rendering it difficult or incompetent for the Courts to interpose. It will be seen, however, from these documents, how long and how often the misgovernment of the Burghs has been the subject of popular remonstrance; and it is only proper to add, that as no remedy has ever been applied, the abuse is as prevalent now as in the time of Charles II.; though, it is to be hoped, we may now profit by our experience, and destroy the principle which vitiates the system, by restoring the Burghs to their rights, and to the election of their own magistrates. That the internal government of the Royal Burghs is

at this moment the cause of great discontent, is sufficiently notorious, from the innumerable resolutions that have been everywhere made by the public bodies of which they consist; and, what puts the fact beyond all question, in a large proportion of the Burghs, the Magistrates and Town-Council themselves, the very parties to whose power and authority reform would be most fatal, have been constrained to concur with the Burghers, and to express the necessity of some great and radical change. In Aberdeen, the members who retired from the Town-Council in 1817, after declaring the sincerity of their intentions, and the misconstruction of their motives in what they had formerly done, 'reiterate their decided opinion, that the present mode of election of the Town-Council, and management of the Town's affairs, are radically defective and improvident, tending to give to any individual or party who may be so inclined, an excessive and unnatural preponderance; and to foster and encourage a system of secrecy and concealment, under which the most upright and best intentioned Magistrates may not be able to acquire that thorough knowledge of the situation of the Burgh which is requisite for the due administration of its affairs. The subscribers are therefore of opinion, that some change ought to be effected in the manner of electing the Council, and an effectual control given to the citizens over the expenditure of the Town's office-bearers.' The government of Aberdeen, however, is not more defective than that of almost every other Burgh in Scotland. They are all liable to the same objection; and, in many of them, the Magistrates have been equally forward to proclaim the necessity of some radical change in the system.

With such proofs as these before us, it would be unnecessary, were we even furnished with the materials, to give any particular instances of maladministration. A number of these will be found recorded in the Resolutions of the London Committee, contained in the present publication; though it is believed they are insignificant, both in number and extent, to what would certainly appear if any inquiry were made by adequate authority. The affairs of most Burghs are studiously concealed: For while it is affected to open the books for the inspection of the public, yet the accounts are so made up, that the opportunity is almost useless; and the management of the Burgh is conducted, not only without effectual responsibility, but even without explanation. This is, however, only another striking abuse, so much the greater and more pernicious, that it secures others from detection. But, notwithstanding all these endeavours at secrecy, the general mismanagement is notorious. We believe these

are smaller Burghs where the whole revenue is consumed by the Magistrates and Council,—and a debt, very large in proportion to the income, actually contracted for payment of tavern bills. Many of the more considerable are said to be in great embarrassment; and the insolvency of Aberdeen, for a debt which has been reported as high as 300,000*l.*, while it shows the importance of the subject, just exhibits what must be the result in all the other Burghs, if things remain on their present footing. But it is unnecessary to dwell upon these points. If further investigation be thought requisite, we trust it will be undertaken in a quarter that will ensure complete disclosure; and in the meanwhile, we do not think it can be reasonably objected, that the complaints are vague and unsatisfactory. It would be nearer the truth, we are afraid, to describe all cure as impossible,—and to illustrate the present anxiety for reform, by comparing it to the case of the person in the proverb who locks his stable after the steed is stolen. Neither do we imagine that the present system will be mentioned as the cause of the prosperity of such of the Burghs as have partaken in the national advancement. The case is too plain to admit that common sophism in political discussion which we so often find urged in favour of existing institutions, by referring the welfare of the community to causes which were only not strong enough to destroy it.

But there are other views of this subject, and these by no means the least material. Though we before observed, that it was not necessarily connected with Parliamentary Reform, in the proper sense of that term, yet we have no doubt that a popular election of Burgh Magistrates would be attended with the most beneficial consequences, both to the representation of the country, and to the political character of the people. It is well known, that there is nothing in Scotland approaching to an open election. The members of Parliament for the Burghs are elected by the Town-councils and Magistrates only; immediately in Edinburgh, and by means of delegates, in the other Burghs, which are formed into classes, each class sending one member. If the citizens, then, have little to say in the election of their Magistrates, they are absolutely without the slightest influence in the choice of the members by whom the Burghs are said to be represented. An election, accordingly, excites scarcely any sensation; and if one be not particularly informed, it may be impossible to discover, even on the day of election, that any thing remarkable is going on. The sentiments of the people are not at all consulted by the representative of their town, either directly, or in li

conduct. He has only to make his court to the Town-council; and, if he establishes an interest there, his seat is perfectly secure, though he might not be able to command another suffrage in the place. In this respect, unquestionably, the situation of the Burghs would be very much bettered by a freer election of their Magistrates; for, though this were but a small step towards that more general reform which would be in every way so advantageous to this country, it would nevertheless establish some connexion between the people and their representative,—beckon some sympathy in their sentiments, and some communion of interests,—and make their voice be in some measure heard in Parliament, by means of one who entertained kindred views, and who was not indifferent to their welfare, or careless of their opinions. Among the Burgesses, on the other hand, a popular election, even of their Magistrates, would cultivate the virtues of citizens, as it afforded them some opportunity of exerting their rights. It would enable them constitutionally to assemble for the exercise of a political franchise; it would be a legal occasion for the open declaration of their wishes; and would contribute, in the end, to create in them a livelier interest in the government of the country, and to give greater weight and efficacy to the public feeling.

• In terminating what we have to say respecting the reasonableness of Burgh reform, it is proper to recal one circumstance, namely, that the Burgesses, in requiring to elect their own Magistrates, not merely demand what is quite consistent with the nature of their original constitution, but in truth seek only to shake off a very visible infringement of their privileges. It is not easy to conceive that the statute of James, which abridged their liberties, was justified by the causes assigned in its preamble, or recommended by any true considerations of expediency. But whatever may be thought upon this head, it is indisputable, that the ostensible reason and colour of the enactment have long since passed away. Is there any body who now thinks it necessary that a Town-Council should perpetuate itself by the choice of its successors, in order to preserve the peace and tranquillity of the Burgh, or that clamour and sedition would be the consequence of reinstating the Burgesses in their original rights, and placing in their hands the only means of securing an intelligent and respectable administration? Were there any chance of danger even, we think the claims of the citizens ought to be granted. Much more so, when, in restoring to them a franchise, of which they should never have been deprived, there is not only no hazard, but a prospect of the most important benefits.

One difficulty however remains, on which it will be proper to make a few observations. It has been proposed to derive the remedy from more than one quarter;—from the Crown,—the Convention of Burghs,—or the Parliament. This opens up a constitutional question, which, if it were necessary nicely to solve it, might occasion considerable difficulty.

The Crown, in the remoter periods of our history, exercised so many and such extraordinary powers over the Burghs, that it appears, at first sight, by no means unreasonable to regard it as the source from which Reform ought to flow. On a closer inspection, however, many obstacles will be found to prevent the desired improvement from descending by that channel. In the infancy of the constitution, the King's authority seems to have been almost unbounded over the Burghs, which were less his vassals than his creatures, deriving from him their immunities, privileges and existence; while they were too low, in political consideration, to make any successful resistance against even arbitrary interference. But the Royal prerogative is no longer so extensive as in those days. In proportion as the science of government advanced, and the objects and limits of its various powers came to be better defined and understood, the Legislature appropriated to itself the cognizance of many matters that were formerly abandoned to the disposal of the Throne. The Burghs which, during this change, had risen to great importance, and obtained a parliamentary representation, have not only acquired security and stability, but now form too important a part of the constitution to remain dependent on prerogative; and, although they acknowledge the Sovereign as the author of their chartered rights, it seems altogether inconsistent with the principles and analogies of our constitutional law, to hold that the Crown, even with their consent, can make any radical alteration in their internal polity. That seems a work too varied in its bearings, and extensive in its consequences, to be undertaken by any power short of the highest.

It appears unnecessary, however, to proceed with the development of these general views, since there are some peculiarities respecting the Sets of the Scottish Burghs, which seem of themselves decisive against the competency of the Royal prerogative to effect their reform. In the *first* place, any alteration in the Set would, though remotely, yet necessarily affect the election of the member of Parliament. The Town-Council may, in some respect, be considered as an intermediate electoral college, chosen by the people, and invested with the power of nominating their representative. Any change, of course, in the constitution of this body, must ultimately influence the election of the member. If

the Crown, too, possess the power of giving to the citizens a more popular election, we must likewise concede to it the power of exclusion; and we own that, great as the benefits are which would result from the reform, we should regret to see it accomplished by an exertion of prerogative which, in less favourable circumstances, might be turned against the people. This, indeed, just forms one of those considerations which seem to sanction most strongly our preceding remarks. But, in the *second* place, it will be observed, that the Burgh Sets, as they now stand, owe their origin to statute. It is not by virtue of any royal charter that the old Councils are invested with the power of chusing the new. That primary principle was introduced by the act of James III., which, in this respect, still regulates their constitutions. The mode of election that has been established, even in disregard of some of its minor enactments, depends upon usage, which is not of the same nature with a royal grant, but forms a part of the public law of the kingdom; and which, as it possesses the power of controlling the statute, would appear, in sound reasoning, to be alterable only by Parliament. But it is manifestly the province of the Legislature alone, to redress those grievances which rest either immediately or indirectly upon legislative authority. In the *third* place, though no doubt could be entertained as to the constitutional power of the Crown, yet the evil seems too extensive to be remedied from that quarter. It exists, not in one Burgh only, but in all the Burghs; and though it were granted that the King might remodel the set of one Burgh, it does not exactly follow that it would be a proper or even a constitutional exercise of his prerogative, to renew their sets universally. Although the Crown appears to have been resorted to, for the purpose of redressing grievances in single Burghs, it was never considered, even in practice, as the proper instrument of effecting any general change. Where that was desirable, Parliament itself always appears to have interposed; and its numerous enactments, relative both to the mode of election, and to the qualifications of Magistrates, sufficiently prove, that, even at a period when the Royal authority was much greater than now, it was deemed unconstitutional and inexpedient to exert it so widely as a general reform of the Burghs in any respect would imply.

The same arguments apply to the Convention of Burghs, which has been mentioned as the next quarter from which redress should be sought; and it is liable, besides, to many other exceptions, derived from its constitution, from the uncertain extent of its jurisdiction and powers, and from its never having exercised, in point of fact, any such authority as the projected al-

teration requires. Parliament, therefore, it seems plain, is the most legitimate and most adequate source of reform. Its power alone is undoubted; all general grievances are natural and proper objects of its cognizance; and while it possesses most perfectly the means of inquiry, it can best ascertain the suitable remedy, and present it in the most acceptable form.

What that remedy ought to be, we have stated, in general terms, frequently, in the course of these observations. It is the recal of the self-perpetuating system, and the admission of the Burgesses to the right of choosing their Magistrates by a popular election. What modifications ought to be made with respect either to the franchise or eligibility, we shall not here examine, as it would lead us into a discussion of too much detail. Existing statutes, however, throw a great deal of light on some parts of the subject; and none of the arrangements will be attended with much difficulty, if investigation be commenced with an honest desire to give the people redress.

There is one circumstance connected with this subject, on which we cannot help remarking. As we before stated, the Crown, on the application of Montrose, granted to that Burgh, not only a considerable reform in its constitution, but appointed a poll for the election of the new Council and Magistrates. Very soon afterwards, the magistracy of Aberdeen failed; but though a poll election was petitioned for, almost unanimously, by its citizens, it was refused, and a warrant granted to the members of the former Council. On the lawfulness of this warrant we have already expressed some doubts, and may state very shortly the general grounds of objection. It has been seen, that the Burgesses at large elected their magistracy, till the statute of James introduced the alteration, that the old Council, that is, the Council whose term was expiring, should elect the new. The ultimate right of the Burgesses, however, remained entire, although they had no power of electing their office-bearers, so long as there existed a Council to appoint their successors, in terms of the statute. But, when the magistracy determined without election, and there was neither a new Council chosen, nor an old one to chuse, then, the condition of the statute being no longer applicable, the right of the Burgesses revived, as it had previously existed. They had all along formed the proper constituent members of the corporation; and, notwithstanding that the choice of their Magistrates was suspended by the enactment, that the retiring magistracy should appoint their successors, it seems plain, that such a suspension could not endure the condition on which it depended. When the Council had been elected for a year, or other definite term, such

ferred the time to elapse, without making a valid election, their powers ceased; and, though their recent honours might be remembered by the inhabitants, they were no longer invested with authority, nor by law distinguishable from the rest of their fellow-citizens. A burgh, in such circumstances, were the point now to be argued for the first time, might possibly be found entitled to meet of its own accord, and exert the inherent right of electing its Magistrates, to the exercise of which there was no obstruction: Or, if any authority were wanted, for the purpose of enabling the citizens to assemble and conduct the election, the Court of Session would perhaps be found perfectly competent to grant the requisite warrants. The Burghs, however, had always been in use to address the Crown upon these emergencies, and to obtain the warrant from the King in Council. Into the nature of the warrants granted previous to the Revolution, it seems unnecessary to inquire; as, during that period, the exercise of prerogative respecting the Royal Burghs was so arbitrary, that their grievances are enumerated among those represented in 1689 by the Convention of Estates of Scotland. The view of the Legislature on the subject, however, was sufficiently shown, by a general poll election being then ordained for the purpose of renewing a legal magistracy throughout the kingdom, and subverting those Councils that had been arbitrarily imposed upon them. The example thus set by the Estates seems to have been generally followed since that period; for out of thirty cases that have been collected since the Union, we understand there are only four in which the poll has been refused, and the election committed to the former Councillors. Even these do not appear to have been contested, but to have been granted without discussion, in terms of an unopposed petition. The example of Montrose had been the last; and it was generally and reasonably believed, that the poll was the only constitutional means of renewing a magistracy that had failed. Indeed, to any one who considered the subject generally, it appeared that the warrant might have been addressed to any set of Burgesses, named at pleasure, as well as to the old Councillors since the Burgh and the rights of its members remained entire, and nothing was wanting but an authority to meet for the purpose of election. But to grant a warrant to individuals, seemed to be a direct usurpation on the privileges of the citizens, by compelling them to accept of a magistracy, nominated neither by themselves, according to their antient constitution, nor by a former Council, according to the statute.

We have entered into this explanation, not in the view of a all anticipating a discussion which will probably soon occupy



the courts of law; but because we cannot withhold the expression of our surprise and regret, that the Crown should have been advised to adopt such measures with respect to Aberdeen. It is not merely that the warrant is questionable in itself,—it is not the unbecoming vacillation it betrays,—it is not the denial to Aberdeen of a boon which, upon lighter occasion, had been so recently granted to Montrose,—it is not the inconsistency of counsels that we most strongly condemn, or the error of which the one measure, by necessity, convicts the other;—but it is, that Government, having a clear and a popular path before it, should nevertheless, in its later and more deliberate resolution, have followed a course, of something more than doubtful legality, plainly inconsistent with the welfare of the community, and the rights and freedom of citizens, destructive of the hopes which had been excited of useful reform, and directly opposed to the voice and feelings of the country. A different result was confidently expected; and the disappointment has been generally attributed, with what justice we shall not determine, to a desire of suppressing this reform in its commencement, and of putting down every attempt, however reasonable or necessary, to give to the people the least additional weight, in the choice even of their local Magistrates, or the administration of their own town. Though dissatisfied, however, the people of Scotland are not discouraged; they seem resolute to pursue their object with unanimity and steadiness; and are now instructed, that they must look solely to the justice and wisdom of Parliament for that redress, which they did not imagine there could have been a wish in any quarter to refuse to them,—and to which, they are satisfied that their claim, when rightly examined, is altogether irresistible.

We are aware that there are many other questions nearly related to the present subject, and of much more general concernment, to which we have scarcely adverted: But we thought it better to wave these for the present, for the purpose of stating the subject of a popular complaint, as it is felt by the people themselves, and of explaining the grounds on which they require to be restored to the exercise of their rights. There is one abuse, however, connected with the administration of the Burghs, in comparison to which the present, and many other grievances, may be almost termed insignificant—we mean Parliamentary Representation, which the people of Scotland can hardly be said to enjoy; the member of Parliament being returned by a Town Council and Magistrates,—generally about twenty persons,—and the Burgesses, though often amounting to several thousands, being absolutely and entirely excluded

from any direct or indirect participation in the election. Every Burgh in Scotland, without exception, is a close Burgh, and that, too, of the most indefensible description. In England, a close Burgh, in general, exists only when the members of the Burgh have been reduced to a very inconsiderable number, or when one person, having acquired the whole property, is enabled to fill the Burgh with his own creatures. In this, though unquestionably a great abuse, men are in some degree induced to acquiesce, because it is only an exception from the system, and because they are less offended with decay, where it is partial, and arises from the progressive operation of natural causes. But in Scotland, every part of the system is bad, without a single deviation to what is right. What makes it the more intolerable too, is, that the Town Council, who are only the servants and office-bearers of the Corporation, have most absurdly obtained the powers of the Corporation, and the exclusive possession of the rights that should reside in its members at large. It is the Burgesses who constitute the Burgh; yet they have no voice in the election of the member who is professedly their representative. Here is not only a state of things which calls for reformation, but furnishes the most obvious, the easiest, and most unexceptionable means of accomplishing it. Parliamentary reform, it is quite true, when conducted upon the real principles of the Representative System, should have less regard to Burghs, contemplated as the artificial creatures of the law, than to Towns, as containing certain proportions of the wealth and population of the country. To attempt reform, however, upon those enlarged principles, has appeared to many a difficult and hazardous experiment; and ancient institutions will always be respected even where they have nothing but their antiquity to recommend them. In admitting the Burgesses, however, to elect their own representatives, nothing is risked, nor can any part of the existing constitution be said to be altered or infringed. No new body of men is introduced as electors—no strange or unknown qualification is proposed. The reform will be achieved, by giving to the Burgesses rights which they once possessed, and which were most unjustly wrested from them; and by enabling them to resume, in their own persons, those powers which have been very unreasonably transferred to their Magistrates. An improvement so simple as this,—so congenial to the constitution,—so consistent with establishment,—so free from innovation,—would be attended with incalculable benefits to this land; not only by ensuring it a more worthy and independent representation, but by creating in its inhabitants all the feelings

and energies of a free people—and by conferring on them that rank in the empire, and that share in the government, of which they are now in a great measure deprived, and to which they are eminently entitled, from their industry, education, intelligence and spirit.—We have touched, however, upon a theme too extensive and momentous to be now discussed, but which no Scotsman should allow himself for an instant to forget. •

ART. XII. *A Journey to Rome and Naples, performed in 1817; giving an Account of the present State of Society in Italy, and containing Observations on the Fine Arts.* By HENRY SASS, Student of the Royal Academy of Arts. 8vo. pp. 400. London. Longman & Co. 1818.

THIS title-page appears not to be the composition of the author,—who presents himself to us in a very favourable light throughout the whole of his volume. Neither does it seem to be written by any one who has read the book; for nothing can be more inaccurate than the description which it gives of its contents. The narrative of Mr Sass's Italian tour is indeed prefaced by some detached 'Observations on the Fine Arts,' so very general, that they might as well have been inserted in any other book; and which, consequently, do not keep the promise implied in the title, that we should meet with such observations in the course of the journal. But any thing which could be mistaken for 'An Account of the present State of Society in Italy,' we certainly have not been able to discover within the four corners of the tome. This promise is the more attractive, and this disappointment the greater, that every one is aware how difficult it would be to give an account of the present state of a society, into which hardly any foreigner can find admittance. The Italians, from poverty among one class, and from penury, and national habits, and political prejudices among others, are known to shun all intercourse of mutual hospitality with the innumerable foreigners who have of late years passed through their fine country, or for a while settled among them. If they have associated at all with strangers, it has only been by accidentally frequenting their crowded evening parties: But if Mr Sass really enjoyed any opportunities of observing the state of Italian society by habits of intimacy in Italian houses, we will venture to say, first, that he is the only traveller who has recently had this good fortune; and, next, that his book contains not a single trace of his having profited by it: for it gives no one

piece of information relative to Italian society, whatever other merits it may display.

With the view of preventing the course of his narrative from being interrupted, our author prefixes his remarks on the fine arts. But they are not at all connected with his tour; they do not seem even to have grown out of it, or to have been affected by any thing that he saw in the course of it. They are as general as dissertations can be; and they are tinged by a strong though amiable and natural enthusiasm for the art of Painting, to which he appears to have devoted himself. He thus describes the requisites of a painter, which, as the reader will immediately perceive, embrace the whole circle of human attainments.

Few people are aware of the requisites to form an artist, or of the variety of studies necessary in an historical or poetical composition. A knowledge of anatomy and perspective, correctness of drawing, which can only be obtained by long practice, and an eye critically nice, form but the groundwork. Portraiture, landscape, and architecture, it is frequently necessary to combine with beauty of form and appropriate expression. But while the hand is made obedient to the will, the mind, on which all superior excellence depends, must be cultivated. He must have a knowledge of the history of mankind, with an intimate acquaintance with the laws, customs, character, and costume of nations, individually and collectively. He must be conversant with chronology and the heathen mythology, to enable him thoroughly to comprehend classic and poetic history. He must understand the laws of nature; in fact, he must have within the grasp of his mind, the universal frame. To these, and many other requisites that may be acquired, must be added an endowment of nature—a susceptibility of feeling which renders the possessor alive to every passion; for, without this, it is impossible to excite interest in others, and to improve, or convey instruction to mankind, which is the true end of art.' p. xxxi, xxxii.

After this, we cannot be surprised that he should represent painting as the peculiar province of Minerva, because 'it adds the qualities of wisdom to those of genius, and unites to the most finished dexterity of art the most profound sagacity of science.'—So, he naturally enough depreciates all other studies in comparison. Poetry and the drama, in particular, he reckons inefficient in point of expression, and unsafe as to moral effect; and, following out the same exclusive admiration of professional painters, he inveighs loudly, in another place, against the 'ignorance and pretension of connoisseurs;' exclaiming, 'What a folly for such men, in the present day of intellectual improvement, to set themselves up as the directors of public taste!' (p. 255.)—Probably his own taste, at least beyond the limits of this most sacred profession, may be questioned

by those who see him (p. xxxix.) calling Kemble and Kean 'the greatest actors perhaps that our stage ever had to boast of.' Of the former, we would be understood to speak with all possible respect; but no one who really could estimate his eminent merits would ever have been led into so great an exaggeration of them: And to place Kean on a level with Garrick, and even above him, is as vile a blunder as it would be to compare Fuseli with Raphael. But we must not too confidently use such topics in arguing with Mr Sass: for he deals out, in the conclusion of his preliminary remarks, so many of the qualities of the greatest artists to the present Royal Academicians, that we fear his standard of perfection is a good deal lower in practice, than his romantic enumeration of the qualities required to form the abstract of a painter; would lead us to expect. Thus, we read of 'the delicate and beautifully poetic feeling' of one gentleman, whose excellence we willingly allow; 'the angelic grace and Raffaello style' of another, whom we never till now heard praised; and 'the energy—the fire of Fuseli,' by which we presume, is meant the extravagance that renders many of our print-shop windows mere exhibitions of monsters, and almost justifies the interposition of the police. But we had for a moment forgotten our station; we are not professors; and ought not to have outstepped the bounds proscribed 'to the ignorance of connoisseurs.' The archery of William Tell may in the eyes of true painters be intelligible and tolerable; the curvilinear arms and legs of a hundred other figures, with their ineffable physiognomies and agonistic postures, may be pleasing and even natural; the attempt to represent Milton's Death by a figure, the supreme beauty of which is its avoiding every trace of particularity, and all that can recal the vulgar image of a skeleton, may be a judicious improvement upon the original:—we cannot pretend to judge of these things, and of their 'energy and fire.' We only venture, with all humility, to question Mr Kean's superiority over Garrick and Mrs Siddons—and some few more of the late and present ornaments of the Drama.

The account of Mr Sass's journey offers much to excite our commendation, and very little matter of blame. He does not profess to give profound disquisitions either upon politics or science; but he is for the most part a fair and candid relater; and the information which he communicates cannot fail to assist very materially the ordinary travellers who visit Italy. He writes clearly, unaffectedly, and with sufficient elegance. He is highly to be praised for the honest warmth of his sentiments upon subjects which ought to rouse every Englishman's feelings of honour

and of national indignation. If upon one or two points we are forced to differ from him, we do so with respect for his disinterested boldness of expression upon unpopular topics; and the information which he conveys upon some other points of this nature, is at once curious and important.

Our author's route lay from Dieppe, where he entered France, to Paris. He seems to have been biassed in favour of every thing French, by observing the excess of the prejudice which usually operates among our worthy countrymen, in the opposite direction. We own, that, although very little inclined towards this ridiculous extreme, we cannot altogether agree with Mr Sass in his warm praises of every thing he sees in France, even the female beauty of all ages. 'For my own part,' says he, 'I never saw a pretty Frenchwoman before I visited their country; where I found *them all, young and old*, highly interesting.' Indeed, he admires the country between Paris and Lyons to such a degree, that few travellers, we apprehend, will recognise it in his description. 'It is far superior,' he says, 'to the country between Paris and the coast; and has more visible signs of population: chateaus and cottages are continually seen, and the land appears everywhere richly cultivated.'—With Lyons, he is almost as much captivated as with Paris; and exclaims, that, 'to reside there, in such a climate, surrounded by all the attractions of Nature, united with the comforts of civilization,' would be the height of happiness—and might almost be termed voluptuousness. One should have marvelled, had he written this after being in Italy.

Proceeding over the magnificent route of the Mont Cenis, one of the many benefits which travellers owe to Buonaparte, he arrives at Turin; and naturally enough, but not very respectfully, remarks, that 'the King of Sardinia, who resides here, is not much respected by the people, who take every opportunity of ridiculing him.'—We fear the poor Piedmontese have little else but this merriment to comfort them under his Sardinian Majesty's happy sway.—At Genoa, he of course hears still more against this monarch and his usurpation.

'The Genoese appear to retain all their ancient spirit; and nothing seems to gail them so much as being under the Sardinian government, which they detest. The Piedmontese and the Genoese have always been at enmity with each other; and being now placed under the same king, the whole of the odium falls on his Sardinian Majesty. The Genoese say they should glory in being under the British government; but, tied down under those who know not how to appreciate them, they suffer the most odious impositions and exactions. The city is filled with troops, as if it were a besieged town; and the rattling of drums is heard from morning till night. They say that

there are more troops than can be paid; and if it were not from the fear of an English fleet, they would expel the whole of them in twenty-four hours. The soldiers are openly insulted; the government is execrated; and, so little respect have they for the king, that a man carrying his bust along the street, was offered by three different persons, fifty and a hundred livres each, to let them throw a stone at it. Such is the present state of Genoa, worthy of being a colony and an ally of England.—The English are described as suffering more restrictions than any other nation; and we found, from our own experience under the Piedmontese government, more delays and exactions from the police and its other officers, than in any other state. In Genoa the police and the various consuls play into each other's hands, so that each may have his share of the plunder of the traveller.' p. 65, 66.

All that we saw reminded us of the former power of Genoa; but the Genoese citizens, with whom we conversed, although evincing in themselves an independence of spirit, such as we do not often meet with on the Continent, told us that Genoa was now but a shadow of its former self: they lamented they were betrayed by those for whom they had the greatest respect, and assured us it was only under a solemn promise their independence should be recognised, that they admitted the English troops. In spite, however, of this, they were delivered into the power of a narrow-minded tyranny. It is painful to hear our country, whose character has stood so high, thus charged with a breach of faith. However, there is some satisfaction, that they seem to know from whence it springs, and make a distinction between the ministers of our great empire and its people. We were greatly indebted to the friendship of a Genoese merchant, who, as he told us, for the love he bore the English, in which he was joined by the whole city, wished to pay us every possible attention.' p. 70-1.

Mr Sass, with the true spirit of an Englishman, frequently expresses how much he was delighted to find the distinction universally taken in Italy, between the people of England and her ministers. He is not the only traveller who has found the former the objects of confidence, esteem and hope; the latter of contempt, distrust, and aversion.

Our author went by sea from Genoa to Leghorn, and from thence by Pisa to Rome, without going to Florence. He complains bitterly of the Italian travelling; and no wonder;—for he certainly contrives to take the road to Rome which is by far the most inconvenient in every respect from beginning to end. He goes from Turin to Genoa, and from thence, by sea, in a felucca to Leghorn;—the finest road in Europe, perhaps, being from Turin to Milan, and from thence to Bologna. He then gets into the notoriously bad route of Radicofani; whereas, by taking Florence in his way, he might have chosen the far better road of Perugia. No wonder that he should complain of hav-

ing to 'clamber up mountains and rugged cliffs, and descend  
' from their summits, down steep declivities full of precipices,  
' with almost the fearful velocity of a rapid current.'

At Rome, his enthusiasm for the antique, though natural, is somewhat extravagant. Thus he exclaims of St Peter's, 'Con-  
' temptible!—it cannot bear a comparison with the ruins of an-  
' cient Rome.' Yet the proud saying of Michael Angelo, that  
he would lift the dome of the Pantheon, and place it aloft  
in the air, has been, by the general assent of mankind, al-  
lowed to be fulfilled. We are, however, very far from differ-  
ing with Mr Sass in his invectives against those founders of fa-  
milies and palaces, who scrupled not to build them of the spoils  
of ancient Rome.

'Not all the civil brawls; not all the ignorance and want of taste  
in the latter emperors; not all the rage and indiscriminate fury of the  
barbarians, nor the bigotry and fanatic zeal of the darker ages, have  
tended so much to the destruction of ancient Rome, as those families  
who, in their wretched feeling, would build themselves palaces by the  
spoliation of the finest monuments of Roman grandeur. Such is the  
fact,—they have not only robbed, but they have utterly destroyed  
many of the finest works. They had not even the faculty of appropri-  
ation. How many cornices, fluted columns, and beautifully exe-  
cuted capitals, have I seen cut up and used as merely blocks of mar-  
ble! And after they had accomplished this destruction, what have  
they produced? Buildings and streets, which are a disgrace to the  
local beauties of the hills of Rome. With feelings of sorrow and in-  
dignation, which it was impossible to suppress, we wandered through  
the streets of this *modern* city; and could not proceed many paces  
without witnessing some of these works of destruction, in columns of  
porphyry or verde-antique, cut down for door-posts, to grace the en-  
try of paltry court-yards. Reflecting on these changes, and to what  
use the best things may be converted, we were accosted by a tawdry  
dressed jackanapes, powdered, and bespattered with tinsel, a running  
footman, who told us we should be run over by the equipage that fol-  
lowed, if we did not move.' p. 101, 102.

It is pleasing to observe, that the exertions of some foreigners  
are now excited in an opposite direction, and are occupied in  
discovering and preserving the remains of antiquity, which Time,  
and Popes, and Cardinals, have still spared. Among those per-  
sons deserving so well of the arts, Mr Sass records, with just  
praise, the Dutchess of Devonshire, whose munificence and taste  
are the theme of merited applause, wherever the cultivation of  
the arts is duly appreciated. He mentions the excavations car-  
ried on by her Grace in the Forum, and which have already led  
to material discoveries, and promise still more. Since the date  
of his publication, that noble person has conferred an additional



favour on the lovers of ancient literature, by printing an exquisite edition of Horace's *Journey to Brundisium*, at the celebrated Bodoni press of Parma, with an Italian translation, and prints illustrative of the narrative. The typography is perfect; the translation is extremely well executed; and the plates are admirable. The two in aquatinta are, doubtless, inferior to the others; but those engraved in stroke are worthy of the highest commendation; and the drawing of the whole is excellent. We regret that this beautiful little work is only destined to gratify the luxury of collectors, and cannot help wishing that her Grace may be induced to bestow upon the publick the larger work which she is preparing, the *Illustrations of the Æneid*. Heartily agreeing with our author, that 'these are acts which show true nobility,' we should have been wanting in the gratitude so justly due to this distinguished lady, had we omitted the present notice of that patronage which she extends to the arts, effectually as well as modestly, without any pretension, and from no conceivable motive but that of encouraging the study, and gratifying a liberal and enlightened taste.

We are disposed to agree also with Mr Sass in the satisfaction which he expresses at the rescue, by Lord Elgin, of the most exquisite specimens of ancient sculpture from the devastations of the barbarians into whose hands they had fallen. It is a happy circumstance for the arts, and a glorious one for this country, that we have, by this accident, become possessed of such inestimable treasures. Their transcendent merits have been often dwelt upon; all who view them, in their present convenient position at the British Museum, readily admit their high value, and allow that the inspection of them is daily improving the taste and the execution of even our best artists; but few are aware of the progress which has been made, by one of these ingenious persons, in exhibiting a correct and exquisite representation of them in miniature, and we feel it right here to mention his labours. Mr Henning, a native of this country, who unites to the justest taste, and the greatest powers of execution, a degree of general knowledge almost unexampled in his profession, has finished the most perfect models of a great part of the frieze, and is going on with his work. Whoever is desirous of possessing a perfect miniature of this great piece of sculpture, may thus be furnished with it by means of Mr Henning's casts. The retirement natural to modest genius and the obscurity too often the lot of unprotected strangers, have hitherto kept this most deserving artist from receiving the rewards which he might have expected under more favourable circumstances; but we shall be greatly surprised if the discriminating

taste and liberality of the metropolis does not make him amenable for the neglect which he has hitherto experienced, as soon as his admirable models of the Elgin marbles are known.

✂ We cannot help regretting, that an acute and ingenious person like Mr Suss,—one, too, so enthusiastic in his love of the arts,—has been so very sparing of his remarks upon their finest productions. His account of Rome hardly contains an observation upon the pictures and marbles that fill the Eternal city. It seems as if, by prefixing a chapter of general dissertation upon art, he thought that he had discharged his duty toward the subject in the mass, and was not called upon to say any thing respecting it in detail; whereas the reader desiderates from such a traveller, the result of his observations on the spot, where his immediate impressions must be of far more value than his fancies or reflexions upon painting and painters in the closet. The following passage, in which he dismisses the Stanzas Portico, and Capella Sistina, will justify our complaint of meagerness:—But it deserves to be read for the melancholy facts which it relates.

Adjoining to St Peter's is the Vatican. In the exterior of this building there is nothing remarkable:—but who can describe the wonders it contains! The Sistine chapel, adorned by the Sibyls, the Prophets, and the Last Judgment, of Michael Angelo, I entered for the first time early one morning—and night surprised me before I had half examined its treasures. The chambers of Raffaele next occupied my attention; and days, weeks, and years, might be advantageously employed in their contemplation and study. But what a lamentable account am I to give of their present state! The most culpable negligence, the blindest indifference, seem to pervade the Papal government. While an outcry has been raised at the statues being removed to France, where they were better seen, and while, with much affected feeling, they have been calling for their restitution, they are permitting such injuries to those fine works, which could not be removed, as nothing will repair. The paintings of Raffaele from the Bible in the Corridor, are almost destroyed by the damp; those in the chambers, from the same cause, are bulged and project from the walls; (they who know what fresco-painting is will tremble at this relation); and a machine of wood to exhibit some mummery has been raised and fixed to the wall in the Sistine chapel, hiding a portion of the Last Judgment, which contains one of the finest groups in existence. The care of such works is not merely a national concern; but the whole world and posterity are interested in the preservation of these divine performances. p. 118, 120.

It is natural, in mentioning these truly divine works, to reflect upon the pains which Mr Suss takes in his preliminary remarks to disparage the Venetian School, especially if compared with the Florentine. He accuses it of being deficient in expression.

and proper conception of character,' as well as in correctness of drawing; he contrasts it, in these respects, with 'the prince of painters,' in 'all whose works he finds the rays of intellect, and sentiment, and expression.'—And, after a severe criticism on Paul Veronese, and others of the same school, as devoid of sentiment, character, and correctness of costume, and on their subjects as being 'generally monkish legends, which we neither know nor care to know,' he concludes, that, excelling in 'composition, colour, perspective and execution' alone, they are little better than 'merely pieces of furniture.' He goes still further in his demand of high qualities in a picture.—'Who is the *better*, he asks, for viewing those efforts of the decorative style, which excite no other sensation than what a nosegay might produce, or any other gaudy assemblage of colours? *What instructive lesson* is conveyed by countenances void of expression, drunken bacchanals, sleeping nymphs, or flying cupids?'—In short, he insists on having a story told, and a moral sentiment enforced in each piece; and he condemns the setting before the student mere beautiful forms, fine colours, and collections of gay figures in groupes, as in the famous *Marriage of Cana*, unless something else is added to direct their gaze, and elevate their reflexions, because he thinks it will only 'allure them to the gaieties of the world, by which their taste becomes vitiated.'—Now, agreeing as we do as to the general superiority of the Roman school, and, above all, of its immortal chief, we must say that Mr Sass's admiration appears in some points to have affected his judgment. When he condemns the uninteresting subjects of the Venetian masters, does he mean to say that all those chosen by Raphael enforce a lesson of morality, or any thing else? The *Dispute of the Sacrament*, for instance, teaches only the same kind of lesson with the *Miracle of Cana*, except indeed that the Veronese has chosen a scripture miracle, and the Roman a monkish one. Besides, we deny wholly that a subject is deficient, unless it *preaches* to the beholder. The expression of feeling and action, and the representation generally of nature, is quite sufficient; it is the object of the art. The general chaste character of Raphael's composition, or rather invention, we admit; but that it is always so severe as our author imagines, we wonder how any one who has stood for 'days and weeks' in the Vatican itself, could suppose.—Are there not in the *Corridor* attempts to represent what the pencil cannot cope with, or does not their failure produce an effect at once clumsy and ludicrous? For example, *Pharaoh's Dream*, where Joseph stands pointing to a sun and moon, actually painted, and interprets what the king

had only told him, and what never existed as an object of actual perception. So the creation of animals, where we see a horse's head rising out of the ground, half a cow, &c. by way of showing the act of creation, which, after all, can scarcely be conceived to have been performed in this gradual and progressive way—which gives us much more the idea of natural growth or development, than of the instant *fiat* of Omnipotence.

From Rome Mr Sass went to Naples, and seems to think himself lucky in escaping near Velletri from a terrible robber called *Barbone*, who makes that neighbourhood his residence. We suspect this robber is very generally to be met with in Italy as well as at Velletri; for we take him to be none other than the common Italian name for raggamuffin, which our traveller hearing used in one instance mistook for the proper name of an individual. His alarms, however, were not without foundation; for, on his way to Naples, he saw lying on the road a man only just murdered by robbers who had taken post behind a mound on the side of the road, and fired from that ambush on the unhappy traveller. On his return, too, he was himself in some jeopardy, though not quite so much probably as he apprehended. The following narrative is sufficiently lively and picturesque.

• 'Sleep had again nearly overpowered me, when suddenly I heard violent exclamations from the guards, with a confusion of other voices; fire-arms were discharged, and the carriage stopped. Immediately looking out, I saw several strange men standing about, while the soldiers, who had dismounted, with their pistols in their hands, had seized and were searching some of them. Suspecting the cause of this uproar, I took a pistol and instantly leaped out, thinking it better to stand there on my defence, than to remain and be murdered in the carriage. As I approached the scene of contest, I learned that these men, with some others who had escaped into the marshes, and on whom the guards had fired, were discovered lying in ambush by the side of a large stone hovel. A woman, who accompanied them, was at this moment dragged from a ditch, where it was supposed she had hidden some of their weapons. While the guards were thus employed, an elderly gentleman called from one of the carriages, begging of me to return, as he apprehended danger, these being a part of the brigands. Wishing to be doubly armed, I went back for another pistol, when I informed my fellow travellers of what was going forward.

By the time I regained the crowd, the guards were knocking loudly at the door of the hovel. No one answering, we set our shoulders to it, and burst it open. Our surprise may be conceived, when, on entering, we found a large fire, and men sleeping around it. Those nearest the fire instantly started up, making some show of resistance; but perceiving we were well armed, they hesitated, and sub-

ly answered our interrogatories as to the persons found on the outside, and of whom they disclaimed all knowledge.

'The hovel, into which we had thus forcibly entered, appeared to be about twenty yards long and eight broad. The light emanating from one spot, the more distant parts were involved in a deep gloom. The scowling features of these men, with their style of dress, gave them a ferocity to which their beards and mustachios did not a little contribute; the light from the blazing hearth striking on the lower parts of their countenances, their lengthened shadows being lost in the distance, added to their demon-like appearance; while the lumber scattered about, and the recesses seen around, completed the picture of a den of thieves.

'Leaning against a projection, and ruminating on this scene, a heavy sigh was breathed into my ear. On turning round, I discovered a man close to me, apparently asleep. The gentleman who had so kindly cautioned me before, now joined me, and we indulged our curiosity in exploring this cavern. In going round, we counted nine men lying in different parts, who could hardly be distinguished in the gloom. Notwithstanding all the noise caused by the violence of our entrance and loud conversation, and although we pulled and pressed them to discover whether they were really human beings or lumps of wood, not one of these stirred, but lay with every appearance of a desire for concealment.' p. 226—229.

The French cleared Italy of robbers entirely, almost of assassins: The restored Government of Naples treats with the former, and allows the latter to pursue their trade of blood. The King allows two hundred pounds a year to the chief of one band of robbers, for keeping one road in Calabria clear; and Mr Sass gives us an extract from a Naples gazette, published while he was there, which shows that this unworthy system of connivance, fit only for the middle ages, or for the feeblest governments of the East, is openly and shamelessly avowed. 'We are happy to find,' (says the legitimate organ of the restored dynasty), 'that the brigand chiefs are coming to the terms of government, and beginning to clear the roads of their companions.'

The admiration of Buonaparte which prevails in many parts of Europe, and which is quite natural and reasonable in Italy, seems to have smitten Mr Sass much too strongly; it is founded indeed on such a contrast as the above mentioned anecdotes furnish to his reign; but it is excessive, especially for an Englishman. Thus, speaking of the French picture of Austerlitz, he exclaims, that, 'to be sure, in the hero of that event, there is a subject to inspire any one;' and he inveighs against Blücher as a semi-barbarian. This love of the Ex-emperor extends to his family; for we find Murat designated as 'a lover of science and of the fine arts.' Surely a man with a corporal's stock of knowledge, can hardly have merited this proud de-

scription; Buonaparte knew him better, when he called him 'a *magnifique Lazzaronc.*' Similar fault have we to find, both in point of principle and of fact, with the wild unfounded assertion so confidently delivered in the following passage. 'If we examine the history of the most celebrated nations and states, we shall uniformly find, that, from the moment they have become subject to any particular family, their decline has commenced. I suppose it is because they have then an unnatural existence.' (p. 252.)

In closing this account of Mr Sass's volume, we must be permitted to remark, that after describing, in the Introduction, the extraordinary variety of accomplishments which constitute the painter, we are disappointed to find him betraying so frequently a deficiency in very ordinary ones. He hardly gives a single Italian, or even French expression right. We find him beset at the customs by *douaniers*; travelling in the *Compagna di Roma*; calling the inhabitants of a place '*tous voleurs*'; praising Annibal *Carrachi*; passing through *Pessaro*, *Buccino*, and various other non-existing places. With ancient names he is quite as unlucky.—Not to mention *Tolcinum* and the *Vokians*, we are introduced to a great man of antiquity by the name of *Munatius Plancus*; and the next time he appears, in case we should think the former spelling a slip of the printer, the right surname being given in the text, an unhappy *erratum* bids us be sure to read *Plaucus* for *Plancus* in p. 237. Indeed, Mr Sass is not to be trusted with writing his own *Errata*; for another of those luckless corrections desires us to change, in p. 335, '*c'est finis*' into '*c'est finit.*' With this quotation, as applicable to conclusions, spell it which way you will, we take leave of Mr Sass—whose next tour we may reasonably expect more from. He seems to be an amiable man, with that fondness for his profession, which alone can ever lead to great exertions or signal success.

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NOTE.

\* \* In our Review of Mr BROUGHAM's *Speech on the Education Bill*, we have omitted several things of much interest and importance, with a view to resume the subject in our next Number,—when we propose to give an account of the same Gentleman's admirable *Letter to Sir S. ROMILLY on the Abuse of Charitable Funds.*

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